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The Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's Patron

BY

CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES

Author of *The Bacon-Shakespeare Question Answered*, *British Freewomen*, *Shakespeare's Family*, *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries*, *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal*, *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage*, *Shakespeare's Environment*, *Shakespeare's Industry*, Editor of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, etc.

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PREFACE

It would have been more correct to have called this volume a collection of materials towards a Life. For anything approaching a real *life* can only be written by the subject himself, by an intimate friend, such as Fulke Greville was to Philip Sidney, or by one who has the command of a long series of private letters, heart-revealing writings, and contemporary information, such as Spedding had of Francis Bacon. Southampton kept no diaries, he did not pour forth his heart readily in effusive letters, he wrote no signed poems or papers, and few of his correspondents kept his epistles. The best that could be done was to arrange the facts concerning him in chronological order and set these in his natural surroundings, so that the work at best gives but a mosaic with many lacunae. I have not attempted to fill in the blanks as if with oil colours to make a complete "portrait"; I have attempted no oratory to move the feelings of others to judge him as I do. It is "but a plain blunt tale," but it was necessary to tell it as a background to that of Shakespeare and to help forward the writing of the Life of the Earl of Essex, which awaits some eager student.

From a plain statement of facts, however, we may sometimes secure legitimate inferences. Hence I dwelt, some may think unduly, on his work in the Virginia Company. We find him there, always in the van, among all his anxieties. A troublesome minority made so much noise that the king crushed it "because of the disagreement among themselves," but Southampton could have pulled it through had he been let alone. And from what we *know* of his actions there, we may argue back to the other "brawls" with which he has been credited, feeling sure he would always be on the side which he thought was right.

I must confess that I did not start this work for his sake, but in the hope that I might find more about Shakespeare, which hope has not been satisfied. In my earlier Shakespearean work, of course, I had read Drake, Malone, Gerald Massey, and Halliwell-Phillipps, and had collected a few *new* facts, but the person who impelled me to do this work in a thorough way was Mr Thomas Tylor. He first brought out the hypothesis which has been called

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"the Herbert-Fitton theory" in a paper read at a meeting of the New Shakespeare Society in 1890. Everybody present (which does not mean all the members of the society) was in sympathetic admiration of such a neatly fitted group of interesting facts, supposed to be connected with each other, and they all, including Dr Furnivall, accepted it. As I said good-bye to Mr Tylor, I said "I hope I may live long enough to be able to contradict you!" "No, you won't, for my theory is going down Time!" "Not if I live long enough," said I, in full faith that evidence must be forthcoming to confute a theory so injurious to the good name of Shakespeare. Another relevant incident which I must relate happened some time afterwards (I forget how long). A small portrait, asserted to be contemporary, of the 3rd Earl of Pembroke had been offered to the then-existing holder of the title, for sale at a reasonable price. On the back a slip of paper was pasted containing the quotation from Sonnet LXXXI:

> Your monument shall be my gentle verse
> Which [eyes not yet created shall o'er-read].

The Earl of Pembroke invited certain leaders in art, literature, and criticism to meet at his house and give him their opinion. Dr Furnivall, having a card for himself and friend, took me as his "friend." The portrait was handed round, examined, and accepted by all as genuine and worth buying. It was handed round for a second time, in regard to the inscription. I do not remember the remarks made. I was last, and when it reached me I said, "The ink which wrote that was made in 1832!" thinking of the publication of Boaden's theory. This caused a commotion; Dr Furnivall laughingly cried "I forgot! Turn her out, turn her out. She is a Southamptonite. We are all Pembrochians here!" This made me go on all the more eagerly in my research and attempts to convert Dr Furnivall, which I eventually did, chiefly through two articles in *The Athenæum*, March, 1898, on "The Date of the Sonnets," and another in August, 1900, "Who was Mr W. H.?"

In the collection of my materials I have many to thank. The officers of the British Museum and the Record Office have been unfailingly helpful and considerately patient with my troublesome enquiries. The Librarians of the Bodleian have been as good, though I troubled them on fewer occasions.

I have to thank the Marquis of Salisbury for courteously allowing me to see his historical manuscripts, and his private secretary, Mr Gunton, who generously aided me in my search; the Duke of Portland for leave to include the Welbeck Abbey portraits; the Walpole Society for the loan of blocks used in the article on Wriothesley Portraits, by Mr R. W. Goulding, in their eighth volume; also Mrs Holman Hunt for the copyright of her treasured "Rubens portrait" of the Earl of Southampton. The Rev. Mr Matthews, formerly of Titchfield Church, not only admitted me to the Registers, but laid all his notes and photographs out before me that I might choose. Thanks are also due to Captain Charles Cottrell-Dormer of Rousham, Oxfordshire, for allowing me to spend a whole day among his manuscripts and to transcribe those concerning the Countess of Southampton. The Town Clerk of Southampton also cheerfully opened his Town-books, and Mr Chitty and Mr Jaggard sent me notes from Winchester. I have also to thank Mr R. F. Scott, Master of St John's College, Cambridge, for telling me where Thomas, the second son (and heir) of Southampton, was born, for the reprints of his articles in *The Eagle*, and for permission to use the College portrait of the Earl. Mr Previté Orton, the Librarian of the College, and his assistant were most kind to me in trying to solve the puzzles of the donation of books to the Library.

CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES.

HAMPSTEAD,
April 23rd, 1921.

HINTS TO READERS

1. All MSS. not referred to any other collection are to be found in the British Museum.

2. All legal cases, State Papers, etc., are in the Public Record Office.

3. All wills, unless otherwise noted, are in Somerset House.

4. P.C.C. means Prerogative Court of Canterbury; P.C.R., the Privy Council Register; L.C., Lord Chamberlain's Papers.

5. The *Cecil Papers* and *Salisbury Papers* are the same, all being at Hatfield. But the former are the originals, the latter the printed Calendars, where the same articles appear as abstracts in greater or less degree.

Before 1906 I did my work at Hatfield, where I have secured many originals, some of which, however, have been contracted by Mr Gunton or myself. Several volumes of the Calendar have come out since then; hence occasionally I give both references.

6. Many statements could have been referred back to several sources, but as I have lost so much of my work through the failure of my eyes and their inability to read even my own writing in *pencil* (which is used compulsorily in the Record Office), I have been unable to check various authorities, and have been forced to be contented occasionally with the one I could best secure.

7. My work strives to be accurate, above all things, but where, through long study and logical inference, I have used my imagination to fill up gaps, I always put such suggestions in large parentheses, to shew that I am aware that these passages contain an element of uncertainty, and are frequently controversial.

8. The limits of space have prevented my including many minor facts and allusions to the 3rd Earl of Southampton and his friends, as of course, I had to choose for publication the most significant.

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CHAPTER I

LORD WRIOTHESLEY'S INFANCY[1]

HENRY, LORD WRIOTHESLEY, second of the Christian name and third of the title, came as the Son of Consolation to his parents on the 6th of October, 1573. His father, the second Earl of Southampton, a noted recusant, had suffered much discomfort and a very severe illness through his imprisonment in the Tower for the matter of the Duke of Norfolk. His mother Mary, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, had suffered nearly as much, through her intense sympathy, constant anxiety, and never-resting efforts on his behalf to move the Queen to mercy. At last the tide turned in his favour. On the 1st of May, 1573, Southampton was allowed to go forth from the Tower to the comparatively comfortable house of Sir William More in Loseley, where he had previously been detained. There he still fretted against captivity, and his petitions were strengthened by Sir William More, who found the office of jailor incompatible with his other public duties. In July the disconsolate Earl was suddenly permitted to rejoin his wife and friends, under the hospitable roof of his father-in-law, where he was subject to no further supervision than that of Lord Montague, and was permitted even to go and see his building operations at Dogmarsfield[2], if he made sure he never spent more than one night out of Cowdray. The kindness of Lady More to the captive had roused the gratitude of Lady Southampton, and the relations of Sir William More to his charge had always been friendly. Thus it was first to Loseley that the great news went forth post, on the 6th of October, "Yt has so hapned by the sudden seizing of my wife today, we could not by possibility have your wife present, as we desired. Yet have I thought goode to imparte unto you such comforte as God hath sente me after all my longe troubles, which is that this present morning at three of the clock, my wife was delivered of a goodly boy (God bless him.)... Yf your wife will take the paynes to visit her, we shall be mighty glad of her company. From Cowdray this present Tuesday

[1] As to ancestral matters, see also *Addenda*. [2] *Loseley Papers*, IV. 16.

1573. Your assured frend H. Southampton."[1] Thus was the only son[2] of the second Earl of Southampton born, not at Titchfield, but at Cowdray, the house of his mother's people. This "goodly boy" was the first grandson born to the Viscount Montague, and it is certain that he had as much attention and care as was good for him. Besides all that the loving care of his mother could shower upon him, there was the experience of her stepmother, the Viscountess Montague[3], a notable authority in the bringing up of children. It is strange that there has been preserved no record of his baptism. He must have been "made a Christian" in a much more modest way than his father was, who had a King and a Queen as sponsors; but there appears to be no later allusion to the godparents of the young Lord. It must be taken for granted that the ceremony was performed after the ritual of the Catholic church, and that his sponsors were chosen from among his father's friends, rather for his spiritual strengthening than his worldly advancement. The Registers of Titchfield for that period are not extant. We know very little about the young Lord's childhood; but the first event that could have at all affected him was the visit of his parents to London. Whether the Earl of Southampton had been summoned to Court to be admonished and finally forgiven, or whether he had received permission to visit his mother, the Lady Jane, we know not. But we know that he went, and meant to make it a happy pilgrimage by inviting his father-in-law and his brother-in-law to accompany him, probably leaving the child, at that early age, under the kind supervision of the Viscountess Montague. He wrote to Sir William More, "Although I have lately divers wayes pestered your howse yet sins your request is so, I mynd, God willing, with my wife, to be with you in our journey towards London on Tuesday even sennight and my brother Anthony Browne and his wiffe in my company. My Lord Montague upon this occasion is not coming, 1st November, 1573."[4] The young people would go to London together, but would probably separate at London Bridge, the

[1] *Loseley Papers*, IV. 18.

[2] It has always been said he was "the second son," but there is no authority for that. The error must have begun in confusing the second with the first Henry.

[3] See her *Life* by the Rev. Richard Smith.

[4] *Loseley Papers*, IV. 21 and X. 51.

Brownes going to their town house, St Mary Overies, the Wriothesleys to Southampton House in Holborn.

Anthony Browne was the eldest son and heir-apparent of Cowdray by Viscount Montague's first marriage to Jane, daughter of Robert, Earl of Sussex, and he was the only full-brother of the Lady Mary, Countess of Southampton. The Southamptons seem to have returned and spent some time longer at Cowdray, where, four months afterwards, another grandson came to the Viscount. Anthony Browne had married, the year before, Mary, the daughter of Sir William Dormer, and lived in Riverbank House, a dwelling which had been built for their use in Cowdray Park. There was born in March 1574 Anthony Maria Browne—afterwards heir. We may imagine the meeting of the two babes, when the new-comer at Riverbank was first brought over to his inheritance at Cowdray, their staring at each other with dim sub-conscious intelligence. The Wriothesley interloper had the advantage of four months, a period long enough to instil into the infant's mind a sense of possession and a scorn of new-comers smaller than himself. Four months gives a great precedence in the first year of life.

I have been able to find only two MS. references to the Wriothesley baby during his whole childhood. The first is in the will of his grandmother, the Lady Jane, 26th July, 1574[1]. By it she left various bequests "to my Son's son, Harrye, Lord Wriothesley." That gives us at least the clue to his baby-name, and a reference to his baby "expectations." We know nothing, except by its results, of the child's education up to a certain date, save that it must have been equal to his rank and conducted on strictly Catholic lines.

The other allusion to the child is made in relation to a painful episode in the family history. The Earl of Southampton was taken into favour again and was given certain county offices to perform, which, with his own interests in house-building and farming, seem to have placidly filled his time. He and his wife seem to have continued on affectionate terms until about 1577, and then some misunderstanding arose, fostered by constant mischief-making through the Earl's gentleman servants, the chief of whom was Thomas Dymock. The Earl secluded himself more and more among his followers and estranged himself from his wife; he would

[1] Martyn, 43.

have no communication with her, except verbally through the servants who had been the cause of the continuance, if not of the initiation, of the Earl's bad feeling. The friends of the Countess became anxious; her father wrote her a long letter asking her to explain fully her position and confess to what degree she was to blame. Unfortunately that letter has disappeared. But the full and frank reply of the poor wife has been preserved, which must be read in full to be understood in so far as she was concerned. The postscript mentions the child[1]. "That yowr Lordship shalbe witnes of my desier to wyn my Lorde by all such meanes as resteth in me, I have sent yowe *what I sent him by my little boye*. Butt his harte was too greate to bestowe the reading of it, coming from me. Yett will I do my parte so longe as I am with him, but good my Lorde, procure so soone as conveniently yowe may, some end to my miserie for I am tyred with this life." It is to be regretted that the enclosed letter has not been preserved.

By later correspondence we learn that she never saw her boy again during the life-time of his father, who kept him with himself and his servants.

This letter forces the reader to sympathise with the Countess, to long to hear how the Earl could explain his conduct, and to wonder if he could possibly put himself in the right. He leaves nothing further than his will, and that only puts him still further in the wrong. It is dated the 24th of June, 1581, and is very long[2].

In it he describes himself as in "health and perfect memory," though its contents belie this statement, for they shew him to have disregarded time, place, circumstances, and the amount available to be distributed. The uses of the money are limited by an indenture made on 10th May, 1568, between the testator and the Viscount Montague and others deceased, "until the issue male of the testator should come to the age of 21 years."

One thousand pounds were to be devoted to monuments, one of his father and mother and the other of himself. His funeral was not to cost more than another thousand. A liberal allowance to the poor was to be paid as promptly as possible, that they might pray for his soul and the souls of his ancestors. He left a ring to the Queen;

[1] Cotton MS., Titus, bk. II. art. 174, f. 366.
[2] Rowe, 45.

"beseeching her to be good to my little infants, whom I hope to be good servants and subjects of her Majesty and of the State."[1] He left liberal allowances to servants and friends, and to his daughter Mary £2000, if she obeys his executors *and does not live in the same house as her mother.*

As an afterthought, he remembered the father-in-law to whom he owed so much, by leaving him a George and a Garter, which could not have been his own, as he never had been made Knight of the Order, and it could not have been his father's, as the first Earl left his to Sir William Pembroke. He left as executors Charles Paget, brother to Lord Paget, Edward Gage of Bartley Co. Sussex, Gilberd Wells of Brainebridge Co. Southampton, Ralph Hare, bencher of the Inner Temple, and "lastly my good and faithful servant Thomas Dymock, Gent." For "overseers" he appointed "Henry Earl Northumberland, my Lord Thomas Paget and my loving brother Thomas Cornwallis."

Of course, the bulk of the property was to come to his son Henry. The will also gives information as to his relatives on his father's side—his sister Katharine, Lady Cornwallis, his sister Mabel Sandys, his aunts Lawrence, Pound, and Clerke, his cousin John Savage, son of Sir John Savage, and others.

From a fulsome panegyric on the Earl of Southampton by John Phillipps, called an "Epitaph,"[2] we learn that both of his children were with him at the last, that he lovingly blessed them, and that they wept and wailed at his death. The account was evidently intended to pass by the wife, though "In wedlock hee observed the vow that hee had made."

The Earl of Southampton died at Itchell, a house of his not far from Titchfield, on 4th October, 1581, when his son and heir was two days short of completing his eighth year. He was buried on 30th November in Titchfield Church beside his mother Jane, the first Countess of Southampton of that creation.

Little public notice was taken of his departure. Camden even mistakes the year in which he died; Dugdale says, "His well wishes towards the marriage of the Duke of Norfolk and Mary Queen of Scots, to whom and to whose religion he stood not a little affected, occasioned him no little trouble." Once he is mentioned

[1] *Addenda.* [2] *Huth Ballads*, 58.

with flattery in literature. In that strange book[1] *Honour in its perfection* the notice of the third Earl is prefaced by an account of the first Earl, his grandfather. "After this noble Prince succeeded his sonne Henry Earle of Southampton, a man of no lesse vertue, promesse and wisedom, ever beloved and favoured of his Prince, highly reverenced and favoured of all that were in his own ranke, and bravely attended and served by the best gentlemen of those countries wherein he lived; his muster roll never consisted of foure lackeys and a coachman, but of a whole troupe of at least a hundred well-mounted gentlemen and yeomen. He was not known in the streets by guarded liveries, but by gold chains, not by painted butterflies ever runing as if some monster pursued them, but by tall goodly fellowes that kept a constant pace, both to guard his person, and to admit any man to their Lord which had serious business. This Prince could not steale or drop into an ignoble place, neither might doe anythinge unworthy of his great calling, for he ever had a world of testimonies about him. When it pleased the divine goodnesse to take to his mercy this great Earle he left behinde to succeede him Henry Earle of Southampton his sonne, being then a child."[2]

[1] By Gervase Markham.

[2] The Earl of Southampton was summoned to repair the roads in St Andrew's, Holborn, near his own house in 1578 (Coram Rege Roll, Hilary 20 Eliz. f. 119) and 1580. The summons was repeated again and again to his heir (Controlment Rolls, Trin. 22–23 Eliz. f. 94, et seq.).

A later reference should be given here to throw some light upon the beginning of Lady Southampton's troubles. A Catholic in Brussels, writing to a friend, warns him against Charles Paget, who is still "tampering in broils and practices between friend and friend, man and wife, Prince and Prince . . . I will overpass his youthful crimes, as the unquietness he caused betwixt the late Earl of Southampton and his wife, yet living." (D.S.S.P. Eliz. CCLXXI. 74, July 4–14, 1599, et seq.).

THE SOUTHAMPTON MONUMENT, TITCHFIELD CHURCH

CHAPTER II

THE BOYHOOD OF THE EARL

It is never an easy thing to step into a great estate, and in the sixteenth century the difficulties were much increased for those under age. Henry Wriothesley, the third Earl of Southampton, would become in due order a Royal Ward; but the Queen would either sell his Wardship and Marriage, or bestow it as a gift on some of her favourites. It was probably as such that she bestowed it on Lord Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral.

Then began arithmetical calculations of an abstruse nature, dull enough for readers even after the details have been mastered, but still necessary to consider, as they have a direct bearing on the future career of the minor.

It is a little difficult to estimate the true character of the Thomas Dymock who had so bewitched his master that he was practically left, at the Earl's death, "the man in possession." He might have been a man of good intentions, confused only by a blind devotion to his master and obedience to his wishes, instead of the evil spirit that Lady Southampton and others described. Whatever he really was, he took the first step towards settlement. Without consulting his fellow executors, Lord Montague the next of kin, or Lord Paget the "overseer," he set off alone to prove the will in which he was so much personally concerned. It might be that he innocently needed ready money to keep the house going, to prepare for the funeral, and to pay at once for the volumes of prayers necessary to free his master's soul, as soon as possible, from purgatorial fires. It might have been, on the other side, a feverish haste to get his own affairs and those of his favourites settled, for he knew well there would not be sufficient assets to cover all, for years to come.

It was a good lesson for him, and a great advantage for the other legatees, that the Registrar in Chief then refused to allow him to prove the will.

The widowed lady whom he had so deeply wronged had at last bestirred herself in earnest. She was no longer held back from publicity by the lingering ties of old affection, no longer afraid to befoul her own nest, to help her own children. She had no fear of fighting the "dead hand" which tried to dominate and humiliate her.

She had many personal friends; so had her father. With her acute intelligence the Countess saw that nothing could be done now for herself, but that a very great deal could yet be done for her children. This could only be done by or through the Queen herself. The Crown had a right to protect the person of the heir and to superintend the settlement of his property, and in face of such a flagrant defiance of justice and precedent as the late Earl's will the Crown, and the Crown alone, could ignore in certain points the wishes of the testator. But the Crown had to be dealt with warily. In spite of his own offensive marriage, and of the Queen's French suitors, the Earl of Leicester was still the man best able to do this successfully. He could carry the Council with him; he was doubly related to Lady Southampton's family, he had helped her husband before, at her request, and he had offered again to help her if need be now; so he would be sure to do the best he could for her. She made up her mind to write first to the Earl of Leicester[1]. He liked to be consulted first, Burleigh could bide his time.

She wrote, accordingly[2], as early as she could reasonably have done so, only ten days after the death of her husband.

[1] The knowledge of how she did so came into my hands in this way. Searching as I did for everything concerning the name, I found in the *Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* a reference to letters written by the Countess of Southampton to the Earl of Leicester in 1592. Knowing that she could not have written them then, or at least that he could not have received them, I applied to the owner of the letters, Capt. Charles Cottrell-Dormer of Rousham, to let me see them, and was kindly allowed to go down and copy them for myself. I cannot understand how these letters got to Rousham; neither does the present possessor. The Countess of Southampton's brother Anthony had married Mary, daughter of Sir William Dormer; her step-sister Elizabeth married Sir Robert Dormer, afterwards Baron Dormer of Wing. The Dormer family were also related to Lord Leicester, but it is difficult to account for these special letters travelling from the Earl of Leicester's study to the possession of the Dormers.

[2] I found, as I expected, that the secretary had committed an error in date. Apparently the first of the Countess's letters dated "14th October," and *endorsed* "1582," *must* have been written in 1581.

My Lord, as ever I helde myself greatly beholding unto you, for your favour and well wyshing of me, so that yt pleased yor Lordship, now in the tyme of my greatest dyscomfort and neede of assestance to offer so honourably of yor owen mocion your helpe to raise my greved mynd and defende me from the mallis of those that my unkynd Lord (God forgeve him) hath left in over great trust behynd hym. I acknowledg myself most bownd, besechynge yor Lordship to show that favor towards me at this tyme as you have often promysed and I have assured myself to fynd when inded I should have cause to crave the same with effecte. That my boye is past yor hande I can but sorrow, not remedy but that the holl stat of this erldom he is of trust to injoy should rest in the hands of so unworthy a person as gentell Mr Dymocke voyde of either wytte, abelity, or honesty to dischardg the same doth so vexe me as in troth my Lord I am not able to expresse. How to better yt I knowe no menes but by yor menes to her Majestie to have consideracion of the man, and great matters that resteth in his hands unaccomptable but by Her prerogative, which I trust by yor Lordships menes to procure for the good of the child. Mr Dymock proved the wyll the next day after my Lord his death, by his owen bare othe without the knowledge of any of the rest of the executors, such worthy persons as are not in stat to undertake yt, which makes me hope that the wyll is not of such force as he would have yt either in substance or surcomstance, that I intend to put to the (Dr Drury's) tryall, not to undo any resonable matter my Lord hath don herin, but to defend my chyldern and my selfe from ther fingers that mynd no good to either of us. Yor Lordship's ayde and assestance I desyre herein, that yor credytt may be used for my releife cheflye with her Majestie and that it wyll plese you to bestow yor breth to Doctor Drury (befor whom the probatt is to be made) to show all the favor he may to make yt voyd, and thereby the admynistration to be granted to me, upon such sufficient assurance for the honorable dyschardge thereof as shalbe to the content of all parties. That his Lordship contynewed his hard mynd towards me till his last, I greeve more for his sowll than any harme he hathe don to me therein, for my assurance of lyving rested not in his hands to bare. For the rest I way not, but by my troth am rather glad he hath gevyn me so just cawse to forgett him that otherwyse I should have caryed my rememberance with grefe more then enoughe to my last howere.

Ten thousand tymes have I remembered yor speches to me full often touching the dyspocion of the man. I think I shall hold you for more then half a proffyt, that I wyshe sholde not prophecy in the worste parte of me. Well my Lord, I am now free, and be you sure, to the graitest prince that lyveth wyll I not put myself in the lyke condicyon nether for my quyett nor welth. Yor helping hand put to, good Lord, with so much good wyll as my affection towards yourself ever hath deserved, the matter is honorable and as resonable to be granted by yor menes whose credytt I hope shall ever be able to incounter Mr Dymocke, although my Lord of nowt made him,

and many mo. I wold not tyer you with many lines....I rest you to God, and myself to your Lordships affectionate rememberance, from Battell this 14th of October, Your Lordships most assured poure frend and cosyn,

M. SOUTHAMPTON.

Good my Lord, *borne* this and tak no knowladge of my wryting for this tyme, for I have not made any cretur prevy to yt, but cold not be quyett tyll I had don, nether shalbe tyll I here from you[1].

The Earl of Leicester's answer to this impulsive and perhaps slightly imprudent letter may be inferred from her next letter dated clearly 25th October, 1581.

My good Lord,

I have receyved by my Lord my father notis of your honorable care had of me, in this great extremyte that bade persons dryves me into, wherfore I acknowlege myselfe bownd unto yor Lordship praying the contynuance of yor favor so fare as consyence and honor may warant the sam. The hard delling of my Lord towards me in his lyffe was not unknowne unto your Lordship, and how he hath left me at his death is to aparant to all, makyng his sarvant his wyffe, by geving to him all and to myself nothing that he colde put from me. His only dawghter is lyttle preferred in benefytt before his man, who surly, my Lord, colde never deserve yt with awght that is in him, except with feding my Lord his humour agaynst me to incresse his owen credytt to that heytte as now (with dyshonor more then enoughe) yt is comen unto. What greffe yt is to me, I can not make known unto yor Lordship, the rather for that yt is now remedyles. Yt resteth now that by yor Lordships good menes and other my frendes ther may be that don for the good of the chyld and surty of that which his father hath left unto him that yor authoritie or credytt may afford, that his evell stat may not rest at the devocion of Dymocke, who hath sufficed in no way to dyschardge yt, and for my self my desyre is not unresolved? but as a wyffe to be consydered, and so do mynd to dell as I am delt withall by them. That my lyttyle sonne refused to here (hear) service is not my fawlt that hath not seen him almost this twoo yeres. I trust yor Lordship esteemes me to have some more discrecion then to forbyd him that which his fewe yeres can not judge of. Truly my Lord, yf my self had kept him he shold in this howse have come to yt as my Lord my father and all his doth. I pray yor Lordship that he may understand this much from me to put her (Majestie) out of doubt I was not gylty of that folly. With my very herty well-wyshing unto yor Lordship I rest in assurance of your favor and assestance which I wyll deserve by all the good menes I may, from Cowdray this 25th of October yor assured frend and cosyn,

M. SOUTHAMPTON[2].

[1] Letter XVII. Cottrell-Dormer MSS.
[2] Letter V. Cottrell-Dormer MSS.

It may have struck readers of the printed series of the Privy Council Register[1] as peculiar that Edward Gage, who had been sent to prison as a stubborn recusant, should have been let out so often and so long (on his word of honour to return) in order that he should superintend the settling of the late Earl of Southampton's affairs, though he was but one of five executors.

It is probable that the Countess, who knew each of the executors personally, had dropped a hint to the Earl of Leicester that the only executor both able and willing to counteract Dymock's influence was her own cousin Edward Gage. If he could do nothing else, he could cause delay in settlement by insisting on arithmetical exactitude in each detail. A good many sums in *Proportion* would of necessity have to be worked out in an over-estimated will, so that the heir should not be the sole loser.

Apparently Leicester's influence had been sufficient to do this at first, without attracting notice; to induce Dr Drury to quash Dymock's attempt to prove the will on his own account; and to urge the Queen to take things into her own high hand, with a view probably of securing the real wardship for himself. One item of the will was apparently set aside by the Queen, namely that compulsorily separating the daughter from the mother. There is unexpected corroboration of this opinion in an obscure corner of the Loseley Papers. Anthony Garnett, the confidential secretary and general manager of Lord Montague's affairs[2], wrote to Sir William More on the 29th of November, 1581, in answer to a list of his queries about the characters of the four sons of Lady Cripps (a recusant), John, Henry, Edward, and George. Garnett said John had married Mr Roper's daughter, and lived in London, near St Mary Overies; "Henry was once my Lord's man in the household, and departed from us three years past, and since hath married Mr Culpepper's daughter of Aylesford, Kent, and dwells there." Edward formerly served the Earl of Warwick; George, the youngest "hath served in the household of the last Earl of Southampton for sundry years past, and is now one of his at Titchfield till the funeral be past....None of them have been one night

[1] Privy Council Registers, 13th Aug. 1580, 20th June 1581, 19th Dec. 1581, 11th Jan. 1582, 1st April 1582.

[2] *Loseley Papers*, x. 129.

with us for these two years saving George, yesternight, who, with others, his fellows, brought the young Lady Wresley[1] to us, and departed again to Titchfield." This letter was written the day *before the funeral.*

I know not by whose authority the daughter was brought to the mother, but *there she was.* It is perfectly certain that Lord Montague would neglect no honour he could pay to the deceased as one of the chief mourners in the great funeral cortège of his son-in-law, and would insist on being in his due place by the side of the young heir. After the funeral the winding up of affairs would begin afresh with increased difficulty through the heavy expenses entailed by its grandeur. Unfortunately for the family, Edward Gage's time of leave from prison to attend to his relative's entangled affairs was about to expire long before the duties necessary had been overtaken. To leave things to the decision of Thomas Dymock unchecked just then was more dangerous even than it had been. So on the 11th of December the Countess wrote again to the Earl of Leicester

My good Lord, as from the begynning I have rested and relyed upon the honorable promyse yt plesed you to make to ayde and asseste me and myne in all resonable cawses. So am I now ernestly to requeste yor helpe in a matter that conserns my chylde so much as his well or evell doing rests much thereupon. By my father his letter yor Lordship shall understand an agreement is past between my Lord his executors and us, to our resonable contents. Yt resteth now that yor Lordship wyll afford that favor to us, as my cosyn Gage, being the only man in casse to undertake and dyschardge this great matter of my Lord his wyll, may have furder liberty upon such resonable condicions as I trust will be well lyked of by yor Lordship and all others.

Mr Hare is a weak sykly body, and refuseth to deal in yt, except the other may be in casse to perform what he shall advyse and sett downe for the surety of the chyldern and dischardge of the wyll. Yf possibly yt may be, which truly, my Lord can never be (without over great hinderance to the chyld) except such travell and paynes which may ever be taken for yt, as I know none can or wyll do, but he who is tyed to the chyld, both in natur and kynship. That your Lordship shall judge my Lord my father his meaning, nor myne, is not to make an undutyfull motion to her Majestie or her state. His Lordship hath travylled with him and hath drawn him to consent to

[1] Mr Bray has written on the margin of the letter, against this name, "Lady Wesley." He has altered the spelling to make it into a name he knew, not realising apparently that Wresley was the phonetic spelling of *Wriothesley.*

enter in to such band, with such condicion as in effecte was offered unto him before. Good my Lord, lett me by yor menes obtayn this resonable favor, the great nesesity of the cause reqyryng it and the good of one so nere yorself as the child is, depending upon yt. Myself wyll acknowledge myself bound unto your Lordship therfore, and myn have cause to pray for you ever, and thus my good Lord, resting in assured hope of yor favor and furderance to this my ernest request, with my hartye well-wyshing to you as to my owen self, I leve to troble yor Lordship, from Cowdray this 11th of December yor Lordships most assured poure cosyn and frend,

M. SOUTHAMPTON.

I must not forget to tell your Lordship *his* [Gage's] day to returne is now before Crysmas eve, and therfore must crave yor helpe for longer lybertye more speedyly as also for that as yett ther is not order takyn in any thing, nor the inventory made, neither such consideracion as they are to make unto my self perfytted which makes me with great reson the more ernest to procure his lyberty[1]."

Addressed "To my singuler good Lord the Earle of Leycester geve this." Endorsed "11th Decb. 1581."

It is evident that the Earl of Leicester moved the Queen and Court to agree to the writer's special pleading. Court feeling was with the Countess, the will was an infringement of class custom, and the widow had many friends and relatives in power. Her father's letter of the 14th December supports her loyally.

It may please yor Lordship tunderstand that after moch travaile and other conference with the executors of the late Erle of Southampton, we have att the last geven to a quiett resolution, so muche as maybe both honorable to the wife and surtye to the children. It falleth now out that the chardge of the will is so great, and so far surmounteth the matter appoynted to dischardge it, thatt without an extraordinary fidelitye, care, and attendance it is hardly possible the same may be performed without[2]
of the younge chylde.

Thereunto

The cheffe (and indeede the only) personne that is reputed likely and able by care and travaill to do good therein is my cousin Edward Gage, without whom Mr Hare (being indeede wise, learned and honest, yett weake and subject to extraordinarye infirmities, refuseth in effect all dealinge), my humble sute therfor to yor Lordship is that in this case so moche towching the well or evil doing of these chylderne, yor Lordship wolde vowchsafe to putt to yor helpinge hande for the liberty of the said Edward Gage, and yett

[1] Letter IV. Cottrell-Dormer MSS.
[2] Spaces have been left where the handwriting becomes uncertain.

lothe in any wise, to seeme forgetfull eyther of his present state, or of my duty to the honor of that bonde, and I have ernestly delt with him to frame himselfe to accept of some such band as I learne hath bin before offered, and he then refused, the rather to move all your Lordships to favour this sute for his libertye.

A note of that he is unto I sende yor Lordship herewith hoping that the same will be to your Lordships likynge. The tyme of his retorne to prison is before Crismas, and therefore I am the more bound to crave your Lordships honorable assistance and

And thus my good Lord, I doo wish unto you long and happie liffe, from my howse att Cowdraye the 14th of December 1581. Your Lordships assured friend and kynsman,

ANTHONY MOUNTAGUE[1].

It would be interesting to compare the items of the will of the first Earl of Southampton, who had made the family fortune[2], and that of the second Earl, who had neither earned nor gained nor been granted any new supplies, who had been appointed to no lucrative office and had not inherited anything from any one (except his mother), who had lost considerably through fines and imprisonment, and who had lived at an extravagant rate, even for his rank. He had willed in what was meant to be ready money in pounds 6830, in marks 1420, with many fees and annuities for life or periods of years, and "the Queen's Thirds." Edward Gage was to reduce the late Earl's dreams to the reality, and his liberty was extended on the 18th December. But Lord Montague did not use his influence, probably did not wish to do so, to shield his daughter from the search in Southampton House in Holborn ordered on the 20th December of that year.

The chief question was to find sufficient ready money for urgent needs and legacies. The heralds who conducted the funeral on 30th November, 1581, would not like to be kept waiting, nor the servants, who were to be retained for three months and leave with £40 apiece (some of them more), nor the poor bedeswomen; and there were current necessary expenses. It is perfectly certain that Lord Montague in his liberality, sympathy, and family pride, would have to advance large sums to ease the burdens of the other executors, none of them men of means like himself. The monuments could

[1] Letter XII. Cottrell-Dormer MSS.

[2] The value of the lands of Thomas, Earl of Southampton, is £1350. 10*s*. 6*d*. *Cecil Papers, Petitions*, 2138.

wait, and would have to wait; and Lord Montague was the only person concerned, who had the taste and magnificence sufficient to select and plan the design of the tomb which still survives in the little church at Titchfield.

Doubtless his influence likewise helped to hasten on the Inquisition Post Mortem. This was commenced on 30th May, 1582, and completed on the 18th June of same year at Alton, Hampshire, before the escheators[1] Benjamin Tichbourne, Thomas Vuedale, John Snell, armigers, from the statements of the friends and servants of the deceased. The list of the manors is given—Bloomsbury in Holborn, Bugle Hall or Bull Place in Southampton, Beaulieu, Titchfield, etc.; the will of the first Earl is recalled and the indenture between the second Earl and the Viscount Montague and others to protect the interests of the Countess Mary recorded, as is the Earl's will of the 10th May 11 Eliz., when his daughter the Lady Jane was his heir presumptive, with instructions what was to be done when she attained her full age (a whole sheet is wanting here, at the most interesting part).

The Inquisition then deals with the Earl's will drawn up on 24th June, 1581. The will, which was attested by Thomas Lord Paget and Thomas Dymock, was proved by Edward Gage, Gilberd Wells, Ralf Hare, Thomas Dymock on 7th November 1582, when things were settled as well as they could be at the time[2].

The contents of the office drawn after the death of Henry late Earl of Southampton[3].

First the jointure of the Countess by indenture made the 10 of February anno x^mo Rne. Eliz. between the said Earl of the one party and the Lord Mountegue and Symon Lowe of the other party.

Item that the said Earl after, by indenture dated x^mo die Maii ao x^mo Rne. Eliz. made between the said Earl of the one party and the Lord Mountegue and John Hippesley Esquere of the other party, did for the consideration therein recited covenant with the said Lord Mountague and John Hippesley, that he the said Earl and all persons &c. should stand seized of all his Lordship's manors lands and tenements to the use of the said Earl for term of his life natural without impeachment of waste and after his decease to the use of the Lord Mountague Raffe Scrope and John Hippesley their executors

[1] Inq. P. M. Eliz. Part I. 196/46. [2] Rowe, 45.

[3] Mr Gunton kindly checked my copy of some notes from *Cecil Papers*, 206. 99.

and assigns until one of the sons of the said Earl should be of the full age of 21 years, with divers remainders to his own issue and for want thereof to others upon trust that the said Lord Mountague &c. shall pay the debts and legacies of the said Earl &c. with a proviso that the said Earl may demise his manors lands and tenements aforesaid.

A proviso that the said Earl may change and alter the uses.

A proviso for leases to stand in force.

Item, the said Earl's will, That the said Earl divided and set out the third part to the Queen's Majesty and the other 2 parts to the executors for performance of his will.

The Queen's Majesty's third part descended to the young Earl.

The part left to the executors.

The tenures and values of the lands &c.

Endorsed "Contents of the Earl of Southampton's Office." Undated.

In a book called *The Sale of Wards* at the Record Office[1], it is stated that the annual sum of the property by the assets had been found on the 13th day of June 1582, to be £1097. 6*s*. 11½*d*. There is no mention of a guardian.

At the beginning of the following year a tabulated report was prepared by the executors and handed in by Lord Howard[2].

The yearly value of the Erle of Southampton his Lands as well in possession as in reversion. The yearely value of the Countess of Southampton her revenewe parcell of the Premises £362. 19*s*. 0¾*d*.

The Lands dyscended to the nowe Earle in her Majestie's hands per Annum £370. 16*s*. 8½*d*.

The Lands devysed by the late Erles last wyll to the Executors per Annum £363. 11*s*. 2¼*d*.

Summa total. £1097. 6*s*. 6½*d*.

The yerely revenue which the said Erle shall receive at his full age Imprimis his Landes which are in her Majestie's hands because of his mynoritie, and the landes which the Executors have by the devyce of the last Erle's wylle shalbe out of lease at his full age to grant which will be yearly worth £4000, over and above the said Countess' joynture being of the yerely value of £362. 19*s*. 0¾*d*.

Item, there wylbe made also by a greate fyne at the least £2000.

Item the Leases of Micheldever, Estratton and West Stratton, and of the Parsonage of Tychfield with the other leases wylbe yearly worth £400.

Sum of the said Erles yerely Revenue £4000, over and above the said Countess joynture being of the yerely rent of £362. 19*s*. 0¾*d*.

Item the Executors may not by the said Erles wyll lett or grant any

[1] Vol. 21–30 Eliz. no. 157. [2] Lansdowne MS. xxxvii. 30.

THE THIRD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON AS A BOY
(From the monument in Titchfield Church)

copyhold or ferme, but the same must be at the disposicion of the Erle at his full age.

Item that the said Erle shall have his howses well furnishyd, and stuffed with all manner of furnyture, Armor and plate, and his grounds well stocked and stored with cattell, which the executors must performe, beside the great quantitye of woode growing uppon the said Erles lands.

Lands and Leases which presentlie oughte to be in the saide Erles posession The Manor of Ytchell, purchased in the Erle's name, of the yerely value of £100.

Item the Leases of Estratton Westratton and Mycheldever, and the parsonage of Tychfield of the yearely value of £300. summa £400.

Endorsed "3rd January 1582/3. Noting of the Erle of Southampton's Leases from ye Lord Howard."

With the exception of attesting that the copy of the Earl's will made for probate was the same as that which the Earl had written, Lord Thomas Paget seems to have taken no trouble with his departed friend's testament; Charles Paget, his brother, is never heard of again and was probably absent in settling his own affairs, so that "the casting vote" on points of differences in opinion would *always lie* with Thomas Dymock; the Lord Admiral, finding this Wardship involved much trouble, some humiliation, and no present prospect of remuneration, seems to have resigned it into the Queen's hands, or sold it to Lord Burleigh.

In one of the Wriothesley Pedigrees in the British Museum[1] the note is added "Henry Earl of Southampton, now living, under age, and the Queen's Ward." No mention is made of a guardian, but later events shew that Burleigh acted as one, for the Queen as Master of the Wards. We may have gathered that the Countess rather regretted that the Earl of Leicester had not secured the office; but Lord Burleigh was in every way a better and more suitable guardian than Leicester could have been at his best.

Burleigh seems to have taken the boy away, in the first instance, to a place where Thomas Dymock dared not follow, to his own home, with only occasional visits allowed to his mother and grandfather. Lord Burleigh was very fond of children, his wife was educated up to the highest level of women's learning of the time, and his son Robert, about 12 years the young Earl's senior, a model

[1] Harl. MS. f. 44. See also his most ambitious Pedigree, Harl. Rot. O. 12.

of industry, patience, and learning. Above all, Lord Burleigh could inculcate conformity to the Queen's will in matters of religion without undue harshness; and we may be sure that never more would the boy have the courage to refuse to be present at the reading of the English service.

Lord Burleigh also knew how to manage great estates; we can well imagine him content that the recusant Edward Gage should be free so long as he did him such excellent service in the Office at Titchfield.

We have, however, no clearer information concerning the Earl's boyish education than we have concerning his childish training, except through inferences.

His grandfather would be sure to take him to see how his various manors were being kept by care-takers or tenants. He would ere long notice that there was something wanting in all of them which he found in Cowdray—the recognition of harmony, symmetry, and ordered art. The pictures of Cowdray themselves helped in his education. He would never weary of hearing his grandfather describe the portraits, the historical pictures, the curios, the carvings that surrounded them. One thing must have at some time or other bewildered the child. How was it that all this came through the "Earl of Southampton," and did not come to him? We can justly imagine he asked that question, and that the grandfather kindly and wisely explained the rather mixed relations of the two. He would probably say some such words as "Long since, my boy, our family held high place. We can trace back our descent to Edward I and Edward III and John of Gaunt[1]. But it is enough to begin with the Nevilles. Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and the Lady Alice Montacute were the parents of Richard, the great Earl of Warwick, called "the King-Maker"; their third son was Sir John, who was made the Marquis of Montacute (or Montague) by Edward IV. He was slain at the Battle of Barnet in 1471. His son George died childless, but he left five daughters, co-heiresses, by his wife Isabella Ingoldsthorpe; the eldest, Anne, married Sir William Stonor; Elizabeth married Lord Scrope of Upsall and Masham; Margaret, Sir John Mortimer; Lucy, Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam, of Aldwark, Yorkshire; and Isabel, William Huddleston. The fourth daughter,

[1] *British Archaeological Journal*, XXIII. p. 231.

Lucy Neville, lost her husband. She had several sons, who, all but the youngest, died. With that son, William, she came to Court, married my grandfather, the first Sir Anthony, and had by him one son, my father, and two daughters. William Fitzwilliam adored his mother and her younger children. He rose in the favour of Henry VIII till he was rich enough to buy Cowdray from Sir David Owen, who had got it through his wife, the heiress of the De Bohuns. Then the King made him Earl of Southampton. That is why, when he rebuilt this place, he wrought his own arms on the fretted roof—W.S. and a trefoil—and an anchor, because he was Lord Admiral. He made a settlement on *himself and wife for life*, then on my father and his male heirs. When he died, everybody thought the King would give my father the title, as he had received the property—*he deserved it!* The King let it lapse. In the reign of Edward VI, when all the Councillors but my father gave themselves titles in the name of the young King, Lord Thomas Wriothesley, your own grandfather, was offered an Earldom, proposed to be of Winchester, afterwards of Chichester; but he chose Southampton, probably because the town was near his chief manor of Titchfield. So, when Queen Mary made me a peer, I chose my title from my grandmother's pedigree, and was allowed. An Earl does take precedence of a Viscount, boy; but do not forget your mother comes of an older stock than your father's.

"And never forget, boy, that the chief value of nobility is as a training in virtue—'Noblesse oblige'; and our mottoes are to help us to bear in mind the thoughts of our ancestors.

"The first Earl of Southampton's motto was 'Loyaulté se prouera,' your grandfather's was 'Ung par tout, tout par ung,' a good motto, which is now your own, and ours is 'Suivez Raison.'

"I feel that I bear my uncle Southampton's motto as well as my father's. Grieved am I that my father never came to his great inheritance, though he had to fulfil his brother's will. It is not that I wished Mabel Clifford, his beloved wife, to die sooner (we all loved her), but I did wish and pray that my father should have lived longer and enjoyed the fruits of his strenuous labours, which all came to *me*. I try to fulfil his will, and I am completing his plans for Cowdray, which my aunt in her goodwill allowed him to use as his own till the end of his life. He had high ideas, my father;

you can see something of his designs. I strive to complete them, for him and his memory."

The boy's cousin, younger by four months, would stand by listening open-eyed, and beg some stories of their ancestors' doings—and thus young Henry Wriothesley would hear what was expected of men of his rank and learn to dream of martial glory.

The young Earl's thoughts would also unconsciously be moulded by the events of which the news and the world's criticism came to that many-voiced "House of Rumour" where Burleigh dwelt. Robert Cecil would tell him of the university life he had led, of the characters of the men he met in his guardian's galleries, of the hopes he had for England. Altogether, even as a child, the Earl might secure a much broader outlook than could ever have been given to him in the narrow-circled haunts of his father.

Meanwhile, though probably the young Earl knew nothing of it, Lord Burleigh had been making strict enquiries about all the tenants and dwellers in the various houses belonging to the property; all the more carefully because all of them would necessarily be Catholics, so strict had been the practices of the late Earl. One paper is interesting enough to give as an illustration[1].

Account of Bewley

1st. The House of Bewly occupied by Mr John Chamberlain who hath the same by Mr William Chamberlain his brother who had the same of the executors of the Earle.

And the said Mr John Chamberlain hath the personage and all the grounds within the wall, which by estimation is thought to be about fifty acres, and Mr Chamberlain pays to the Executors yearly, the some of £30. And also towards the repairing of the House yearely £5; and for surveing the cure to the Minister of Bewley £12, and the said John Chamberlain paid for his brother for a fyne during the yeres of the young Erle's minoritie the sum of £200.

The names of the persons remaining there

Mr John Chamberlain the eldest and his wife

Mr John Chamberlain his son, and Elizabeth his wife

Mrs Margaret Kingston, widow, aunt to Mr John Chamberlain the elder

Elizabeth daughter to Mr John Chamberlain the elder,

4 women servants, 6 menservants.

The names of the persons lately departed

Mr Thomas Gifford and Cycely his wife and Mary Lyon

[1] Lansdowne MS. XLIII. (63).

Mr Michael Chamberlain and Elizabeth his wife
Another Chambermaid with Mr Gifford, Two men of Mr Gifford's
Mr Richard Chamberlain his servants, Ursula Trussell his maide
Elizabeth Hussey her kinswoman, Thomas Jennings and Nicholas Lockley
Item, about the Hay, Mr Chamberlain has from certain meadows called the Fulling Mill lande for which he paid for during the minority of the Earle to Mr Coxe and Mr Dudson, my Lord Chamberlain's servants £10. Mem. All these notes are set down by me John Chamberlain the Younger and Elizabeth his Mother.

8th daie of Maie 1585. (Signatures of attesting witnesses)

The Chamberlains had been well-known servants of the second Earl.

One would hardly expect to find much about the young Earl in Church Records, yet there are some references which do concern him, directly as well as indirectly. Southampton House was in the Parish of St Andrew's, Holborn, and that living was in the family gift. Ely Place, the residence of his grandfather until the days of Edward VI, stood just to the west of the church, as may be seen in the old map in the British Museum Print Room, bound up with the Cowdray pictures. His grandmother, the Countess Jane, had appointed Ralph Whytlin[1] as Rector in 1558. John Proctor[2], a literary man, was appointed on his death in 1578 (*Humphrey Donat pro hac vice ratione advoc. ei concess. per Henry Com. Southampton*). On his death in 1584 the distinguished Dr Bancroft succeeded, and remained Rector until 1597, when he was raised to the Bishopric of London; and the Queen had taken the Royal Privilege of nominating the successor when the Crown had promoted the incumbent. On raising the Rector to the Bishopric of London, she appointed John King, S.T.B., 10th May, 1597. So we may gather the character of the men who, during his life, officiated in the church which the Earl was bound to attend when he was dwelling in his Bloomsbury house.

About the appointment of Bancroft we have some information from Nicolas. Sir Christopher Hatton had written to Lord Burleigh to allow his Chaplain, Dr Richard Bancroft, to hold the Rectory of St Andrew's. Burleigh replied[3]:

[1] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, I. p. 272.
[2] He wrote the story of Wyat's rebellion.
[3] Nicolas, *Life of Sir Christopher Hatton*, p. 384.

I perceive by your courteous letters, your desire to procure your Chaplain Mr Bancroft to succeed in the place of the parson of St Andrews, lately deceased, the patronage of which belonging to the Earl of Southampton now in Wardship and so as you suppose, to be disposed of by us. Herein I am very willing, both for your own sake, and for Mr Bancroft, being very meet for the place, to do what in me lieth. The doubt I have is that the patronage appertaineth to the Earl in right of his house in Holborn, that was aforetime the Bishop of Lincoln's, and then the right of presentation belongs to the executors, whereof one of the heirs is principal, and Edward Gage another, and one Wells another, with whom you may do well to deal; and if it be not in them, you shall have my assent. And for the better knowledge thereof, I have given your chaplain my letter to the Auditor of the Wards, who can best inform you whether it remains to the Queen or to the Executors. From my house at Theobald's the 6th of August 1584 Yours assuredly as any

W. Burleigh.

Backed by Sir Christopher Hatton and Lord Burleigh, Dr Bancroft was bound to succeed with the executors, even if it were in their gift; and Newcourt says it was. Bancroft was appointed 14th September 1584. Something else happened in St Andrew's Church, in the following year, very much more interesting to the young Earl. We find from the Bishop of London's Marriage Licences[1] that his only sister Mary was married there in June 1585. Though the Bishop of London was quite sure about the bride, he (or his clerk), for he was but a new-made Bishop, was not quite so sure about the bridegroom. He said he was "Sir Matthew Arundle Knt.," whereas the name should have read "Mr Thomas, son of Sir Matthew Arundle Knt." (It is pleasant to note this flagrant error, as so many have tried to fix scandal upon Shakespeare[2] by a clerk's error in his marriage licence at Worcester.) Taken in full the entry should have read—"Mr Thomas Arundel son of Sir Matthew Arundel Knight and Mary Wrisley (Wriothesley) spinster, daughter of Henry, late Earl of Southampton, to marry in the Chapel of Mary Countess of Southampton in St Andrew's, Holborn." We do not know who married them, as they were both Catholics and probably would have a private marriage first. Here was the very thing the young Earl would delight in—a real brother-in-law, all

[1] *Harleian Publications*, vol. xxv. 140.

[2] See my *Shakespeare's Family*, p. 62, and *Shakespeare's Environment*, p. 92.

his own, young, and yet old enough in his thirteen extra years of life to have travelled, to have been imprisoned for his faith (in 1580), to have had military training and service so thorough that he had been designated "the Valiant"; a man who could fill the young Earl's soul with the stories that he most desired, of war and foreign fields and glory. Burleigh and his son Robert were too pacific to stimulate that side of their ward's nature. This Thomas was the son of Sir Matthew, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Willoughby[1] of Wollaton, Notts, known to gossip as a shrew.

The lady would be a mother-in-law that her son's wife must have somewhat dreaded. The Wriothesleys were of the new nobility, the Arundels were oldest of the old. Many Earls were in their pedigree, some Dukes, and a few Queens.

Thomas Arundel subscribed £100 to help the English fleet against the Armada in 1588, as he was then engaged in fighting against the Turks in Hungary[2]. All shades of Christians could unite then in thrusting back the Infidels. The Emperor Rudolf II, on 14th December, 1595, made him a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, a title that Elizabeth did not allow him to assume. He succeeded to his father as owner of Wardour in 1598, and was made Baron in 1605. Many letters about his troubles appear among the *Salisbury Papers*.

Thomas had a highly cultured younger brother, William, who probably attracted young Southampton to art and literature[3].

[1] See *New Review*, Oct.–Dec. 1889, p. 542.

[2] G. E. C. His wife Mary Wriothesley died on 27th June, 1607, and was buried at Tisbury, Wilts. He married again, and had a son baptized at St Andrew's, Holborn—"Matthew the son of Thomas Lord Arundell baptized 19th June 1609." Both Lord Thomas and his wife were buried at Tisbury, Wilts.

[3] Pym Yeatman's *House of Arundel* and Vivian's *Visitation of Cornwall*.

CHAPTER III

THE EARL'S FIRST ASSOCIATION WITH ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

In the autumn of the year 1585 the Earl's guardian sent him to the University. He was admitted at St John's College, Cambridge, as Fellow-Commoner at Michaelmas 1585. In the Register is the entry "Ego Henricus comes Southamptoniensis admissus eram in alumnum huius Collegii diui Johannis Euangelistae decimo sexto die Octobris anno Domini 1585" (St John's College). "Dec. 11, 1585, Hen. Comes Southampton impubes 12 annorum admissus in Matriculam Acad. Cant:" (Matric. University). There, young as he was, he would meet with other youths of the same age, all engaged in mental work in various branches of learning. Even at this stage in his life, we learn few details concerning him; yet we have the broad general appreciative testimony of Camden: "Edward VI, conferred the title on Thomas Wriothesley[1] Lord Chancellor... and his grandson Henry, by Henry his son now enjoys that title, who, in his younger years, has armed the nobility of his birth, with the ornaments of Learning and military arts, that in his riper years, he may employ them in the service of his country."[2] Henry Wriothesley did not find a fellow-student at College (as his grandfather had done) enthusiastic enough to record his youthful beauties, his "golden hair," his talent for acting, his dabbling in the Muses' fount, attributed by Leland to Thomas Wriothesley[2] in his *Encomia*. But, on this one side of his character, he does seem to have inherited his literary and histrionic tastes from that grandfather.

Some of his College exercises were sent to Lord Burleigh, to allow him to measure the exactitude of his scholarship and the excellence of his caligraphy. These are hardly worth giving *in extenso*, as it is not at all likely that the thoughts expressed were his own. It is most likely that a sample of supposed good English had been given him to translate into good Latin. The earliest I have seen is endorsed "June 1586," wherein he proves to his own

[1] *Britannia*, p. 123. [2] See *Addenda*.

satisfaction the soundness of the title "Igitur laboriosa juventutis studia sunt, jucunda senectutis otia."[1] It is written in a beautiful clear Italian handwriting, upright, and obedient to a broad margin on the left hand, but breaking through the proportional margin to the right, crowding the letters. He signed it with a larger, bolder hand, modelled upon that of his father, and, like that of the other *jeunesse dorée* of his day, acutely angular.

Another similar exercise has been preserved, dated July 22nd, 1586[2]. He must have had approval of this, or he would not have sent it to his guardian. It is written in a similar handwriting. The title was "Omnes ad studium virtutis incitantur spe premii." He gives his arguments in correct Latin, but he must have somewhat varied his text, as he ends with the title modified in his conclusion, "Facile igitur videri potest quod omnes ad studium virtutis incitantur spe gloriae."

By the following year, Latin letters took the place of Latin exercises to send to his guardian, and there the thoughts and composition were probably his own, as well as the Latin. He wrote to thank Lord Burleigh for taking care of his affairs:

Magnas tibi gratias ago (honoratissime Domine) quod res mea tibi tantopere curae sunt utinam gratitudinem tibi ostendere possem aut saltem aliquo modo eam significare sed obsecro (quia his Nuntius tam cito discessit ut tempus non erat satis longum ad scribendum amplius hoc tempore) ut in bonam partem accipies hanc meam brevem epistolam posthac spondeo et polliceor me te et pluribus verbis et sepius velle affari et te oro ut quemadmodum cepisti mihi in omnibus rebus, opem prestari, ita pergas facere id quod facis et ita me tibi semper deuinctum curabis. Deus te servet incolumem. Cantabrigiae x Junii 1587 Honori tui deuinctissimus.

H. SOUTHAMPTON[3].

The writing is not quite so careful as that of the two essays. The right-hand margin is still somewhat crowded by completions of words.

Several letters of a similar handwriting are preserved in a volume of the Lansdowne manuscripts (No. XVII), some of which suggest that they had been written by the writing master who had taught the young Earl this style.

As was to be expected, a will like the second Earl's produced a plentiful crop of little law-suits, which of course meant expenditure

[1] Lansdowne MS. L. f. 23.
[2] *Cecil Papers, MS.* 302.
[3] Lansdowne MS. LIII. f. 51.

of the estate, whichever side won. For instance, there is one noted in the *Book of Wards and Liveries*[1]. "Charles Lord Howard, Lord Admiral of England *Committee* of the bodye and landes of Henry Earl of Southampton, her Majestys Ward, hath on behalf of the said Earl exhibited a bill in this court, against the executors of Henry late Earl father of the ward, to have the yearly leases of Micheldever, Stratton, and Titchfield parsonages, which are let on lease to divers persons until the said young Earl shall accomplish his age of 18 years," the first two for the yearly rent of £40. 13*s*. 4*d*., and Titchfield for the yearly rent of £100; and various days had been appointed for the meeting of the learned counsel on both sides and debating the question, and "it hath plainely appeared unto this court, that the rents and profits of the said leases in right and equitie appertayne properly to the said ward, and that the late Earle his father could not justly by will or otherwise, dispose of these leases, as pretended by the executors, the same being devised unto the howe young Earle by the last will of Jane Countess of Southampton his grandmother, and the said late Earl having no interest in the same but only as executor to the Lady Jane. It is therefore ordered that the farmers of the parsonages shall henceforth during the minority of the young Earl, pay yearly to the Lord Treasurer, who is now *Committee* of the said Ward, to the use of the young Earl, their yearely rents of £40. 13*s*. 4*d*., and of £100, and the Lord Treasurer will give them a receipt, which will secure them, and also the executors, against the young Earl and any other person. As the young Earl is now grown into some years, whereby the small exhibition allowed by her Highness sufficeth not for his convenyent mayntenance and expense, which exhibition is so much the less and cannot conveniently be increased by reason that the said Earl's lands in her majesties hands during the minoritie are but of small value because of several conveyances made by the late Earl for yearly payments of annuities, and the dischardge of great dettes by him owing for certain legacies given by him, it is therefore ordered that the said rents be made payable to the Lord Treasurer to defray the necessary expenses and honorable mayntenance of the young Earl over and above the small annuity allowed him by the Queen, as appertain to the estate and years of the young Earl."

[1] Vol. LXXXV, Trinity, 28 Eliz.

Thus were the greater expenses of his University life met.

In the Hilary term of the following year Richard Kingsmill Esq.[1], her Majesty's Attorney for Henry, Earl of Southampton, her Majesty's ward, complained that the Earl's father was in his lifetime lawfully seized in demesne as of fee, in the Manor of Broadhenbury in the parish of Broadhenbury, Co. Devon, and in the grange thereof and of divers other lands, and about five years last past died seized. They descended to the young Earl, but the tenants and farmers paid their tithes to the Vicar of Broadhenbury. The grounds were formerly parcel of the Abbey, and at the dissolution belonged to Henry VIII, to whom they paid their tithes. Now Roger Carre, Vicar of Broadhenbury, hath commenced a suit sent before Thomas Barrett, Archdeacon and officer to the Bishop of Exon., against Thomas Ellis, one of the tenants, for his tithes, which ought not to be paid, contrary to the ancient custom, and the disherison of the young Earl." The answer is dated 31st Oct. 1588. Roger Carre knew of a truth the lands belonged to the young Earl, but having heard that the previous Vicar had tithes, he had begun suit for them On hearing that he ought not to have done so, he apparently gave in.

Another bill in the same Court, in the same term of the following year, lay nearer home. Thomas Dymock, Gent.[2], on behalf of Henry, Earl of Southampton, her Majesty's ward, complains that Richard Pitts, being an ill neighbour to his Park at Whiteley Park, Co. Southampton, came with others by night and stole the deer therefrom, with guns, dogs, etc., and beat the keepers. This suggests that Thomas Dymock was employed as Steward still. His interest in Whiteley Park was great. He was paid for living in it, to keep it for the young Earl, and his perquisites were large.

Lord Montague had written to Sir William More[3] on the 28th of June, 1584, telling him about a cause in law which would affect the interests both of Lord Southampton and of his own son Anthony, and begging Sir William to try to procure an equal trial, free from any indirect practices. I have not been able to determine to which case this refers.

The threatening attitude of Spain caused an enquiry into the

[1] Court of Wards and Liveries, Hil., 29 Eliz., Bundle 27.
[2] *Ibid.* Hil., 30 Eliz., Bundle 29. [3] *Loseley Papers*, x. 96.

amount of armour in the country. The supplies at Titchfield were not forgotten[1]. Hence ensued, 24th February, 1586–7, "A letter to the executors of the Erle of Southampton, that forasmuche as her Majestie thinketh it convenient, that the armor, weapons and suche like furniture belonging to the young Erle of Southampton, and remayning at his house at Tytchefelde, should be removed from thence and committed to the custody of some person who should looke into the same to be so kept and preservid that it might nether be increased or diminished, nor fall into decaye by meanes of rust or otherwise, nor to come to the handes of any ill affected persons, the rather in respecte of the doubtfullnes of theis times, of some forraine attemptes that might be intendid upon the seacost of that shire, and, namely, at Portesmouth, her Highnes' will and pleasure is, and so she hathe willed us to signifye unto you, that ye shall make delivery of suche armour, weapons and furniture as is at Tychfelde unto suche person or persons whome our very good Lord the Erle of Sussex shall direct unto yow to receave the same, which shalbe by bylle indented betwixt them and you, to the end that both the quantities and sortes thereof maye be knowne and annswerid hereafter, and in the meane time carefully looked unto, the better to preserve the same to the use of the said Erle hereafter or otherwise of her Majesty, if nede shoulde requier to use the same for her Majesties service upon any occasion happening thereof against forraine enemies or other ill attemptes; in which case if any parte of the said armor and munition shoulde happen to be decayed or diminished, allowance shalbe made thereof by her Majestye as reason is."

On June 14th, 1587, the Earl of Southampton's armour is to be scoured and dressed by his Executors. A Royal Order in the State Papers[2] supports and expresses this order.

Southampton might well have been present at his holiday time as a spectator of a comedy played at Gray's Inn on the 16th January, 1587–8. Most of the great noblemen are recorded to have been present: the Earls of Warwick and Leicester, the Earl of Ormond, Lord Burleigh, Lord Gray of Wilton, and others. On the 28th of February following, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, written by

[1] Privy Council Register, XIV. 340.
[2] D.S.S.P. Eliz. CCII. 25.

Thomas Hughes, was acted by eight of the members of the Society before the Queen at Greenwich, and he might have seen that also.

The very next day the Earl of Southampton was admitted member of Gray's Inn, introduced by his guardian. But that did not necessitate his leaving Cambridge until all his terms had been kept.

About the same time Francis Bacon offered to produce a masque for Lord Burleigh. So the young Lord had at least the opportunities of seeing dramatic performances other than those of his own College.

The young student had not passed these years of his life without hearing something of the great national and European events. He would know of the mysterious wooing of Elizabeth by the Duc d'Anjou, of his brother's death and his succession, of his arrested courtship inherited by the Duc d'Alençon; and his mind would draw his own conclusions from the results. He would hear of the doings of the Scottish Queen from both sides—from the most enthusiastic admirers and the most unfriendly critics. He would hear of the undeserved execution of Edward Arden of Park Hall, on a charge of supposed conspiracy; of the real conspiracy of Francis Throgmorton, abetted by some of those who, before he was born, had been imprisoned in the Tower along with his father. He would gather suggestions of the increasing determination of the Pope to regain his toll of Peter's Pence from England; of the lazy preparations of Philip II of Spain to invade England; of the exciting stories of Sir Francis Drake's dashing and successful exploits in the West Indies and at the very gates of Spain; of Sir Philip Sidney's escape from Court with his beloved Fulke Greville, to take possession of his grant of 300,000 acres of land in Virginia "yet to be discovered"; of their flight to Plymouth to embark with Sir Francis Drake[1]; of Elizabeth's parental chase after them to bring them back to Court on their allegiance; of Sir Philip's permission to go, under his uncle the Earl of Leicester, to the Low Country wars, there to be wounded, and, denied the loving attendance of Fulke Greville, to die after lingering pain, embalmed for ever in the hearts of poets in the odour of romance. He would hear also of the urgent collection of the Subsidies to secure the sinews of war. His property does not seem to have been assessed, but

[1] This must have been in September, 1585.

the contrasts in the assessments of the people among whom he moved are both mysterious and interesting. So I give a small selection.

Lord Burleigh entered his lands as worth 200 marks, and was assessed at £8. 17*s.* 9*d.* in 1586; Robert, Earl of Leicester, owned £300 in land and paid £20, as did Edward, Earl of Rutland, on 26th May, 1587; Viscount Montague had £500 worth of land, for which he paid £33. 6*s.* 8*d.*, the same sum as Philip, Earl of Arundel; Henry, Earl of Sussex, had only 200 marks in land and paid the same as Burleigh; Henry, Earl of Pembroke, paid £40 on £600 worth of land; William, Earl of Worcester on £200 worth paid £13. 6*s.* 8*d.*; Elizabeth, Countess of Lincoln, on the same extent of land paid the same subsidy; Mary, Countess of Southampton, upon £120 worth of land paid £8; Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton, on £100 worth paid £6. 8*s.* 4*d.* The need for preparedness increased.

The young Lord would hear, horror-struck, the joy-bells of the churches ringing on the execution of the Scottish Queen, whom all Catholics were bound to consider the legal, if not the elected, Queen of England. Then Philip, giving up further delays, hastened his preparations to invade in his own right and with his own claims to the Crown. Southampton would see his guardian's brows knit in anxious thought how to evade the consequences of Henry VIII's actions; he would hear of the massing of men all over the country; he would fret at his trammelled youth, desirous to do something, to win "glory." Was he present with the Court at the Queen's review of her land forces at Tilbury, when the first nobleman who appeared was his grandfather (loyal to his country, in spite of his faith) leading 200 men fed, clothed, and armed by himself "to see that no stranger should land"? With him were Anthony, his son and heir, his other sons, George and Henry, some of his brothers, and a "fair young child," all mounted on horseback and leading their bands, to shew that Montague at least was willing to risk his all in the Queen's cause—and that "fair child" was Southampton's own cousin, born four months after him in Cowdray Park! The example of Montague had a weighty influence among loyal Catholics and it gave profound discouragement to the Pope's allies. We know this through "A copy of a letter left by the priest Leigh in his cell when he was taken to execution, edited and

published by Richard Field, and printed for him by J. Vautrollier, in Blackfriars." We do not know whether young Southampton in rivalry fled with his former "Committee" Lord Howard, to be taken aboard his man-of-war on the great occasion; or if he attempted to move some of his younger friends who had secured boats to rush to the sea and follow Drake to victory. He would have no money to secure a boat for himself, and fatherless youth no doubt became bitter to him for awhile.

There was a certain Mr William Harvey, a friend of his mother's, who prepared to go, and signalised himself at sea. How the boy would envy him. It may be well to introduce him formally here, as he becomes very important to the family in later years.

The Thomas Harvey[1] of Henry VIII's reign had four sons, John, Nicholas, Francis, and Anthony. The second son distinguished himself as "the Valiant Esquire," and was the challenger at some of Henry's VIII's jousts. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam (widow of Sir Thomas Mauleverer), by whom he had issue Sir Thomas, who had only two daughters. Sir Nicholas married second Bridget, daughter of Sir John Wiltshire (and widow of Sir Richard Wingfield). They had issue Sir George Harvey, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Henry Harvey Esq.; the latter married Jane, daughter of James Thomas of Glamorgan, and his son and heir was this William; he had also two daughters. Now this William seems to have been left poor and without influence; but he was capable, hard-working, and ambitious. He had travelled, he had served in the Low Countries, he had kept his ears and eyes open and his mouth shut. So he was able to write a letter to Elizabeth on the 20th December, 1585[2], giving a private account of the keeping of the Netherlands and of Calais, of the friends on whom she might reckon, of the men she should "decipher." He advised action on Sir Thomas Cecil's part, encouragement of the Colonies in Terra Virginea, and the increase of the Navy. He stated the amount of money in the ship taken by Sir Richard Grenville as 600,000 ducats by Register.

You may quiet King Philip by Portugal and Barbary, without any charge, in order to get possession of King Philip's purse, the cause of so many wars.

[1] Hasted's *Kent*, I. 136; Collins' Peerage, G. E. C.
[2] Cotton MS. Galba, c. VIII. 222.

Brancha Leone, a Florentine and near companion of Parries, sometime a follower of Sir E. Hobbies, now governing the French Ambassador is a person necessary to be noted, as a malicious practiser, poisoner, and intelligencer, near of kin to the Bishop of Paris, by whom he is here mayntayned. Thus, right gracious sovereign in obeying your commandment, I have here set downe my knowledge in the premises, commending them humbly to your Majesties high wisdome, censure, and secrecy wherewith in all lowly duetie I furnish you. Your Majesties loyall devoted pore servant

W. H.

P.S. It may please your Majestie withal to make a Salamander of these my papers and observations, for I have none to behold or trust to but yourself, nor after your life any assurance in earth to build on. Be good to me therefore in tyme, lest I perish by necessitie. "*In fide et sedulo sit princeps propensior quam in caeteris.*"

Now, this man William Harvey had his chance at the Armada time and took it. Though Elizabeth does not seem to have rewarded him, and though his name has not entered into the official or scholastic histories of the period, he was shrouded in an atmosphere of romance with his contemporaries[1].

Another man whom Southampton would know was the cousin of his cousin, Anthony Copley, afterwards to be mixed up with Cobham and Grey. He was then living abroad, for the sake of freedom and religion. He would have liked to have come home at the Armada—he only wanted toleration in religion, but was determined to keep all foreign powers out of England. He was a minor poet and wrote quaintly[2].

In his *Answer to a disjesuited gentleman* (i.e. his cousin), he tells a story[3] that probably came over long before in correspondence. "Did I not see, after our firing the Spanish Fleet in the narrow seas, the young Prince of Ascoli at his fugitive arrival at Dunkirk the morrow after when the Duke of Parma entertained him on the Strond, him (I say) in answer to the Duke's question what news of the Armado, uncap himself, and grining towards Heaven swear by it, that he thought not onelie all the foure elements were Lutheran that night, and all the morning, but also God Himself, so blasphemous was his Spanish Spirit."

[1] Baker's *Chronicles*, 2nd edition. Richard Field's pamphlet of the *Jesuit's letter*.

[2] He was author of *A Fig for Fortune* and *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*

[3] p. 62.

After the excitement of the Armada died down, Sir Thomas Arundel wrote to Lord Burleigh on Oct. 25, 1588[1]; the letter begins: "If I importune your Lordship in the behalf of the Earl of Southampton concerning the New Forest my love and care of this young Earl enticeth me....Beauly, the most ancient house that he hath is so near the Forest...the very situation may be of sufficient force to persuade. Your Lordship did helpe the Earl of Rutland, in his nonage to the Forest of Sherwood.... Your Lordship doth love him....Such as have good wills together with great minds are not so soon won any way as with favour, neither is any favour so thankfully taken and so long remembered of men, as that which they receive in their minority. That my Lord of Pembroke (his most feared co-rival) having neither land nor house near thereunto should, as it were by a perpetuity, bear the Forest from him in his own sphere and joining to his doors, were a great discourtesy. I may more truly say, a wrong.

From Ichell 25th October, 1588."

In spite of all these distractions Southampton managed to do good work in his College.

In the following year Southampton took his degree—"Reg. Acad. Cantab. Henricus Wriothesley Comes Southampton Cooptatus in ordinem Magistrorum in artibus per gratiam, June 6th 1589, St John's College."[2]

In Burleigh's Diary there is a note made that autumn:

6th October 1589 Henry Co. Southampton erat aetatis 16 annorum
Edward Co. Bedford erat aetatis 15 annorum
Roger Co. Rutland erat aetatis 13 annorum[3]

It was not that the 6th of October was the birthday of all three—it was only that of Southampton and Rutland. They were all Burleigh's wards. I think he was comparing their ages for a certain purpose. Southampton, having already graduated, could write himself down a Master in Arts; and it was not the fault of his guardian that he could not also write himself "Benedick the married man."

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, III. 365.
[2] *University Register*.
[3] The relative ages of these three are too often forgotten, and their strange relations to each other in later years.

CHAPTER IV

PROPOSALS FOR MARRIAGE

THE story of Southampton's life for the next few years has not been fully followed or understood. The present writer has sketched it in the preface to her edition of the *Sonnets*, in *The Athenæum*[1], and in her *Shakespeare's Environment*[2]. But much needs yet to be discovered. The guardianship of a royal ward at that time generally included what was technically called "his marriage," that is, the right to choose him a partner for life, to make all arrangements, and to receive a sum of money for the transaction. There were certain limitations as to rank, property, and suitability of the proposed lady, but mutual affection was rarely considered as a real or a necessary condition. Burleigh had been successful in marrying his children into noble families. He was very pleased when he wrote in his Diary that the Earl of Oxford wished to marry his daughter Anne. But it had been an unhappy marriage, and his daughter had died on June 5th, 1588. The careful statesman was now doing his best to ensure her daughter Elizabeth a happier life. She had been born on July 2nd, 1575, and was therefore of suitable enough age for Southampton. Burleigh's own wife, Lady Mildred, "fell asleep in Westminster" on April 5th, 1589, and was buried beside her daughter, the Countess of Oxford, in Westminster. Lord Oxford was careless as a family man, and Burleigh felt himself bound to be mother and grandmother to the girl, as well as grandfather. Now, he really liked his brilliant young ward, he trusted him, he approved of his property and the dwellings he would have to live in on his coming of age—a little ready money put into them as the bride's dower would make them quite satisfactorily comfortable to settle in for life. There is no allusion at any time to the inclinations of the young lady, but the matter had evidently been well discussed with the youth and with his immediate relations. They had agreed readily enough; the bridegroom elect's one idea was how to postpone decision.

[1] March 19th and 26th, 1898. [2] p. 135.

Many writers have described Southampton as a lascivious youth; but there is not the slightest authority for such a statement. The facts, which have been twisted so as to support that opinion, are capable of a very different explanation, as will be seen hereafter.

We must remember that he had no evil predisposing tendencies from hereditary influences. His grandfather Southampton, whatever his other faults may have been, was noted for conjugal devotion. His father, it is true, had at the end of his disappointed life lost his early affection for his wife; but the only authority we have concerning him was that he had kept his vows of wedlock. His grandfather Browne was noted for the chastity of his thought, speech, and behaviour; he was indeed "a very perfect, gentle knight."[1] In regard to his environment and training, Burleigh was a very safe guide in questions of morality, and he kept a watchful eye over the youth's motions for his own sake. Further, the young man was full of occupation. He had to read law at Gray's Inn to please his guardian; to make a figure at Court to please the Queen; to prepare for war in order to be able, if need be, to defend his country; and to study literature and the arts to please himself. So he had no temptation through idleness and *ennui*. Through all his interests there floated the memory of his College paper—"All men are incited to study through the hope of *glory*!" Since the death of his mother's relative and good friend, the Earl of Leicester, he had come more into contact with Leicester's stepson, the Earl of Essex. To Southampton Essex became the ideal knight, to whom he was willing to become esquire, or even page. Southampton's first love came in the shape of a man; his heart had no room as yet for love of woman. The youth had no active disinclination to the Lady Elizabeth, but he had a very strong disinclination to be fettered by any ties that did not leave him free to follow his own career. I do not know exactly on what terms he stood with Burleigh in regard to his granddaughter. Southampton may have said that possibly in some remote future he might learn to love her. His mother and grandfather evidently appreciated the advantages of this match. Theirs was but a new nobility compared with the Veres; their faith was a proscribed faith, and what a shield the Lord Treasurer could

[1] *Life of Magdalen Lady Montague.*

be to them against the most unpleasant consequences of conscientious devotion! Everything waited for the bridegroom-elect.

Burleigh had become suspicious at his delay and feared a possible rival. He was not accustomed to be trifled with, and said so. The following straightforward letter from Sir Thomas Stanhope[1] removed one of his causes of annoyance.

Ryght honorable, my humble duty premised, yt may please the same to understand, that of late I have been advysed by some of my friends about how it should be reported, that whilst I lay in London I sought to have the Earl of Southampton in marriage for my daughter; that I offered with her £3000 in money and £300 by yere for threescore yeres &c. Even true it is my Lord, that I have been beholding to my Lady of Southampton of long tyme, and so was I to my Lord her late husband during his lyf, and therfor bothe I and my wyfe did willingly our dutyes to see her when helth did permitte. Unto her Ladyship I appele yff she can apeche me of such simplicity or presumption as to intrude myselfe, or of the meaning of so treacherous a part towarde your honor, having evermore found myself so bound unto you as I have donne, I name it treachery, because I heard before then, you intended a matche that waye to the Lady Vayre (Vere) to whom you know also, I am akin. And my Lord, I confesse that talking with the Countess of Southampton thereof she told me you had spoken to her in that behalf. I replyed she should doo well to take holde of it, for I knew not whear my Lord her sonne should be better bestowed. Herself could tell what a stay you would be to him and his, and for perfect experience did teache her how beneficial you had been unto that Lady's father (though by hym littell deserved). She answered I sayd well, and so she thought, and would in good fayth doo her best in the cause, but sayth she I doo not fynd a disposition in my sonne to be tyed as yett, what wilbe hereafter time shall trye, and no want shalbe found on my behalfe. I think once or twyse such like wordes we had and not to any other effecte, which I referre to her Ladyship's creditt to tell, who I thinke will no ways dissemble with your Honor in any cawse. For other part of honorable curtasyes both to my wyfe and dowghter I found myself much bownd to her for she bade us twyse to her house. And herself having occasion to come with my Lord her son to Mr Harvies' house of the warde, I did all that in me was to invite them to a simple supper at my house, being the next house adjoyning. And this, most honorable, hathe been all my proceeding that way, for yf it can be proved I made any attempt, or had the thought of anything that way, let me lose my credit with your Honor, and with all the world besydes, whiche truly I would not doe for the wourthe of the best marriage that ever my daughter shall have, and yet Sir, I love her very well, and have given her

[1] D.S.S.P. Eliz. XXXIII. 11.

advice accordingly, and would be as glad to bestowe her thereafter. Thus much my very good Lord, in discharge of my humble duty, I have presumed as beforesayd, and I shall (wish) yor Honor fynd me faytheful, in all the service I can, though not able to be thankeful as I desire. So praying for the continuance of yor good helthe and long lyfe I humbly take my leave. Shelford, this 15th of July 1590. Yor Honors humble cousin to command

(Sir) THOMAS STANHOPE

The summer passed on, and the Queen did not reach Cowdray in her progress. Montague was invited instead to come and see the Queen at Oatlands[1]. Lord Burleigh was puzzled. He could not understand any intelligent young man in his senses refusing such an eligible offer. He had a good long talk over the matter with Lord Montague when he was at Oatlands, and gave him advice how to act when he had his grandson alone with him.

That nobleman wrote him as soon as he could after he got home.

My very good Lord[2],

As I well remember your late speach to me at Otelands, touching my Lord of Southampton, so I have nott forgotten, so carefully as I might, and orderly as I could, to acquaint first his mother, and then himself therewithal, his Lordship late being with me at Cowdray. And being desirowse as orderly as I could, and as effectually as I was able to satisfye your Lordship of my knowledge in the matter, I thought itt best likely of, and I hope most liking to your Lordship to returne unto you what I find. First my daughter affirms upon her faith and honor that she is not acquaynted with any alteration of her sonnes mynd from this your grandchild. And wee have layd abrode unto hym both the comodityes and hindrances likely to grow unto him by chaunge; and indeede receave to our perticular speach this generall answer that your Lordship was this last winter well pleased to yeld unto him a further respite of one yere to enshure resolution in respecte of his younge yeres. I answered that this yere which he speaketh of is nowe almost upp and therefore the greater reason for your Lordship in honor and in nature to see your child well placed and provided for, wherunto my Lord gave me this answere and was content that I shoulde imparte the same to your Lordship. And this is the most as towching the matter I can now acquaint yor Lordship with. The care of his personne, and the circumstances of him, I can butt most effectually recommend to your Lordship's ruling. I mean God willing, and my dawghter also, at the beginning of the term to be in London, and then by your Lordship's favour will more particularly discourse with you, and will be sure to frame myself (God assisting me) to your Lordship's liking in this matter; and in the mean tyme require the

[1] *Loseley Papers.* [2] D.S.S.P. Eliz. XXXIII. 71.

continuance of your Lordship's very good will and opinion, and being loth to be tediowse wish to your Lordship all honor health and happiness, Fro my house at Horsley 19th September 1590, Your Lordship's assured t command

ANTHONY BROWNE.

Lord Montague was probably at West Horsley, taking possession His father had built it for his second wife, and had interwoven th arms of the Geraldines with his own, as he left it for her to dwel in; which she did.

She probably died in that house, and certainly was buried i that year[1]. She would be of a strange interest to the young Earl, fo she was Elizabeth, Countess of Lincoln—not only "the fai Geraldine" of Surrey's Sonnets, but a connection by marriage o his own. While still a girl of 15, she had married the second Si Anthony Browne (not by any means so old a man as her, or as his biographers make out, as I have shewn in his *Life*)[2]. Some time afte his death she married Sir Edward Clinton, afterwards Earl o Lincoln, and they lived much at her dower house at West Horsley As Viscount Montague's sister married her brother Gerald, Earl o Kildare, there was a double connection, and a certain famil acquaintance. In her will she desired little expense in he funeral, as expenses do no good to the dead, and sometime hinder the living. She left to the Queen her emerald ring; to th Earl of Kildare her best bed and other remembrances; "to th Lord Montague the six pieces of hangings of the Story of Hercule which usually hang in my great chamber at Horsley," and all he

[1] Beside her second husband, the Earl of Lincoln, in St George's Chape Windsor. All authorities are wrong in the date of her death, even G. E. C who says she made her will in March 1589, proved May 1589. I knew thi to be impossible, for I had seen a letter of hers among the Loseley Paper about poaching in the Park, dated 8th December 1589, with her clea beautiful signature shewing no sign of age or illness. Another letter ther from Lord Howard backing up her application was dated the 9th c December 1589. I went to Somerset House and found her will (Somerse House, 21 Drury). To my surprise the probate *was* dated March 13th 158 so that I saw it must have been by the old calendar. But on reading th will I found that it had been originally copied as having been drawn up o 15th April, 30th Eliz., which would be 1588; but a tiny interpolation c "one and" made it 31 Eliz., that is, 1589. It had not been finally correctec hence the errors. But, as it was quite evident that a will could not hav been proved in March 1589 if it were written in April of that year, th officer in charge has now corrected it. So that March 1589 should rea 1589–90.

[2] See *Addenda*.

brewing implements and the brewing house there. To Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald of her Majesty's Pensioners and to her niece Lettice Coppinger she left remembrances, to her sister Margaret substantial aid; also "to my nephew Francis Ainger and his wife Douglas. To Sir William More (of Loseley) 5 pieces of hangings of the story of Abraham, and to my cousin George More 5 pieces at Horsley. To Sir Thomas Heneage one piece of plate worth £20, and to Mr Roger Manners one piece worth £15." She speaks of her daughters, but they must have been her stepdaughters. Her executors were to be her cousin Sir Henry Grey, her nephew Gerald Fitzgerald, and her nephew Francis Ainger; her overseers Sir Christopher Hatton and Lord Cobham.

Till the end of 1590 Southampton was far too busily occupied to think much of such trifles as love-making, or of such plans as those of matrimony. He knew that the Queen was yielding in her foreign policy and that she was about to send help to Henry IV of France, this time under the Earl of Essex. The form of "glory" Southampton sought was to be had in following this brilliant leader, and he was trying to make himself fit for the duty. Fencing and the military arts would absorb as much of his time as he dared. For some reason he found himself in Southampton[1] on 9th January, 1590–1, for on that date the Corporation granted him the freedom of the city. It is quite likely that he slipped over to France under his own sails. There is no doubt that this unexpected journey was something of the nature of an escapade; he hoped to surprise opportunity by being in advance of refusal. It was not his fault that Essex's help was delayed. We can best realise the situation from his letter to Essex, a remarkable one for a youth aged 17 years and less than 6 months.

Though I have nothing to write about worth your reading, yet can I not let pass this messenger without a letter, be it only to continue the profession of service which I have heretofore verbally made unto your Lordship, which howsoever in itself it is of small value, my hope is, seeing it wholly proceede from a true respect borne to your own worth, and from one who hath no better present to make you than the offer of himself to be disposed of by your commandment, your Lordship will be pleased in good part to accept it, and ever afford me your good opinion and favour, of which I shall be

[1] *Southampton Corporation Books*, vol. III.

exceedingly proud, endeavouring myself always with the best means to deserve it. As I shall have opportunity to send into England I will be bold to trouble your Lordship with my letter, in the mean time wishing your fortune may even prove answerable to the greatness of your own mind, I take my leave &c. Dieppe 2nd March (1590–1)[1].

He may have looked long over the sea from the Plage du Nord at Dieppe, or from its Castle on the steep *falaise*; but no Essex came, and any letter that came could only be a refusal of his generous offer. Essex himself was in trouble with the Queen about his own marriage with the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, and he would not risk offending her farther by taking possession of the person of a royal ward without permission. The best he could do for Southampton, then, was to hurry him home and to keep his trip and his letter as secret as it might be.

Here must be introduced, in parenthesis, the present writer's theory of Southampton's life, based upon long work and logical inferences.

[It seems most likely that when Southampton was ordered home from Dieppe, he was not only disappointed but moody and petulant. To distract his thoughts, he went (as we are told he afterwards did in like case) to the theatre every day, first to see a play, then to hear a play, and then to study the art of the actor. No suggestion is here offered as to the date of the first time Southampton *heard* of Shakespeare, as something different from the ordinary run of players; and no date can be assigned to the circumstances under which he first spoke to the player. Shakespeare says it was "in the Spring,"[2] and this present spring of 1591 best suits the lives of both peer and player. It seems most likely that Southampton introduced himself, willing the player to come to him, because he wanted, while thanking him for a good representation, to find fault with him on some minor points, perhaps in his accent, his gesture, his posing, or in the play itself. He was in the habit of giving good advice about their business to all the players, as is often the way with amateurs. But the answers of this man impressed him. He felt, by a subtle intuition, an interest in him, because he felt that the poet also was suffering something of what he suffered, rebellion against

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, IV. 96.
[2] See Preface to my edition of the *Sonnets*.

his fate and its limitations. He felt he must have a private talk with this "man from Stratford," and took him home with him to supper. And this was not once or even twice. They had each met the other in a psychic moment in their lives, and the player brought a new interest into Southampton's life. He had never before met one of these "puppets" who was able to recast and alter his play-books to suit his own notions; he pressed his conceits and wishes upon the poet's acceptance. Shakespeare was not likely to have ever had so intelligent a critic rising up to him from amid his audience. It was one of the poet's practical aims to please his hearers, and he did not turn away scornfully from the young lord's suggestions, even though he represented but a small fraction of the theatre-goers. A certain amount of self-revelation ensued on either side; their tastes, their beliefs, their opinions harmonised in a wonderful way; and, while Shakespeare cried "Oh for my sake do you with Fortune chide" or

> When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes
> I all alone beweep my outcast state[1]

Southampton tried to stimulate his ambition to higher walks of literature than the dramatic was then esteemed. He would shew his visitor some of the books he read and give bright analyses of their contents; he would dwell on the delights of pure poetry and the lack of it in the ordinary popular drama, of the books best likely to help—as Sir Philip Sidney's *Art of Poesie*, Webbe's book on the same, Thomas Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric*; and he might be surprised to find that the player knew both of the latter. Southampton would encourage the rustic actor to make trial of his powers in the new form of verse introduced by Wyat and Surrey from Italy; all the nobles and gentry were trying their skill in their efforts to turn a well-filed line to rival those of authors preserved in the book of *Songs and Sonettes*. Then, being tired of indoor air, he would swear Shakespeare his servant for the day, mount him, and lead him off to Hampstead Heights[2], by the Wych Elm grove (old then, but not extinct even yet), up past the Well to the crest of the Horse

[1] *Sonnets* CXI and XXIX.

[2] We know from the *State Papers* that the Spanish Ambassador at that time had his house upon the hill, and many came and went secretly to him. So there was always a little curiosity as to the intentions of those who went in that direction.

"Defence of Poesie / [illegible]

Shoe Hill, where he would fling himself down on the heath, drink in the pure air, and glory in the extensive views. Then came more heart to heart talks than could take place in rooms, and both went refreshed to their homes. Sometimes the peer would ask the player to supper with him after the play; he was not always alone then, but it gave Shakespeare a chance of listening to the tones in which upper class equals addressed each other, to their forms of gossip, to their methods of criticism. Southampton would always bring them back to his favourite *Colin Clout*, Thomas Watson's *Passionate Century*, the *Faerie Queene*, Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, and his *Astrophel and Stella*, just then coming through the press. And among the young nobles, but somewhat apart, would sit Master William Harvey, of Armada fame, silent, like Shakespeare, and willing to hear. My theory is that he was the man who suggested to Shakespeare that, if he wanted to please the young noble's friends, he might weave some of the arguments of *Arcadia* into Sonnets (which Southampton was so anxious that he should try); for it would be greatly for the good of all that the young Earl should yield to Burleigh's wishes, and marry his granddaughter.

These feasts of reason were not in Southampton's "Lodgings in the Strand," nor in Burleigh House, nor Arundel House; but on odd occasions at Southampton House in Holborn—where then most probably there hung his mother's portrait (now at Welbeck). Shakespeare's time was not wholly his own; beside the playing time, there were rehearsals, consultations on the one hand to get through, and on the other hand the alteration of old plays. There would be no time for him to become weary of his young friend.

To be sure, some people think that Southampton was not the young friend addressed in the Sonnets. Various other friends have been suggested, but the only theory which has held the ear of the public for any time is Mr Thomas Tyler's "Herbert-Fitton Theory," that is, that Lord William Herbert, afterwards the Earl of Pembroke, was the friend addressed[1]. That theory assumes that the whole of the Sonnets must have been written after 1598, when Lord Herbert first appeared at Court, at the age of eighteen. But that means that Shakespeare was at once

[1] I have treated this in full both in my Preface to the *Sonnets*, and also in my *Shakespeare's Environment*, p. 144.

introduced to him, became intimate with him, and began to write sonnets to him in which he ascribes to Lord Herbert not only inspiration but "education out of rude ignorance," and the guidance of "his pupil pen," after he had written not only both of his poems, but *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *The Merchant of Venice*. It assumes that he had warmed up for this *second* young Lord the same feelings which he had assured another he would never change—not only the same feelings, but the same phrases, which he had already published, "Lord of my Love," etc. We are asked to believe that the three-year Sonnet Story had happened, and that Meres had had time to read them, to put a reference to them in his book, to get his book finished, passed by the censor, consigned to the printer and registered to him, *within six months*! The whole beauty of the Sonnets dies out before the thought. Nothing in the description of Shakespeare's youth suits Herbert. He was *not* the sole hope of his great House, as he had both a father and a brother; he was not fair, but dark, and he never wore long curling locks. Sonnets had become commonplace by the date of 1598. Shakespeare's cannot be read as a hackneyed imitation of past fashions. They have all the verve of a fresh impulse, all the ideal transport of a newly discovered power, all the original treatment of a new method of art expression. The twined threads of biography and autobiography are there on which to string the pearls of Shakespeare's thought. And these twined threads can only be woven to fit Henry, the third Earl of Southampton. Shakespeare had no second dream; all his songs and praises were addressed

To one, of one, still such, and ever so.

This was but a variant of Southampton's motto "Ung par tout, tout par ung." Perhaps the most telling are the phrases of personal description:

Thou art thy mother's glass and she in thee
Recals the lovely April of her prime[1].

The portrait of Southampton's mother can still be seen; it determines Shakespeare's painting. His young friend wore long locks curling like buds of marjoram; he was beautiful, but his special beauty was in his eyes, twin stars, that governed his poet's path.

[1] *Sonnet* XIII.

The youth was at the time the Sonnets were written "the world's *fresh* ornament," a "child of state" (or royal ward), being under age, and the sole hope of his great house. He was interested in heraldry and astrology, acquainted with law and philosophy, and devoted to poetry. He was kind and sympathetic, though critical. Now, it is not desired to assert that the later Sonnets are prose diaries of events; they are sparks struck off from some fervour, echoes of some conversation; they often contradict each other; there is a constant clearing up of misunderstandings, and one can find many of the situations painted in Shakespeare's plays. Perhaps, more than we realise, the Sonnets give the key to the plays.]

Meanwhile, though he tried, Southampton could not forget his dreams of foreign service; he heard all about Lord Essex and his doings. Burleigh entered in his Diary the main points to be remembered. It would be as well to record them *in toto* for the next few months, as printed at the end of Murdin's *State Papers*.

July 19th 1591.	The Queen at my House to see the Erle of Essex' horses in Covent Garden. 3000 men appointed to be embarked for Diepe to serve under the Erle of Essex.
July 21st.	The Erle of Essex's Commission for Normandy.
August 3rd.	The Erle of Essex landed at Diepe.
August 4th.	At Guldeford. Mr H. Killigrew appointed to attend the Erle of Essex in France.
September.	Thomas Leighton sent to attend the Erle of Essex in France.
Oct. 18th.	The Erle of Essex took his leave at Richmond.
October 24th.	Roan invested by Marshal Biron and the Erle of Essex.
November 23rd.	The Erle of Essex came to Westminster unlooked for.
Dec. 5th	The Erle of Essex returned to Normandy.
Dec. 7th	Sir Thomas Leighton sent out of Guernsey to assist the Erle of Essex in Normandy.
February 1591–2.	Sixteen hundred new men sent to Normandy.

And still Southampton kept out of it.

By comparing this Diary with the Queen's proceedings, we may notice that, as soon as the Earl of Essex left the court, she began her arrangements for her summer progress. She went *viâ* Sir William More's house at Loseley to Guildford, and there she sent a messenger after Essex into France. Southampton would now be occupied at Court, for during this progress the Queen had arranged

at last to visit Cowdray and Titchfield, and he probably would be interested in plans to give her a fit reception in both places.

It would seem from a letter of his in the Loseley Papers that his grandfather had already sketched the device of which he told Sir William More. But he would want some one to write it up, some company of men to play it. Now Lord Montague, with all his wealth, was not one of the noblemen known to have a company of players of his own. This left him all the more likely to be willing to hire men from the metropolis, some of the companies going on their summer tours, and it was quite as likely as not that he had a selection from the Burbage Company to govern and train local talent. The present writer looked up the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber to see if any special details about the route could be found, through the preliminary expenses of the gentlemen servants and assistants who were always sent in advance of her Majesty to make her loyal subjects' homes fit for her temporary sojourn in them. Unluckily three lots seemed to have been sent at once, to suit her convenience, so we cannot from them reckon the stages of the progress as consecutive steps in a story. However, they do tell us some little things about it[1].

In August 1591 Simon Bowyer and his fellows were allowed payment for preparing Lord Lumley's house at Stanstede; for making ready Sir William More's house at Loseley; for making ready a standing for the Queen in Guildford Park; "for making ready a dininghouse at Katharine Hall"; "to him also by a bill for expenses" "for making ready my Lord Montague's house at Cowdray for her Majestie, 6 dayes in August 1591; To the same for making readye the Priorye House at my Lord Montague's; for making ready a Lodge in the North Park, for her Majesty to rest as she came to Cowdray; for making ready three standings for her Majestie at the Lord Montague's"; for making ready Mr Richard Lewknor's house for the Queen to dine in between Cowdray and Chichester; "To making ready the Earl of Sussex's house in Portsmouth; to making ready a Standing outside of Portsmouth to see the Soldiers." "For making ready at Abberston...for making ready a dining house at Mr Tichborne's in September...for making

[1] Declared accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, Audit Office, Bundle 385, Roll 29.

ready a Dining House at Mr William Wallop's House between Abberston and Fareley." There were preparations also at Bishopswalton, at the Bishop of Winchester's house at Winchester, at the Lord of Hertford's house at Elverton, and a dining house at the Earl of Hertford's.

The expenses then go back to accounts for similar work done by others under Richard Coningsby, "for making ready the Church at Chichester in August...also Lord Delawarre's in the Hault;...Mr Marven's house at Bramshott...a dininghouse between Bramshott and Sir Henry Weston's...for making ready a House at Southampton[1] Sept. 1591;...at Bagshott on her return. A dininghouse at Fayrethorne...Mr Cornwallys'[2] house at Horsley in August;...for making ready at Mr Tilney's house[3] at Letherhyde for her Majesty to dine at in August...a dining house at Mr Weston's at Clandon."

To another groom of the Chamber was given the duty of making ready at Titchfield in September "for two standings for her Majesty at Titchfield"; there was a dining house between Titchfield and the next stage, and so on homewards.

The chief events of the royal visit to Cowdray are told in a little pamphlet of the time, printed by Thomas Scarlet (reprinted by Mr John Nichols in the *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, III. 90).

There we find that the Queen arrived on 15th August at Cowdray at 8 o'clock "after her rest in the North Park" (as prepared for her). At the gate of Cowdray the porter, in presenting the key to the Queen as "the wisest, fairest, and most fortunate of creatures," said that "the owner's tongue is the key to his heart, and his heart the lock of his soul. Therefore what he speaks you may constantly believe." Her Highness took the key and said she "would answer for him." At the entrance of the house the Queen embraced the Lady Montague and the Lady Dormer her daughter; the Mistress of the House (as it were weeping in her bosom) said, "O happie Time! O joyful daie!"

The next day was Sunday, and the Queen, or at least the story-writer, managed to do without any religious service, but there was a substantial breakfast of three oxen and a hundred and forty geese

[1] Was this Bull Place in Southampton, the Wriothesleys' town house?
[2] Southampton's uncle, Sir Thomas Cornwallis.
[3] Mr Edmund Tilney was then Master of the Revels.

with et ceteras, which would occupy some time. The house which had been begun by William, Earl of Southampton, Montague's uncle, had only lately been completed and redecorated; and this was made an excuse for the lavish expenditure of the reception. Probably the Queen would inspect the Picture Gallery, containing so many portraits of people she had known, from her father to her young brother. There was enough to interest a resting day in the house.

Monday was devoted to hunting, which was ordered by Henry Browne, Lord Montague's third son, Ranger of Windsor Forest. It may be noted that there were "three standings" made ready for the Queen in Cowdray Park[1].

The Queen killed three deer, one at each "standing," and Mabel, Countess of Kildare, sister of her host, the only lady who had the courage to try, killed one. It is said that the Queen was displeased at her audacity and did not ask her afterwards to sit at her own table. But the Royal Huntress carried away the honours of the day, and the bow with which she killed the deer was hung up in the Buck Hall of Cowdray. After the hunt there were masques, and nymphs in sweet arbours sang harmonious songs of the Queen's glory. On Tuesday the Queen "went to dinner in the Priory, where my Lord kept house." Masques of the pilgrims, of the anglers, and of the wild man gave the Queen sufficient flattery, even for her accustomed ear. On the last day of her visit the Queen knighted some young gentlemen, among them Sir George Browne, Lord Montague's second son (the second Lady Montague's eldest), and Sir Robert Dormer, his son-in-law, afterwards Lord Dormer. Montague's eldest son, who had led the family horsemen to the famous gathering at Tilbury Fort, was not knighted. Perhaps the Queen thought he did not need it, as he would be Viscount some day; perhaps she wished to honour her hostess through her son and her daughter; perhaps he was, even then, too ill to appear.

Anthony Browne[2], writing to Sir William More from Horsley on 30th December of that year, regretted that he could not at present accept his kind invitation; but before the twelve days are ended, if he is fit to leave his dear friend Cornwallis and travel, he will come, "But I assure you I have been very weak and faint since Christmas."

[1] Prepared for driving deer past.

[2] *Loseley Papers*, x. 122.

After leaving Cowdray, Elizabeth visited Chichester and Portsmouth, whence she reached Titchfield, the home of her ward. He would be certain to be present to strengthen his mother in her responsibility. We do not hear if the Queen was fortunate at the "two standings" prepared for her at Titchfield; nor have we heard if there were any masques prepared and performed. The family were too poor at the time to do great things. Once before the Queen had been at Titchfield under more painful circumstances, when the Duke of Norfolk was discovered to have intended to marry the Queen of Scots, and Leicester[1] feigned to be ill, in order to confess the faults of others and secure his own safety. That was the beginning of the troubles of Southampton's father, and of his mother's too.

[1] See *Addenda*.

CHAPTER V

THE PATRON[1]

THE year 1592 entered gently and gave no early sign of its malevolent intentions, though there was "a great drought."

A letter of Southampton's shews that he was paying some attention to his property by that time:

Mr Hyckes, Whereas I am gyven to understand that my manor house at Beaulye, with dyvers parcells of my inheritance there, are lyke to fall in greate decaye and daunger to be lost thoroughe wante of meanes to supplye the charge of the reparacions during my wardship—I woulde hartely request you to move my Lord Treasurer, accordinge to the note I doe sende, to yealde me his honorable favor in taking such course as shall seeme best to his wisdome whereby the sayd chardges and reparacions may be supplyed; in doing whereof I shall rest most bounde unto his Lordship, and wilbe redye to require yor curtesye in what I maye, from my lodging in the Strand this 26th of June 1592,

Your loving friend H. SOUTHAMPTON[2].

This indirect method of application to Lord Burleigh was probably the result of the strained relations between the guardian and ward, Southampton not having as yet consented to marry Lord Burleigh's granddaughter.

Domestic sorrows were coming on apace. Anthony, the heir apparent of Cowdray, always delicate, lay dying, at the age of 39. He departed this life on the 29th of June, at Riverbank, in a house built for him in Cowdray Park. His father felt his loss keenly, though he had no lack of heirs. There were his sons, Sir George and Henry, to comfort him, and his eldest son's sons, three handsome youths, to carry on the direct line. The eldest of these, Anthony Maria, was the baby which arrived four months after the Earl of Southampton at Cowdray—"the fair child" of the Armada gathering. He married Lady Jane Sackville, daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset, in February 1591. Viscount Montague

[1] The earliest Dedication to Southampton is that of John Clapham, 1591, printed before his Poem on "Narcissus." It has probably been hitherto kept out of the record because it was written in Latin.

[2] Lansdowne MS. LXXI. 72.

made a great funeral procession for his son at Midhurst, when he buried him on the 1st of August, 1592. Lord Southampton would certainly be present among the chief mourners, as Anthony was his mother's only brother of the full blood, and his only uncle of the Ratcliffe descent.

The next affair we know him to be concerned in was "a vessel of St Malo in Brittany laden with sugar from Brazil, taken as a prize by Sir Martin Frobisher and brought into Portsmouth. The Earl of Southampton, Mr Ralph Bowes, and Mr Carew Raleigh lay claim to shares in it."[1] The Privy Council told the Mayor of Portsmouth to take charge of it on September 6th. When the Court was at Oxford on September 26th, the Privy Councillors wrote to the customers of the Port of London that the prize had arrived, and they were to keep it until the shares were divided between these three. But a dispute was waged about it until March and April of the following year, so that it is not likely that much would come to Southampton after all.

The Earl of Southampton was incorporated of Oxford in August 1592. This incident becomes worth noting, because during Elizabeth's visit to Oxford in that year she was surrounded by a gallant bevy of distinguished noblemen, of whom he was one. The visit began on September 22nd, 1592, and the proceedings lasted until the 28th[2]. The glories of the Queen's reception were recorded by Mr Philip Stringer in Latin verse, dated October 10th, 1592.

In the poem, Apollo and all the Muses describe the great men of their University in appropriate terms and their youthful visitors with more personal flattery—Dr Bond, the Vice-Chancellor, the French Ambassador, Lord Treasurer Cecil (the Nestor of his time), the Earl of Worcester, Lord Herbert, Lord Henry Somerset, the Earl of Cumberland, the Earl of Pembroke; the Earl of Essex, noble and learned, "whom learned men admired, more learned himself," "a Maecenas with wisdom unmatched." "After him followed a Prince of a distinguished race, whom (rich in her right) Southampton blazons as a great hero. No youth there present was more beautiful or more brilliant in the learned arts than this young prince of Hampshire, although his face was yet scarcely adorned by a tender down."

[1] Privy Council Register, 6th Sept. 1592.
[2] Reprints by C. Plummer, pp. 249, 292.

Less than a month after this brilliant concourse met at Oxford, Viscount Montague of Cowdray, the last of the three great Anthony Brownes of the sixteenth century, died at his manor-house of West Horsley on October 19th, 1592. With his grandfather, Southampton lost the last vestige of paternal control and guidance, and instead of the genial old man in his second home at Cowdray, he would henceforth find only his cousin Anthony Maria, his junior by four months, a personage of no particular use to him either in influence or example. Southampton's mother would be overwhelmed with grief, for she had always been a devoted daughter. She had now no elder male member of the family to lean upon, and it would be a sad time in the Southampton home as well as at Cowdray. Viscount Montague's great public funeral took place on December 6th, 1592, when he was carried from West Horsley to Midhurst. He had not, like his father, designed his own tomb (as his biographers say). But shortly after, to fulfil his will, a noble monument was commenced, with figures of himself and his two wives, after the model he had chosen for that of his son-in-law, the second Earl of Southampton, at Titchfield. It is a curious coincidence that, just as Edward Gage had been allowed to leave prison to take up his executorship to the second Earl of Southampton, so the Privy Council Register records on April 1st, 1593, "Edward Gage Esq., one of the executors of the last will of the late Lord Montague, restrained in the custody of Richard Shelley Esq., to be allowed to go out on bonds to confer with the heir, Lord Montague, about the will of the late Lord." This Edward Gage must have been a trustworthy man with a good head for figures.

The death of Viscount Montague seems to have been due to a long-standing disease. But wide ravages of death were near. Just after the courtly gaieties at Oxford, the Terror stalked into the land.

The Michaelmas Term was held in Hertford.

No Bartholomew Fair was kept in London that year for fear of the Plague, which was very hot in the city, says Stow[1], between Dec. 29th, 1592, and Dec. 30th, 1593.

On October 23rd died Sir William Rowe, Lord Mayor; on November 1st, William Elken; on December 5th, Sir Rowland

[1] *Annals*, p. 1274.

Hayward; on January 9th, Sir Wolston Dixie—all Aldermen. Five-eighths of all deaths were caused by the Plague.

From the Privy Council Registers we can gather that on the 9th March, 1592–3, "the matter of the Prize Ship arose into a new controversy between the Earl of Southampton and Mr Ralph Bowes on the one part, and Sir Martin Frobisher for her Majestie on the other." Finally the Privy Council wrote a letter on the 1st of April, 1593, to Sir Thomas Wilkes and Henry Clethro, as legal counsel, "to tell them what they think of the claims touching a prize taken at sea by Sir Martin Frobisher," "whereunto our verie good Lord The Earl of Southampton and Mr Ralph Bowes, pretend title."

The claims seem to have been settled, in some way, out of court; for we do not hear anything more about them, at least at that time.

In that very month of April, on the 18th day, something happened which has done more than anything else to keep the Earl of Southampton in memory. Yet a commonplace enough event it was—the registration of a book in the Stationers' Registers. But the name of the book was *Venus and Adonis*, the name of the author was William Shakespeare, the name of the printer was Richard Field, the Stratford friend of the poet, and it was dedicated to the Earl of Southampton—dedicated timidly, because the poet did not know how the public would take his venture, and he wanted to leave his patron as free as possible to slip out, should the venture prove a failure. It happens that the first preserved fragment of Shakespeare's prose writing is this dedication:

To the Right Honorable Henrie Wriotheseley, Earle of Southampton, and Baron of Titchfield. Right Honorable, I know not how I shall offend in dedicating my unpolisht lines to your Lordship, nor how the worlde will censure me for choosing so strong a propp to support so weak a burthen, onely, if your Honour seeme but pleased, I account myselfe highly praised, and vowe to take advantage of all idle houres, till I have honoured you with some graver labour. But, if the first heire of my invention prove deformed, I shall be sorie it had so noble a god-father, and never after eare so barren a land, for feare it yeeld me still so bad a harvest. I leave it to your Honourable survey, and your Honor to your heart's content; which I wish may always answere your owne wish, and the world's hopeful expectation. Your Honor's in all dutie.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

The immediate recognition of the poem of *Venus and Adonis* must have surprised both patron and poet. It raised the writer out of the rank of players, above the rank of dramatists, into the rank of poets, where he sat at the feet of Spenser and became a member of his school. It brought reflected honour to his patron, gave him new subjects of conversation, and widened his circle of friends and admirers. He became Shakespeare's sole patron for life; but Shakespeare, though in 1593 his sole protégé, was not allowed long to remain so.

He was but one hour mine. (*Sonnet* XXXIII.)

Eager aspirants crowded round the brilliant young nobleman who had proved his taste through his poet; they brought their poems, which they thought well fitted for like honours; some even ventured to dedicate their productions to him without permission, when Southampton learned how to turn a cold shoulder and deaf ears towards too audacious courtiers.

The poem which dazzled the world of 1593 (then wrapped in lugubrious memories) may be looked at under many aspects. It was a period of translations. Golding's *Ovid* had been a text-book for translations from 1565–7; scholars and poets were essaying translations; Marlowe had left unfinished his *Hero and Leander*, Drayton had written his *Endymion and Phoebe*, Chapman his *Ovid's Banquet of Sence*, Thomas Peend his *Hermaphroditus and Salmacis*, Lodge his *Scylla*. But *Venus and Adonis* was unlike any of these in style, rhythm, and imagery, and though the measure is nearest to that of Lodge, how superior it was to its predecessor any one can measure. Those who pause in wonder before its lyric beauties will best find an expression in Mr George Wyndham's sympathetic description. It cannot here be dwelt upon as regards Shakespeare, since Southampton is now in question. Now, it was quite the custom of the period to enfold in poems a *second intention*, such as was fully illustrated by Spenser in his *Faerie Queene*. Therefore, while mere strangers could see in the exquisite verse of *Venus and Adonis* a poetic rendering of an ancient tale, artistically combined from materials gathered from various sources—to which the every-day charms of English natural scenery formed a harmonious setting—some of the friends of the patron would pause to wonder whether in it there were a secondary intention. Was *Adonis* intended to represent the youth

himself? If so, what was the attitude of the youth to voluptuous temptation? Clearly repellent, if the answers of Adonis are analysed,

"For shame," he cries, "let go and let me go."

"I know not love," quoth he, "nor will not know it."

Remove your siege from my unyielding heart,
To Love's alarms it will not ope the gate.

...My heart stands armèd in mine ear,
And will not let a false sound enter there;
Lest the deceiving harmony should run
Into the quiet closure of my breast.

I hate not love, but your device in love
That lends embracements unto every stranger.

Love comforteth like sunshine after rain
But Lust's effect is tempest after sun.

Therefore in sadness, now I will away;
My face is full of shame, my heart of teen:
Mine ears that to your wanton talk attended
Do burn themselves for having so offended.

And that is the end of the dialogue.

Shakespeare was only just in time to be first, for Barnabe Barnes had also been writing during 1592 a poem, or collection of poems, sonnets, madrigals, elegies, and odes which he called *Parthenophil and Parthenophe*, which he managed to get printed in May 1593, and in it he included a sonnet to Southampton, though the dedication was "to Mr William Percy Esq. his deerest friend." At the end are six sonnets: I. To the Right Noble Henry, Earl of Northumberland; II. To the Right Honourable Robert, Earl of Essex, the most renowned and valiant; III. To the right noble and vertuous Lord Henry, Earle of Southampton; IV. To the most vertuous learned and beautiful lady Maria, Countess of Pembroke; V. To the right vertuous and most beautiful the Lady Strange; VI. To the beautiful lady the Lady Bridget Manners.

The sonnet to Southampton certainly suggests that Barnabe Barnes knew that this Earl had been guide, helper, and patron to some other poet, and that he would like to have the same advantages himself. If he did receive any it was in a minor degree. His inferiority to Shakespeare is best shewn by himself.

Receave (sweet Lord) with thy thrice sacred hande
  Which sacred muses make their instrument
  These worthless leaves, which I to thee present,
  Sprong from a rude and unmanured lande
That with your countenance grac'de, they may withstande
  Hundred ey'de enuies' rough encounterment
  Whose patronage can give encouragement
  To scorne back-wounding Zoilus his hande.
Voutchsafe (right vertuous Lord) with gracious eyes
  Those heavenly lamps which give the Muses light
  Which give, and take (in course) that holy fier
  To view my muse with your judicial sight.
Whom when Time shall have taught by flight to rise
  Shall to thy vertues of much worth aspyre[1].

One amusing point is that the only unmarried lady here, the Lady Bridget Manners, "Rose of the garland, fairest and sweetest," was the very lady next year advised to turn her attention to the Earl of Southampton.

Perhaps the praise of the Oxford panegyrist, the brilliance of his protégé's dedicated poem, or a turn of Elizabeth's favour at the time encouraged Southampton's friends to propose that he should be made a Knight of the Garter this year. He was not appointed, but the fact of his name having been proposed was in itself an honour so great at his early age that it had never before been paid to any one not of Royal Blood.

It is possible that Southampton's bailiff, Richard Nash, was a relative to the satirist who made a desperate bid for Southampton's approval. His wit and conversation may have pleased the young lord, for his dedications suggest some degree of acquaintance. (It is very important to pay attention to these Dedications, and their results.) He evidently had written by 1593 his first prose novel, as the Stationers' Registers[2] refer to it.

"John Wolf Entred for his copie under thandes of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Wardens a booke entitled The unfortunate traveller 6*d*." It is not clear that this entry remained in force, for the title-page of the first edition known informs us: "The unfortunate Traveller or the Life of Jack Wilton. Thomas Nashe. Printed by

[1] From Dr Grosart's reprint of the unique copy in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.
[2] Arber, II. 636

T. Scarlet for C. Burby, and are to be sold at his shop adjoyning to the Exchange 1594. London."

Whether this dedication was included in the manuscript as it reached John Wolfe or not, it certainly appears in the first edition, and is withdrawn from all later ones. By way of contrast to Shakespeare's it may preferably be treated here:

To the Right Honorable Lord Henrie Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton and Baron of Tichfeeld.

Ingenuous honorable Lord, I know not what blind custome methodicall antiquity hath thrust upon us, to dedicate such books as we publish to one great man or other; in which respect, least anie man should challenge these my papers as goods uncustomed, and so extend uppon them as forfeite to contempt to the seale of your excellent censure loe here I present them to bee seene and allowed. Prize them as high or as low as you list: if you set anie price on them, I hold my labor well satisfide. Long have I desired to approove my wit unto you. My reverent duetifull thoughts (even from their infancie) have been retayners to your glorie. Now at last I have enforst an opportunitie to plead my devoted minde. All that in this phantasticall Treatise I can promise, is some reasonable conveyance of historie, and varietie of mirth. By divers of my good frends have I been dealt with to employ my dul pen in this kinde, it being a cleane different vaine from other my former courses of writing. How wel or ill I have done in it, I am ignorant: (the eye that sees round about it selfe, sees not into it selfe:) only your Honours applauding encouragement hath power to make arrogant. Incomprehensible is the heigth of your spirit both in heroical resolution and matters of conceit. Unreprieueably perisheth that book whatsoever to wast paper which on the diamond rock of your judgement, disasterly chanceth to be shipwrackt. A dere lover and cherisher you are, as well of the lovers of Poets, as of Poets themselves. Amongst their sacred number, I dare not ascribe my selfe, though now and then I speak English: that smal braine I have to no further use I convert, save to be kinde to my frends and fatall to my enemies. A new brain, a new wit, a new stile, a new soule will I get mee, to canonize your name to posteritie, if in this, my first attempt I be not taxed of presumption. Of your gracious favor I despaire not, for I am not altogether Fame's out-cast. This handfull of leaves I offer to your view, to the leaves I compare, which as they cannot grow of themselves, except they have some branches or boughes to cleave too, and with whose iuice and sap they be evermore recreated and nourisht: so except these unpolisht leaves of mine have some braunch of Nobilitie whereon to depend and cleave and with the vigorous nutriment of whose authorized commendation they may be continually foster'd and refresht, never wil they grow to the world's good liking, but forthwith fade and die on the first hour of their birth.

Your Lordship is the large spreading branch of renown, from whence these my idle leaves seeke to derive their whole nourishing: it resteth you either scornfully shake them off as worm-eaten and worthless, or in pity preserve them and cherish them for some litle summer frute you hope to finde amongst them. Your Honors in all humble service

THO: NASHE.

It is evident from this dedication that Nash knew of Shakespeare's when he wrote it; I think that he printed it without permission having been asked or received. Besides the faults and peculiarities of "this phantasticall Treatise" as a work of art, it certainly lacked "some reasonable conveyance of historie" on the two points about which Southampton would best know. He was intimate with the Howards, he was a student of literature, and he would know that the whole story of the Earl of Surrey was false and disparaging to his character. He would also know that the vision of the fair Geraldine at the Emperor's court could not have been founded on fact; and was moreover discreditable to her, as she could not have bewailed him as "her Lord" while he was married to another, and she was preparing to marry another. Her connection with his own family would give Southampton the facts, which shewed that other of Nash's statements might be false.

It is probable, therefore, that when Southampton saw this dedication in print he was displeased, and told Nash that he would not have it; at all events it was withdrawn from all subsequent editions.

Meanwhile, having witnessed the success of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, Nash, though he had not dared to describe himself as among the "sacred number" of the poets, seems to have fancied that he might be more successful with this patron if he could become one. He therefore wrote some verses, entitled *The Choice of Valentines*, which he also dedicated to Southampton. The contents, however, of these verses, or their "English," seems to have been even more distasteful to Southampton (or the Censor); for the effort remained in manuscript till lately. It has a prologue and an epilogue both addressed to Southampton.

Pardon, sweete flower of matchless Poetrie
And fairest bud the red rose ever bore,
Althoughe my Muse devor'st from deeper care
Presents thee with a wanton Elegie,

Ne blame my verse of loose unchastitie
For painting forth the things that hidden are
Since all men acte what I in speeche declare
Onelie induced by varietie.
Complaints and praises everie one can write,
And passion out their panges in statelie rhymes
But of Love's pleasures none did ever write
That hath succeeded in theis latter times
Accept of it Dear Lord, in gentle grace
And better lynes ere long shall honor thee[1].

At the end of the poem:

Thus hath my penne presumed to please my frend
Oh mightst thow lykewise please Apollo's eye,
No: Honor brookes no such impietie,
Yet Ovid's wanton muse did not offend.
He is the fountaine whence my streames doe flowe
Forgive me if I speake as I was taught
A lyke to women utter all I knowe
As longing to unlode so bad a fraught.
My mynde once purg'd of such lascivious witt
With purifide words and hallowed verse
Thy praises in large volumes shall rehearse
That better maie thy graver view befitt.
Meanwhile yett rests, you smile at what I write
Or for attempting, banish me your sight[2].

It is evident that Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* is referred to in the fourth line of the latter address, the author not realising the difference between Shakespeare's Muse and his own. Southampton did so, and, accepting Nash's challenge, followed the alternative his would-be protégé suggested in his last line, and "banished" him.

[In connection with the private theories here advanced, it may be suggested that Shakespeare, alone and neglected, may have mingled with the crowd when the Queen passed through Oxford in 1592. But he would have no eyes for any but the young "Prince of Hampshire," his vision of youthful beauty, mounted on a steed to awaken of itself a poet's fervour. The poet gazed and felt, but dared not speak. The sight helped him in his work, a secret work, which he had been keeping from his friend through the beautiful spring, the hot summer,

[1] From Mr McKerrow's edition of Nash's *Works*, vol. III. p. 403.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 415.

and the heavy autumn airs of 1592. At every opportunity he had enjoyed the lively gossip and critical dissertations of the young Earl. But he had been often out of town, and in his solitude Shakespeare had been studying hard and working hard. One book which was able to strengthen and correct much of his patron's advice was *The Arte of English poesie, Contrived into three bookes, the first of Poets and Poesie; the second of Proportion, the third of Ornament.* This work was printed by Shakespeare's friend Richard Field, and was dedicated by the author to the Queen and by the printer to Lord Burleigh. Shakespeare would know then, what the world did not surely know, but we now know, that its author was George Puttenham. That book was of great use to the poet. Besides general advice, it strongly advocates the use of blank verse in plays and suggests the suitability of the six-lined and seven-lined stanza for narrative verse, both of which Shakespeare essayed in his two poems. He had also been studying in Dick Field's shop Sir Thomas North's translation of Amyot's *Plutarch's Lives.* But, more than anything else, he had been studying Richard Field's new edition of Ovid. Thence he seized his motto, a choice which has not been sufficiently noticed. He set it before him, he headed his paper with it, and he began to be a translator, a *poetic translator* of the poet who wrote

> Vilia miretur vulgus; mihi flavus Apollo
> Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua.

While his friend spoke to him of Golding and Marlowe, Drayton and Chapman, he had hugged his secret, until his work was done—and then he had to break it to his friend, so as to prepare the way for a formal request for liberty to dedicate his poem to him.

In one sonnet he betrays his study:

> Describe Adonis, and the Counterfeit
> Is poorly imitated after you.

He had to shew his friend that he believed in his own work:

> So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see,
> So long lives *this*, and *this* gives life to thee.

> Yea do thy worst, old Time; despite thy wrong
> My love shall in my verse live ever young

were not spoken of the sonnet but the poem.

When he had finished the poem, with the manuscript he sent the special sonnet (XXVI):

Lord of my love, to whom in vassalage
Thy merit hath my duty strongly knit,
To thee I send this written embassage
To witness duty, not to shew my wit.
Duty so great, which wit so poor as mine
May make seem bare, in wanting words to shew it;
But that I hope some good conceit of thine
In thy soul's thought, all naked, will bestow it;
Till whatsoever star that guides my moving
Points on me graciously with fair aspect
And puts apparel on my tattered loving
To shew me worthy of thy sweet respect;
Then may I dare to boast how I do love thee,
Till then, not shew my head where thou dost prove me

which seems to signify, "My duty requires me to shew that the trouble you have taken with me has been worth taking. When my pages are *printed* and *bound*, and you are satisfied with them, and the world approves, then shall I dare to boast how I do love thee." But he put a timid and far-off address of dedication to his first poem—he would not have his friend discredited for his sake. Southampton was poet himself enough to understand the beauties of the poem, to accept the dedication, to hurry up Richard Field, and to wait eagerly for the result. Alas! Southampton was kept much out of London by the Plague, delays were multiplied among printers, proof correctors, Archbishops, and Master Wardens, so that it was the 18th of April, 1593, when Richard Field "entered for his copy, under the handes of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Master Warden Stirrup a book intituled *Venus and Adonis* 6*d*." Yet the book, written chiefly in 1592, had time to know the beginning of "the great sickness," for, speaking of Adonis' lips, it says

their verdure still endure
To drive infection from the dangerous year.
That the Star-gazers having writ on death
May say the Plague is banished by thy breath.
Ven. and Adon. LXXXV.

The date of the poem helps to date the Sonnets. The poet had used certain phrases to urge the youth to marry, and these same

phrases Venus used in her passionate pleadings. Shakespeare could never have used them in his Sonnets *after* she had soiled them in her poisoned speech.

Thomas Edwards, a little-known contemporary poet, in his *Envoy* to his *Narcissus*[1], gives a list of poets under the names of their chief characters. When he wrote of this poem,

> Adon deafly masking thro'
> Stately troupes, rich-conceited
> Shewed he well deserved to
> Love's delight on him to gaze,
> And had not Love herself entreated
> Other nymphs had sent him bayes.

did he refer to the poet or the patron?]

[1] *Narcissus*, with *Cephalus and Procris*, was registered to John Wolfe on 22nd Oct. 1593, and (though apparently not printed until 1595) was the first allusion to *Venus and Adonis*. It was satirised by Nash, and lost to us until 1867, when a fragment with title-page was discovered at Lamport Hall. A complete copy was found in 1878, in the Cathedral Library at Peterborough, by the Rev. W. E. Buckley, and reprinted by him in 1882.

CHAPTER VI

THE EARL'S MAJORITY

THE Countess of Southampton had become a widow at 28 or 29 years old; she was a beautiful and popular woman of wide-reaching connections, and she must certainly have received many offers of a second marriage. But, either from devotion to her son, distaste of matrimony, or the difficulty of finding anyone who satisfied her critical taste, she had remained unmated for 13 years. The death of her father had left her without a counsellor of her own kin, and she felt that she needed one. It may be remembered that Viscount Montague had appointed as the overseer of his will Sir Thomas Heneage, an old friend of the family. Sir Thomas Heneage wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, November 27th, 1593, from "the woful Lodge of Copthall," so styled because of his late loss. When Heneage lost his wife on 19th November, 1593, he was at first very disconsolate. He was ageing and ill, and his only daughter Elizabeth had in 1572 married Moyle Finch (eldest son of Sir Thomas Finch) who had been kind neither to his wife nor to his father-in-law. Apparently when Heneage turned his eyes for comfort to the Countess of Southampton, her heart melted towards him in his loneliness and failing health, and early in 1594 the news went round that the two bruised hearts were planning to comfort each other. Camden says that Sir Thomas Heneage "for his elegancy of life and pleasantness of speech was born for the court." Indeed, he was about as perfect a man as had graced it—learned and cultured, a lover of the muses and patron of their followers, honest and capable in business, he was honoured and trusted by the Queen, and was powerful in his offices of Treasurer of the Chamber, Vice-Chancellor of the Household, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He was the very man to affect for good the habits and opinions of the young and somewhat headstrong Earl. The Queen had given Heneage many grants of land, chiefly in Essex, where his headquarters were at Copt Hall. In London he had removed from Heneage House to the official residence for the Duchy, the Savoy.

The Countess of Southampton was given another chance of

shewing what a good wife she *could* be, and on 2nd of May, 1594, these two were happily married. The marriage promised well for her son, and incidentally proved to be of use to her son's poet and that poet's company.

Apparently the Countess of Southampton was living at Southampton House before her marriage, as among examinations of priests and suspects a good many are noted to have frequented Southampton House, or lived near it.

It is well to remember, what is too often forgotten, that Sir Thomas Heneage wrote verses himself, and that he also had dedications made to him.

Fox dedicated to him an appendix to his *De Oliva Evangelica*, 1577, as "ornatissimo viro D. Thomae Hennagio," but he did not say much about his literary tastes.

A more important *Encomium* of him was penned by the learned Thomas Newton, when he dedicated to him his edition (1589) of *The Encomia of Leland*, "Honoratissimo, splendidissimo ac ornatissimo Viro, D. Thomae Henneagio, Equiti Aurato, Camerae Regineae Gazophylaci perspicacissimo, eidem Reg. Ma. Procamerario dignissimo, &c. Consiliario fidelissimo, Literarum ac Literatorum patrono summo; Domino mihi multis nominibus suspiciendo. Εὐδαιμονιαν."

Newton says to Heneage: "Let others give gems, gold, bronzes, ivories, pearls from Eastern waters; give myrrh and spices and wine, give coloured carpets, chinese wools, Scarlet cloaks, Assyrian tapestry, yellow talents of the Phrygian Midas. No such gifts does Newton offer thee, Heneage, thou well-born flower of a famous flock; not for him does Pactolus, nor the goldbearing Hermus, nor the Tagus flow, rather for him does the Castalian wave roll, which, like a graving-tool strives to immortalise those who cultivate the sacred gifts of the muses, among whom ever remembered by me, Heneage most brightly shines, and most conspicuously sparkles.

"Leland celebrated in song the learned Treasurer of the Chamber to Henry the Eighth, Brian Tuke; experienced Heneage flourishes as treasurer under the divine and learned Princess, and discharges the offices of Tuke; Leland remembers Tuke, Newton remembers Heneage, distinguished in honor, in song, in mind, in prayer.

"Let these poems submitted by his own hand be a sign of the

sincere love he consecrates to you, which if only you favour, and honour with a serene aspect, you will give a great gift for a little service; whilst I, as with a shield, covered by such a protection against the crowd which scorns and criticises...will despise them all. May celestial Jupiter give you Nestor's years, since he has given to you his mind and eloquence.

Yours most devotedly Thomas Newton."

And Thomas Newton's most intimate friend, William Hunnis, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, also honoured him[1].

During the previous year Shakespeare had been working to redeem his promise of taking advantage of all idle hours to complete his "graver labour," and during the same time he had been growing in intimacy with his lord, increasing in gratitude, and becoming bolder in expression. The love he had kept hidden in his heart when he published the first poem he now had no fear in expressing—and therefore the Dedication to the *Rape of Lucrece* almost goes back in terms, certainly in feeling, to the 26th of his private Sonnets to his friend. For Shakespeare's prose runs thus:

To the Right Honourable Henry Wriothesley Earle of Southampton, and Baron of Titchfield.

The loue I dedicate to your Lordship is without end; whereof this Pamphlet without beginning is but a superfluous Moity. The warrant I have of your Honourable disposition, not the worth of my untutored Lines, makes it assured of acceptance. What I have done is yours, what I have to do is yours, being part in all I have, devoted yours. Were my worth greater, my duety would shew greater, meane time, as it is, it is bound to your Lordship; To whom I wish long life still lengthened with all happiness,

Your Lordship's in all duety

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Southampton's family motto had a meaning for Shakespeare apart from the world, "Ung par tout, tout par ung." Therefore he mortgaged his life-work to Southampton—"What I have to do is *yours*." The book was registered 9th May, 1594.

The poem, being expected, was eagerly and preparedly welcomed; admirers were satisfied in their expectations, censors were silenced. The story of Lucretia had never been more tenderly or perfectly

[1] See Dedication from *Hunnies Recreations*, "printed by P.S. [Philip Short] for W. Jaggard and are to be sold at his shoppe at the east end of S. Dunston's Church, 1595."

treated; the seven-line stanza of Chaucer's *Troylus and Cryseyde* had never been more musically breathed, not even by Daniel in his *Complaint of Rosamond.*

It may not be out of place here to say a little about a lady associated with both Heneage and Southampton. Much has been built upon the Lady Bridget Manners' opinion of Southampton as "so young, fantasticall, and easily carried away" and it is therefore as well to have the real truth about the speaker. Sir Thomas Heneage wrote to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, November 20, 1592[1], "the exceeding good modest and honorable behaviour and carriage of my lady Bridget your daughter with her careful and dilligent attendance of her Majestie ys so contentynge to her Highness and so commendable in this place where she lives—where vyces will hardly receive vyzards, and vertues will most shyne, as her Majestie acknowledges she hath cause to thank you for her, and you may take comforte of so vertuous a daughter, of whose beeynge here and attendance her Majestie hath bidden mee to tell your Ladyship that you shall have no cause to repent....The token of her Majesties remembrance, which, consydering from whence yt comes deserves never to be forgotten, I refer to the deliverye of the bearer."

The young lady had been away from her mother some time before 1594, had grown tired of the Court, and had secret marriage plans of her own on hand. It is likely to have been common Court gossip that Burleigh had offered Southampton his granddaughter, and that he had not accepted her. But he was probably prudent enough not to pay attentions to any other Court lady sufficient to arouse his guardian's reproach. It is quite possible that the Lady Bridget had cast eyes on him and found no response.

Now, on June 19th, 1594[2], Roger Manners, her uncle, wrote to her mother that he was "very glad of the conclusion you have made with the executors of Mr Tyrwhitt, for the wardship and marriage of the young gentleman." Since she would like to see her daughter, he advises her to get the Lord Treasurer to ask the Queen's leave to have her home for a visit. Mary Harding, attendant on the Lady Bridget, wrote from Greenwich to the Countess on July 5th, proposing a match for her young lady with the Lord Wharton, a

[1] From the originals at Belvoir. See also *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* XII. I. 304.
[2] *Ibid.* 320.

widower with children. "If your Ladyship ask Mr Manners his advice, he will speake stryghte of my Lord of Bedford, or my Lord Southampton. If they were in her choice, she saith, she would choose my Lord Wharton before them, for they be so younge, and fantasticall, and would be so caryed awaye, that yf anything should come to your Ladiship but good, being her only stay, she doubteth their carridge of themselves, seynge some expearynce of the lyke in this place....If your ladyship did know how weary my lady wer of the courte, and what little gain there is gotten in this time, her Majesties favourable countenance excepted, which my lady hath, your honour would willinglie be contented with a smaller fortune to help her from here....Ask Mr Manners. I think the nearest way were to fayne the messelles so she might have leve for a month to ayre her. And when she wer once with your honor, you might send to get the Queen's favour."[1] The Countess thereupon wrote to her cousin Mary Ratcliffe on July 18th and entreated her to beg the Queen to let her daughter come home after five years' absence. She longed much to see the girl, especially as she was in great danger through sickness and weakness. Now, either through her own imaginary measles, or her mother's supposed illness, Lady Bridget got home—but that was not the end of her trickery. She knew that neither Lord Bedford nor Lord Southampton was within her choice. She had no fancy for the middle-aged widower Lord Wharton, and, with Mary Harding's help, no doubt, she found a young husband for herself without asking the leave of Queen or mother. In those days such a step was no trifle. She must have known it could not be passed by. The next known of her is a distressed letter from Thomas Scriven, the family bailiff, who lived in the Holywell House by the theatre. He had delivered the Countess's letter[2] to both the Lord Chamberlain and the Vice-Chamberlain, "lest either should side with her Majesty's conceipt of contempt." They both promised to try to clear the Countess of blame for this late marriage; but the Queen could not believe her ignorant of it—she was too wise and her daughter too obedient. "The marriage of your own daughter, in your own house, and by your own chapeleyn, Lady Bridget could not have ventured so great a breach of duty. Time and submission must satisfy and good friends may prevail in staying further pro-

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* XII. I. 321. [2] *Ibid.* 329.

ceedings." Mr Tyrwhitt must be sent up at once, and was like to be imprisoned; the Lady Bridget also, though the Queen granted her the grace of being committed to the custody of one lady. The Queen was highly offended. "It could never have been done she says without your Ladyship, and she says you were bold to do it, as if neither you nor your son should ever need her Majestie." Lord Hunsden wrote in the same strain and blamed her severely for not sending Lady Bridget up at once to Lady Bedford's custody."[1] On October 16th, 1594, Thomas Scriven wrote again that the Countess of Bedford came to London last night with Lady Bridget; "...Mr Tyrwhitt amendeth well and greatly desireth liberty." But it was November 27th before Lord Hunsden sent to Belvoir to say that the Queen had set them both at liberty, and blamed the Countess more than either of them; though the Lady Bridget took the blame on herself, the Queen insists it was only to shield her mother. Now she was to be sent for at once—'Lady Bedford had been burdened with her long enough. Her husband could come down with her.' From the house-books of the Countess we can see that the young lady was far from economical. Her mother allowed her at Court as much money as she allowed her son Roger at Cambridge; yet Bridget left debts in London to the amount of £125.

The girl sank into obscurity after that. We hear of some Court gossip about Lady Bridget's child. She lived ten years and was buried in Bigby Church[2]: "July 10th 1604 the wife of Robert Tyrwhitt, and daughter of John Earl of Rutland, leaving 4 children William, Robert, Rutland and Bridget."

On September 3rd, 1594, there was entered on the Stationers' Registers a book entitled *Willobie his Avisa and the true picture of a modest maid, and of a chast and constant wife. (In Hexameter verse, The like argument whereof was never before published.)* The Preface is written by Hadrian Darell.

The interest to Shakespeareans lies in one of the laudatory poems to the author "in praise of Willobie his Avisa." 'Hexameton' gives the first clear reference to Shakespeare by name as the author of his second poem, that spring: "And Shake-speare paints poore Lucrece rape."

Another interest has been dragged into it, through the resem-

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* XII. I. 323. [2] *Ibid.* II. 317.

blance of two pairs of initials, which were either accidentally or intentionally used to represent two of the actors in the story. "H.W.," ostensibly Henry Willobie himself, has been supposed to represent Henry Wriothesley, and "W.S.," "the old player," has been supposed to mean William Shakespeare, who from experience could give the younger man advice how to prosecute his unlawful love. Such a translation of the friendship which had resulted in the writing of the Sonnets, and of the two poems descriptive of two aspects of chastity in man and woman, could only have been made by the enemies of both. A good deal of heated controversy went on over the intention of the book, and eventually it was called in. The whole publication seemed purposely wrapped in a mantle of mystification and descriptive self-contradiction.

Mr Charles Hughes, completing Dr Grosart's work on the poem, tried to treat it as descriptive of real facts, places, and people. He searched the county histories and Oxford registers to advantage and found that a real Henry Willoughby was born in West Knoyle, in the hundred of Mere, "at wester side of Albion's isle" and had matriculated at St John's in 1591, and that in local registers Avice or Avisa was a common name of girls. He brings Southampton on the scene as a visitor to his brother-in-law Thomas Arundel, son of Sir Matthew Arundel of Wardour, not very far off, and believes that Sir Thomas was living then at Abbey Court, Shaftesbury. Sir Thomas's mother was an Elizabeth Willoughby of Wollaton, but might have been connected with the West Knoyle Willoughbys. Mr Hughes can only bring Shakespeare on as a companion to the Earl of Southampton. He also identifies the Horseys of Melcombe Regis as the persons honoured in *Penelope's Complaint*, which was published along with a second issue of Willobie's *Avisa* in 1596 These facts are interesting, but have still to be sifted, collated, and corrected. H.W. might really have meant Henry Willoughby, and W.S. might have represented William Stanley before he became the Earl of Derby, or any other man in the country.

I had surmised that after his mother's marriage Southampton had devoted himself more to Italian studies, intending to travel on the continent, but now I have discovered proof of it, in a strange way. In 1598, in John Florio's preface to his *World of Wordes* he says

that he had been some years in the "pay and patronage of the Earl of Southampton." The years were at first not easy to reckon, but Florio is found residing at Titchfield with the Earl in the late autumn of 1594 (see page 83). Southampton came of age on the 6th of October of that year; but there is no trace of any rejoicings at the occasion. Sir Thomas Arundel and his wife (Southampton's sister Mary) were at Titchfield—not only they, but their *cook*, as if they expected to help at some festivities. But alas!, if there had been any plans for mirth and jollity, they were swept away by the horrors and anxieties connected with a murder committed in Wiltshire by Sir Charles and Sir Henry Danvers, special friends of the young Earl, on Friday the 4th of October. The hue and cry out against them reached Titchfield by Saturday; the men themselves had fled thither, and were put up between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning in Whitley Lodge, where Thomas Dymock, Southampton's bailiff, resided. Southampton's cook dressed their food, and he himself came to the Lodge on Monday night, supped with them, spent the night, and departed with them two hours before day next morning. After considerable difficulty he managed to get them shipped over to France, and made them his grateful and adoring friends for life.

The two Danvers were the two elder sons of Sir John Danvers of Dauntsey, Wiltshire, by Elizabeth, fourth daughter and co-heiress of John Neville, last Baron Latimer; Sir Charles was probably born in 1571, Sir Henry on 28th June, 1573, so that he was less than four months older than Southampton. He had been the page of Sir Philip Sidney, and went with him to the Low Countries. After Sidney's death he served the Earl of Essex and was knighted by him; so there was a double bond of union between the two young men. Henry was very highly praised and admired by his contemporaries. Aubrey says in his *Wiltshire* that "Henry Danvers had a magnificent and munificall spirit. He made the noble physic garden at Oxford, and endowed it."

These two fine young men, having thus burdened their lives and clouded Southampton's, were well received in France. When he was assured that his friends were safe, Southampton was prudent enough to do the best he could for himself, rode up to London, and, almost certainly, went to stay with his step-father, Sir Thomas

Henneage, at the Savoy. The Vice-Chamberlain had great influence both with the Queen and the Privy Council, and to him the youth would pour out the whole truth and ask advice. It is certain that Henneage helped him, for no unpleasant consequences to him followed, at least in public. Yet I seem to hear the echo of a whisper about his doings in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*.

A letter preserved at Loseley makes it probable that Southampton was spending his Christmas holidays with his mother and Sir Thomas Henneage.

He had by that time taken over the responsibilities of his position, and had something to ask Sir William More[1], his father's old friend.

My understanding that one Christopher Buckle, a late servant of yours, preferred by my cosen Haull to be the Underkeeper of Dogmarsfield Parke, wherewt I have commytted the charge to hym, is an humble suitor for your good favour to be continued unto hym, as to a person that would be most meete for your discountenance, or yll opynyon of hym, I shall pray you for my request's sake to vouchsafe such allowance of his humble desyre in this behalfe as may give me cause to yeelde yow thanks for hym. Wherewith, wishing you very hartely well, I leave you to the good keeping of our Lord Jesus. At the Savoy, the 21st December 1594

Your assured frende
H. SOUTHAMPTON.

A few days later, events occurred at Gray's Inn which have never been fully explained. The students, who had not had their usual revels for two or three years because of the plague and other causes, had resolved to make up for it this year. For this they elected a Mr Henry Helmes[2] to be their Lord of Misrule, entitling him "Henry, Prince of Purpoole, Archduke of Stapulia and Bernardia, Duke of High and Nether Holborn, Marquis of St Giles and Tottenham, Count Palatine of Bloomsbury and Clerkenwell etc." They were going to frame round him all the paraphernalia of a court, had selected Innocent's night, December 28th, as the day of their first special revels, and had invited the Templars to join them, so that they might heal the breach that had unfortunately risen between them. They had erected in the Hall a great stage, which

[1] *Loseley Papers*, vol. VIII.

[2] *Gesta Grayorum, or the History of the High and Mighty Prince of Purpoole who reigned and died* 1594. Printed by Canning, reprinted in Nichols' *Royal Progresses of Elizabeth* (vol. III. 262), lately reprinted from the original MS., and edited by W. W. Greg for the Malone Society.

we still can measure, whereon to represent their device. But the goodly company of great folks whom they had invited were not amenable to the mock Prince's discipline; they all seemed to have aspired to the seats of honour *on the stage*, and "the very good inventions and conceptions" could not be performed for the uproar and disorder. The Templars rose up and went away dissatisfied; as the masque had been intended for their benefit, it was not then played, and those who remained had "to content themselves with ordinary dancing and revelling, and when that was over, with a comedy of errors like to Plautus his Menaechmi, which was playd by the players." This play was considered the crowning disgrace of the evening, which was ever afterwards called "the night of errors."

Next day they held a mock court, examined witnesses, arraigned a "conjurer" on the charges of having caused the confusion by magic and "of having foisted a company of base and common fellows to make up our disorders with a play of Errors and confusions." The officers of the Christmas court were sent to the Christmas Tower for neglect of their duty of careful watching. But it may be noticed that nobody asked "How were the 'base and common fellows' introduced?" nor the even more pertinent question, "Who *paid* the players?" I think that the Earl of Southampton most likely had something to do with that.

The Prince and the Privy Council held a great consultation how to regain the lost honour of Gray's Inn "by some graver conceipt." During their efforts to arrange something to do this, the year of Southampton's majority closed.

[Now, in regard to the Gray's Inn Revels of 1594, I should like to bring forward a hypothesis which would account for much of the mystery regarding the Play of Errors. I think it is quite possible that Southampton was associated with it much more closely than has been supposed. At Gray's Inn he still might be reckoned as among the students; he could not have risen higher than an inner barrister, and there is no record that he had risen so far. It is possible that, knowing how popular he had been in his own circle, he might have expected to have been chosen the Prince of Purpoole himself, all the more that it would be a natural compliment to him on his coming of age. When he found another selected,

trifles might have the effect of rubbing him the wrong way. He might think that it was because he had sheltered his friends the Danvers that he was left out of the ring. Some of Henry Helmes' titles were taken from his property: "The Duke of High and Nether Holborn," "Count Palatine of Bloomsbury and Clerkenwell." The powers given to the Prince might have annoyed him, the device intended to have been played might have offended him, but he would have *done* nothing but for the accidental over-crowding of people, and the uproar and confusion among the crowds. Then he would see an innocent way, even yet, of becoming a "Lord of Misrule." He would almost certainly have been at Court at Greenwich for the forenoon performance, and as certainly would return to town for the Gray's Inn evening festivities. Possibly he went up to town about the same time as the players and offered them a rere-supper at one of the Holborn Inns, promising to come round and join them as soon as he could. When the Templars departed and he knew the device was spoiled, he might send for them, get them somehow admitted (they could not have got in by their own wits), and tell them to play the comedy they had just shewn the Queen. Somehow they did find an entrance, and a cleared stage, and the noise ceased as a performance began. Thereafter the players would slip away, secure in the knowledge of a coming reward from Southampton. Supposing all that, what follows? Next day the Gray's Inn revellers, after legal forms, held an enquiry as to the causes of the tumult. They charged a "Sorceror or Conjurer" with having done the mischief, who appealed for justice, and blamed every one else. So the Court punished their officials for lack of due discipline and sent them to the *Christmas Tower*. They never found the real offender, because *they did not want to find him*! They knew so far—that somebody well known must have guided the players," the base and common fellows," into their sanctum, and that somebody must have paid them. Was it Southampton? If any one ever brings forward a simpler explanation, I am willing to give this up. I am quite aware that some have made a difficulty about the date of the play at Greenwich. Even Mr Greg and Mr E. K. Chambers have done so.

It would perhaps help to clear away some dust from a literary question to pause for a moment here. Mr Greg published his new and careful edition of the *Gesta Grayorum* for the Malone Society's

reprints. The date printed on the volume is April 1914; the date in the Museum copy is stamped May 1915; the date of actual delivery to subscribers was the 13th March 1916—(this is on the late Mr Wheatley's authority). A reviewer of my book *Shakespeare's Industry*, published on the 8th of March and sent to the Press on the 10th, suggested that I should have referred to this edition in the reprint of my article on the subject which had appeared in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1895!

In the preface to this edition of the *Gesta*, Mr Greg, as general editor, states, "There are certain difficulties which have not always been recognized. The performance at Gray's Inn took place in the evening of December 28, and if the play was Shakespeare's play, we must suppose that the company was Shakespeare's company and the Lord Chamberlain's men. But the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber show payments to this company for performances before the Court both on the 26th December and 28th December. The Court was at Greenwich, and *the performances were in the evening*. These accounts, however, also shew a payment to the Lord Admiral's men in respect of 28th December. It is true that instances of two Court performances on one night do occur elsewhere, but in view of the double difficulty involved, it is perhaps best to assume that in the Treasurer's accounts 28th December is an error for 27th December." Mr Greg refers to Mr E. K. Chambers' article in the *Modern Language Review*, Oct. 1906, II. 10. Now Mr Chambers says that "both in the '*Pipe Roll*' and in the Treasurer of the Chamber's original account (Harl. MS. 1642, f. 19 *b*) records of the payments for the 26th and 28th December are given....It is not unlikely that the second play of the Chamberlain's men before Elizabeth was really on St John's day, Dec. 27th."

Why so? Why assume an error until other alternatives are exhausted? Now it is notable among these records that the usual form of an entry runs, "on New Year's day at night," "on Innocent's day at night"; but this particular entry runs "on Innocent's *Day*." So there was surely sufficient time for the Chamberlain's men to perform *twice* on that occasion, at Greenwich by day, at Gray's Inn at night. I treated this fully in my *Jahrbuch* article on "The earliest Official Record of Shakespeare's name," reprinted in *Shakespeare's Industry*, p. 218, and also in my *Athenæum* article

of April 30th, 1904; but neither Mr Chambers nor Mr Greg seems to have read them, or checked the originals quoted. In the "Declared accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, Pipe Office" (not the *Pipe Roll* as Mr Chambers says) and also in the same "Declared accounts" in the Audit Office, to which he does not seem to have referred, the statement is quite clear—"Innocent's Day." It is not like Mr Chambers to mix his references; but he says the payments discussed are given also in Harleian MS. 1642 f. 19 *b*. There is no such record at that reference, because the Harleian MS. in question concerns itself with the year previous to that in which these plays were performed at Greenwich.

This story cannot be dismissed without a few words on the first form of the Bacon-Shakespeare Question. It is quite probable that Bacon designed, or had something to do with designing, the device intended to have been performed at Gray's Inn on 28th December, 1594—only, *it was not played*. It was Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, played by base and common fellows (himself certainly being one), which was reckoned as the crowning *disgrace* of the evening. But during the following few days, when the disappointed performers laid their heads together to recover the lost glory of Gray's Inn, there is no doubt that Bacon helped them. Mr Spedding, his biographer, says that the speeches of the Six Councillors "carry his signature in every line." With that dictum careful readers agree. The history says that the performances of the 3rd January, 1594, quite restored the lost honour of the Night of Errors and made the Graians and the Templars friends—that is, that his legal contemporaries preferred Bacon's *Six Councillors*. But dramatic posterity prefers Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*.

The story of the *Sonnets* fits in wonderfully with the story of Southampton's life just then. Anyone may search and see some slight associated idea. For instance, it must have been about July, 1594, when the company went on its travels, that the talks of the friends led them to discuss what would be done after the coming of age, and marked a poetic fervour in *Sonnet* CIV:

> To me, fair friend, you never can be old,
> For as you were when first your eye I eyed
> Such seems your beauty still. Three winters' cold
> Have from the forests shook three summers' pride;

Three beauteous springs to yellow autumn turned
In process of the seasons have I seen;
Three April perfumes in three hot Junes burn'd
Since first I saw you fresh which yet are green.

In regard to Shakespeare's private relations to the Earl, little is definitely known. Though I do not wish to put it forward as founded on *authority*, I may say that there are a good many reasons to suggest the opinion that, considering the circumstances, Shakespeare wrote *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for the wedding festivities of Sir Thomas Heneage and the Countess of Southampton. The stately central figures of Theseus and Hippolyta harmonised with the representation of the Bridegroom and the Bride; the interweaving of fairies sprang from dreams of perpetual youth; the lovers' fancies controlled by the fairies' will, was a tribute of associated ideas for his beautiful young friend; Bottom and his group was a gentle satire on his own company as they had appeared to his youthful eyes at Kenilworth in 1575. For it seems certain that Shakespeare had been taken there by his father as a boy of eleven, and had remembered the spell of the masque and music of *The Lady of the Lake* by Master William Hunnis, which so inspired Master Robert Laneham—"the hole armonny conveyed in tyme, tune, and temper, thus incomparably melodious; with what pleazure, with what sharpnes of conceyt, with what lyvely delighte, this moughte pears into the heerer's harts, I pray ye imagine yourself as ye may..., for by all the wit and cunning I have, I cannot express, I promis you." It is not at all certain that the Earl and Countess of Southampton had been there; but it is quite certain that Sir Thomas Heneage had been, and who so well as that faithful old courtier could have appreciated the memorable lines to Elizabeth[1]?

Now, if that play was performed at his mother's wedding, it would give Southampton a chance of being stage manager, whether

[1] *M.N.D.* II. 1.

I saw...
Cupid all arm'd: a certain aim he took
At a fair vestal, throned by the west;
And loosed his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon;
And the imperial votaress passed on
In maiden meditation fancy free.

the performance was at Southampton House, at Horsham, at the Savoy, in the rural surroundings of Copthall, or even at Titchfield; and he would have enjoyed that.

We do know that it was after the Heneage marriage that we have the first official record of Shakespeare's name as playing at Court, in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, Dec. 28th, 1594[1].]

Mr Bertram Dobell on Sept. 14th, 1901, wrote to *The Athenæum*[2] stating that he had purchased a manuscript book entitled *A Register of all the Noble Men of England sithence the Conquest Created*—probably written between 1570–90. On the fly-leaves at the end are some poems by Sir Thomas Heneage, to one of which Sir Walter Raleigh wrote a reply. As he had not found any of the former printed, Mr Dobell includes them, as follows:

SR. THOMAS HENEAGE

Most welcome love, thou mortall foe to lies,
thou roote of life and ruiner of debate,
an impe of heaven that troth to vertue ties,
a stone of choise that bastard lustes doth hate
a waye to fasten fancy most to reason
in all effects, and enemy most to treason.

A flowre of faith that will not vade for smart,
mother of trust and murderer of oure woes
in sorrowes seas, a cordiall to the hart
that medcyne gives to every grief that growes;
a schoole of witt, a nest of sweet conceit,
a percynge eye that findes a gilt disceit.

A fortress sure which reason must defend,
a hopefull tayle, a most delyghtinge band,
affection mazed that leades to happy ende
to ranginge thoughtes a gentle ranginge hande,
a substaunce sure as will not be undone,
a price of joye for which the wisest ronne.

SR. THOMAS

The markes of thoughtes and messengers of will
(my friend) be wordes, but they not all to trust,

[1] See my paper "The earliest Official Record of Shakespeare's name," *Jahrbuch*, 1895.

[2] *Athenæum*, September 14th, 1901, p. 349.

for wordes be good full oft when thoughtes be ill,
as fair is falce though sometymes sweet and juste,
then friends to judge aright and scape the scof
trust none till tyme shall putt their vysardes of.

MR RAWLEIGH

Farewell falce love, thou oracle of lies,
  a mortall foe and enemy to rest,
an envious boye from whome all cares arise
  a bastard vile, a beast with rage possest,
a way of error, a temple full of treason,
in all effectes contrary unto reason.

A poysened serpent, covered all with flowers,
  mother of sighes and murderer of repose,
a sea of sorrowe from whence are drawen such showers
  as moysture lendes to every griefe that growes,
a schoole of gyle, a nest of deep deceit,
a gylded hook that holdes a poysened bait.

A fortress foiled whome reason did defend,
  a Cyren's songe, a feaver of the mynde,
a maze wherin affection findes no ende,
  a raginge clowde that ronnes before the winde,
a substaunce lyke the shadow of the sunne,
a goale of griefe for which the wysest ronne.

SR. THOMAS

Madame who once in paper puts his thoughte
doth send to daunger that was safe at home,
and meaning well doth make his judgment noughte
to thrall his wordes he wotes not well to whome;
yet pullinge back his penne he must confesse
to show his witt he proves his love the lesse.

SR. THO.

Idle or els but seldom busied best
in court (my Lord) we leade the vaynest life,
where hopes with feares, where joyes with sorrowes rest,
but faith is rare, tho fayrest wordes be rife.

Heare learne we vice, and looke one vertuous bookes,
heare fine deceit we hould be courtly skill;
our care is heare to waite one wordes and lookes,
and greatest work to follow others will.

Heare scorne a grace, and pride is pleasant thought,
mallice but might and fowlest shifte no shame,
lust but delyght, and playnest dealing nought,
whear flattery lykes, and trothe beares oftest blame

Yet is the cawse not in the place, I finde,
but all the fault is in the faulty minde.

SR. THOMAS

Seldome and short be all our happiest houres
we hear can hold, for why? oure hopes and joies
roulinge and falce their broding tyme devoures,
which when we trust, alas we finde but toyes.

Hard to obtain, but yet more haistly gon,
be greatest happ, with grudginge envie matcht,
of fairest seedes the fruit is nought or none
with good and evill our lyfe so much is patcht.

Owr twisted blis by tyme is soon untwynde,
to hope and love and fear doth gyve a lashe,
so change gives checke to each unstable mynde
to all delyght, and daunger gyves the dashe,
Thus dasht who yet fast troth to vertues lynckes
mak faith to shine, however fortune shrinckes.

Farewell falce Love first appeared in print in William Byrd's *Psalms Sonnets and Songs*, 1588, says Mr Dobell, referring to Mr Bullen's *Lyricks from the Song-books of the Elizabethan age*.

CHAPTER VII

CAUSES OF GOSSIP

No doubt one of the reasons which made the Gray's Inn men so ashamed of *The Comedy of Errors* was that it was an exceedingly free, if not a bad, translation of the Latin of Plautus. No wonder that they took Bacon into consultation as to how they might have something dignified and fitting. The Prince of Purpoole and his Christmas court planned another great evening on the 3rd of January. They invited the Templars, with due apologies, to come and see their actually intended plan. They reared an altar to the goddess of Amity, surrounded with nymphs and fairies who filled the air with sweet music. Then, apparently, the originally planned masque, revised, corrected and expanded, was performed in stately dignity for the benefit of the Templars. It represented a series of historical friends, Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Pylades and Orestes, Scipio and Lelius. To these they added *Graius* and *Templarius*. Then six Lords of the Prince's Privy Council discoursed, the 1st on Ware, 2nd on Philosophy, 3rd on Eternizement and fame by Buildings and Tombstones, 4th on the Absoluteness of State and Treasure, 5th on Vertue and Good Government, 6th on Pastime and Sports. This last Councillor advised all present to enjoy their opportunities. The Prince made a suitable reply, chose a lady to dance with, and so did all the others. "The performance of which night being carefully and orderly handled did so delight and please...that thereby Gray's Inn did not only recover their lost credit and quite take away all the disgrace that the former 'Night of Errors' had incurred, but got instead honour and good report," and Gray's Inn and the Temple were made friends.

Among the honourable personages invited on the great occasion were the Earls of Essex and Southampton, Sir Thomas Heneage, Sir Robert Cecil, and many knights and ladies, who all had "convenient places and very good entertainment to their good liking and contentment."

Sir Henry Helmes went on an imaginary visit to Muscovy, and a real visit to the Queen at Greenwich, where she honoured him and his company; and their revels only closed at Shrovetide.

The mysterious rumours which had been floating about through November and December[1] about the cause of the flight of the two Danvers and the association of the Earl of Southampton with it were intensified in January, 1594–5, when some of those concerned in it were examined before Sir Thomas West and other Justices of Hampshire.

Later notes to frame an indictment before the Wiltshire assizes in the Lent term were collected in a remarkable document, of which two copies are preserved in the Lansdowne MSS.[2], entitled "A lamentable discourse taken out of sundry examinacions concerning the wilful escape of Sir Charles and Sir Henrie Danvers, Knights, and their followers, after the murder committed in Wiltshire upon Henrie Long, gent." These notes are considerably fuller than the first set, and seem fairly trustworthy as to the escape, the only unsupported evidence being that of the manner of the death of the victim. The writer, probably the attorney of Sir Walter Long, says, "The said wilful murder executed upon Henrie Longe, gent, sitting at his dinner in the company of Sir Walter Longe his brother, Anthony Mildmay, Thomas Snell, Henrie Smith Esquires, Justices of her Majesties Peace for Wilts, and divers other gents att one Chamberlain's house in Cosham by Sir Charles and Sir Henry Davers and their followers to the number of 17 or 18 persons in most riotous manner appointed for that foul facte on Fridaie the 4th of October 1594." Another account says that Henry Long had challenged Charles Danvers, that he was pressing an unfair advantage and had his arm raised to kill, when Henry Danvers thrust himself between to ward off the blow, was wounded in the act, and striking upwards with his dagger killed Henry Long accidentally.

It is evident that they had confided in Southampton, before they went out, "to settle up with the Longs"; and that they had laid some plans, in case of the worst happening.

On the other hand[3] Lady Danvers brought a case against Sir Walter Long, and there is to be considered a letter of John

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, v. 84–90. [2] Lansdowne MSS. 827. 5 and 830. 13. 3.
[3] D.S.S.P. Eliz. CCLI. 123–124.

Calley to Cecil[1], later. He was servant to Lady Danvers and devoted to her and his young masters, and wrote, entreating pardon for them: "My Lords of the Circuit and a grand jury of gentlemen had an upright regard for justice....We of our side at the assizes preferring one bill for the killing of our man better than a year past, the same was found accordingly as also some of Mr Danvers neighbours preferring one other bill against Broome, a very base and lewd fellow, and a chief countenanced and abetted witness by Sir Walter Long for indictment of Mr Danvers at Lent assizes, is now at this assizes indicted of felony for robbing of a church....Touching my poor selfe, whom Sir Walter Longe doth malice in the highest degree....In his continual malicious proceedings he could never reprove me for a disobedient subject towards her Majesty and her laws....I could find matter for his utter disgrace." Meanwhile he implored Cecil to help his young masters home, July 23rd, 1595.

This account is supported by a later letter of Lady Danvers to Sir Robert Cecil, saying that she hears her Majesty is inclined to mercy, but still delays granting it. She suggests that this may be so as not to grieve the relatives, and asks if a reasonable composition might help. She would be willing to consider that, "beseeching you that in the matter you will not begin at the death of Mr Long, but at the murder of one of Mr Danvers' men, the cunning contriving of the saving of his life that did it, derisions and foul abuses offered to my husband's chief officers, and open scorns of him and his in saying that they had knighted him with a glass of beer; last of all, letters addressed to my son Charles, of such form as the heart of a man indeed had rather die than endure, how the beginning of all this quarrel was prosecuting of justice against thieves, harboured and maintained by the Longs, all the country knows. And if a life notwithstanding must be answered with a life, what may be trulier said than that my son slew Long with a dagger, and they have been the cause of slaying my husband with dolour and grief; and if Sir John Danvers were a worthier man, and his life of more worth than Harry Long's, *so much odds the Longs have had already* of our good name and house."

The story of the "escape," however, can be gathered from the examinations, in reading which one is held in breathless suspense at

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, v. 288.

times, unless the result is known. The facts are interesting, the details are sometimes amusing. There is an almost universal desire evident among all they meet to help the Danvers to escape.

The fugitives arrived about 8 or 9 in the morning of Saturday the 5th at Whitley Lodge near Titchfield, where Thomas Dymock lived, and there they remained till Tuesday morning, and "John, the Earl of Southamptons servant dressed their meat." The hue and cry followed them through the day. John gave Dymock's servant girl two shirts to wash, and one of them was bloody. The Danvers' servant, Gilbert Scott, stayed at Titchfield secretly for 10 days and was sent post haste to London and to the various ports, to secure a passage for France. On Sunday the 6th, the Earl remained at home for his 21st birthday. On Monday October 7th Mr Dymock and Mr Robinson had a controversy as to who should have Sir Henry Danvers' bloody velvet saddle. On the same Monday the Earl went with seven or eight followers to Whitley Lodge, supped with his friends, and tarried all night. On Tuesday morning, two hours before dawn, the Earl departed with the Knights and company to Burselldon Ferry, where Henry Meedes awaited them by command of Dymock. The Earl required Meedes to take the party either to Calshot Castle or Bewly, a-hunting. They went towards Calshot Castle, but did not land until Wednesday the 9th. Now the Captain, Master Perkinson, was a great friend of the Danvers, and he was absent from the Castle at the time, whether by accident or intention is not clear. The Deputy also was absent for a shorter time. In their absence the master gunner admitted the party, but, having some doubts, took their arms from them and put them in the Deputy's room to wait. There were five in the first boat, the Knights and Thomas Dymock included, and thirteen in the second boat. Meanwhile "Mr Francis Robinson, the gentleman of the Earl's stables, told Dredge the stable-boy to go into the kitchen to Austin, the cook of Sir Thomas Arundel (who with his lady was then at Titchfield), and get a basket of cooked meats, and carry it to Mr Dymock"; and the party in the Deputy's room supped there, the Deputy arriving in time to join them. They stayed at the Castle till Friday the 11th, many messages coming and going. Then Captain Perkinson sent private information to the Earl that he had received official letters from Sir Thomas West to apprehend them. Southampton sent his

servant Payne to warn his friends; the master gunner gave them back their arms, though all knew by this time that they were the men wanted; and they hurried out pell-mell, overcrowding the boat in their haste. It is not quite clear where they went; but on Friday night seven strange men supped in Whitley Lodge kitchen and rode away. Then more arrived, who only had boiled milk for food, but spent the night there and went away on foot in the morning with Dymock. On Saturday, Master Captain Perkinson sent to his Deputy to apprehend the fugitives, but the latter told the messenger they had already gone, and he feared he would lose his office; but the Captain said he was very glad they were gone, whatever it cost him.

Master Lawrence Grose, Sheriff of Southampton, being at Hamble, the Constable there told him about the murder and asked him to inform the Mayor of Southampton of what was going on, which he did. "The said Grose, passing over Itchen's Ferry with his wife that Saturday the 12th, one Florio an Italian, and one Humphrey Drewell a servant of the Earl of Southampton, being in the said passage boat threatened to cast Grose overboard, and said they would teach him to meddle with their fellows, with many other threatening words."

So "resolute John Florio," being even then "in the pay and patronage" of the Earl, backed his friends in their efforts to escape.

We do not know where they were meanwhile; but on Monday night, the 14th, Mr Robinson ordered Dredge to saddle seven horses and go to bed, and the horses went away at midnight; one of the Earl's servants brought back four of them on Thursday at daybreak to Titchfield, telling Dredge to feed them and treat them well, for the Earl was going to London with them that day. The author of "the lamentable discourse" concludes with the words, "names of the principal menservants of the Earl of Southampton, not yet examined, but it is very necessary they should." Thirteen are noted, of which the first are "Hennings, his Steward; Payne, keeper of his wardrobe; Robinson, gentleman of his horses; the Barber, Humphrey Drewell, who threatened Mr Grose the Sheriff; Signior Florio, an Italian, that did the like; Richard Nash, the Earl's Bayly at Tichfield."

The Danvers brothers, apparently secreted in Titchfield House itself, by the Earl's help managed to escape from some port to France,

where they were well received. The Earl of Essex was ready to believe in his old soldier and receive him to his service again.

On the 1st of January, 1594–5[1], Sir Henry Danvers wrote to the Earl of Essex from Paris thanking him for his "royal proceeding in my favour....I am informed you intend a journey this spring where or whether I little regard to know (so it be without the confines of a constable)." He added that if he were allowed to follow him, he would await his directions; if not, he would attend the King to Lyons. "The end of my life is the limit of your commandment and without exception are the bounds against whom you will employ me....I wish to give a blow wherein you may equalise your fortune to your worth."[2] The King of France became personally interested in the brothers, and wrote to Essex on September 25th, 1595, that he would be very ungrateful did he not employ himself on behalf of Danvers and his brother, who had proved their affection in his service, in trying to obtain her Majesty's pardon for them. He wrote in a similar strain several times.

The brothers did not escape a certain amount of suffering for their sins[3]. Their estates were forfeited and taken into the Queen's hands, and they wrote pitifully to their friends of their lack of money[4].

Yet Fynes Moryson, after having been robbed of all his gold by soldiers in France, reached Paris, with but little to go further[5]. There he met Sir Charles and Sir Henry Danvers "who for an ill accident lived there as banished men,...yet did they not cast off all care to provide for me but with great importunitie perswaded a Starveling merchant to furnish me with ten French crowns," which brought him home to England by May 13th, 1595.

From London (in June?) Southampton wrote to Sir John Stanhope about an advowson[6]—(it is strange how often the Queen's rights interfered with his gifts): "I hear that the Queen's answer to my suit about bestowing the Worthing parsonage, which is in my gift, but in the Queen's disposition by promotion of the Bishop of Winchester, is that she stays a grant to the person recommended by me, on pretence of an advowson granted to Mr Carew by the late

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, v. 90.
[2] *Ibid.* 389
[3] *Ibid.* 129.
[4] *Ibid.* 463, 464, 532.
[5] *Itinerary*, part I. p. 156.
[6] D.S.S.P. Eliz. CCLIX. 42.

Earl's (my father's) executors. This advowson being made in my minority is void unless I were still a ward. Had the advowson fallen in otherwise than by procuration, I should have bestowed it without regarding the advowson, and now it cannot affect the Queen's prerogative. It would have been in the Master of the Wards, if it had fallen in during my minority. For all these reasons, I hope the Queen will admit the person recommended by me."

The overweening ambition of Southampton's cousin Anthony tempted him to challenge precedence over Lord Thomas Howard, the second son of the late Duke of Norfolk. The case was decided against him on January the 16th, 1594–5[1].

Now, for twenty years I had been searching in vain for some account of Southampton's methods of escape from matrimony, when quite by accident I came upon the fact. It is involved in a contemporary story which deserves to be introduced because of its own interest.

Among Southampton's most brilliant contemporaries had been Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, the Amyntas of the poets. He succeeded his father, Henry, as fifth Earl of Derby on September 25th, 1593; and on the 16th of April, 1594, he died in great pain, so mysteriously that many said he was "bewitched."

The legal heir to the Earldom was William Stanley, the second son of Henry, fourth Earl of Derby, his brother having left only daughters. Apparently, however, he was not immediately forthcoming. Here ensues an imbroglio, caused by there being another Sir William Stanley[2], openly serving the Spaniards against England. A well-known ballad of Sir William recites a semi-fabulous account of wonderful exploits on his travels, which have been fathered on this William Stanley. He had been travelling, and apparently by the time he came home the estate had been wound up in favour of his brother's widow and daughters. But as the indubitable heir to certain estates and to the title, Lord Burleigh bethought himself he would be a suitable match for the granddaughter who had been waiting five years for the Earl of Southampton. The new Earl of Derby accepted her at once, and they were about

[1] Eg. MS. 1047. f. 264*b*.

[2] See *Stanley Papers*, Cheetham Society, and *Ballad of Sir William Stanley*.

to be married. But there is a letter from Henry Garnet, the Priest, in 1594[1], which states: "The marriage of the Lady Vere to the new Earl of Derby is deferred, by reason that he standeth in hazard to be unearled again, his brother's wife being with child, until it is seen whether it be a boy or no. *The young Earl of Southampton, refusing the Lady Vere, payeth £5000 of present payment.*" And this is the hitherto unsuspected cause of Southampton's poverty. Just at the most critical time of his finances, when he was trying to plan a harmonious life of travel and *economy*, he was called on to pay this heavy sum, *at once*—the first recorded "breach of promise" case. Though he was relieved of any further obligations towards the lady, still the loss of the money must have pinched him. Lady Derby's child proved a girl, and on "26th January 37 Eliz. William Stanley, Earl of Derby, married the Earl of Oxford's daughter at the Court at Greenwich, which marriage feast was there most royally kept."[2]

Sir John Vernon of Hodnet, the husband of the Earl of Essex's aunt, had died in 1591, leaving one son and four daughters. The Earl of Essex had been able to help the son, Robert, and to get one of the daughters, Elizabeth, into the royal service. He was himself frequently out of the country, and we may well imagine that the young maid of honour often found it convenient to send messages to him by his friend the Earl of Southampton, to enquire what he had said in his letters, to tell what the Queen said of him, and to surmise, from what she had noticed, what the Queen meant to do with him or for him. Their common affection to the Queen's favourite drew them together; their signals, their signs of a private understanding, began to make people talk, probably before either knew that any personal affection for each other had entered their hearts. Rowland Whyte writes to Sir Robert Sidney, September 23rd, 1595[3]: "I was told that Sir William Cornwallis doth often trouble her majesties eares with tales of my Lord of Essex, who is thought to be an observer of all his doings and to examine Mudriff, which brings unquietnes in the Queene and occasions the like in my Lord. *My Lord of Southampton doth with too much familiarity courte the faire Mrs Vernon*, while his frends, observing the Quene's

[1] Foley's *English Jesuits*, IV. 49.
[2] Stow's *Chronicles*, pp. 766–768.
[3] *Sidney Papers*, I. 348.

humours towards my Lord of Essex, doe what they can to bring her to favour him, but it is yet in vain." There is not the slightest sign that Whyte attached an evil meaning to the words italicised, though Southampton's biographers have generally done so.

It was imprudent, in any young man, to pay too much attention to any young lady in the Queen's presence at any time, and it was especially so in anyone who was supposed to have even the faintest desire to attract the Queen's interest sufficiently to rival the Earl of Essex[1]. Yet it was quite possible that some of the evil-thinkers of the Court might have read unintended meanings in their open friendship, all the more since the insidious detractors might find support for their gossip in the supposed allusions to the character of Southampton in *Willobie his Avisa*, by that time widely read and discussed. The real fact seems to have been that, as Adonis had been able to repel the pleadings of Venus because of his heart being occupied with the pleasures of the chase, so the Earl of Southampton found as yet no room in his heart for visions of matrimony, since it was already filled with visions of glory to be won in war, somewhere and somehow, under his adored leader. His absorption was all the greater, as he had already enrolled himself as the champion of Essex against all the open enmity and insidious evil-feeling which surrounded him. Rowland Whyte wrote to Sidney on November 5th, 1595[2], "Upon Monday last the Queen shewed the Earl of Essex a printed book in which there is I hear dangerous praises of his valour and worthiness, which doth hym harm here. At his coming from courte, he was observed to look wan and pale, being exceedinglie troubled at this great piece of villainie donne unto him. He is sick and continues very ill, 5th Nov. 1595. P.S. The Book I spake of is dedicated to my Lord Essex, and printed beyond the sea, and 'tis thought to be treason to have it. To write of these things are dangerous in so perillous a tyme but I hope yt wilbe no offence to impart unto you thactions of this place." Two days after, Whyte continued the story: "My Lord of Essex, as I wryt unto you in my last, was infinitely troubled with a printed book that the Queen

[1] The probable position seems to have been that Southampton was so delighted to be free from his engagement that he felt at liberty to be more attentive to all the court ladies, and to Elizabeth Vernon in particular (cousin of Essex). Shakespeare refers to the gossip in his *Sonnets*.

[2] *Sidney Papers*, I. 357, 359, 360.

shewed hym; but since he is prepared to endure the malice of his enemies; yet doth he keep his chamber." Five days after this, Whyte ends the episode satisfactorily: "My Lord of Essex hath put off the melancholy he fell into by a printed book delivered to the Queene; wherein the Harme was meant hym, by her majesties gracious favor and wisdom is turned to his good, and strengthens her Love unto hym, for I heare that within these 4 days many letters sent to herself from forren Countries, were delivered only to my Lord of Essex and he to answer them, 12th November." Encouraged by this favour, the Earl presented a device to the Queen on the 22nd of that month, and Southampton would be sure to be present.

It is necessary to go back to Sir Thomas Heneage and to trace the course of his last illness, even in the new happiness of having a kind and careful wife to nurse him.

Heneage wrote to Cecil from the Savoy, June 6th, 1595: "Your love which I love, is shewed to me by your letter...it comforted me during an extreme fit of the Stone."[1] Lord Hunsdon dates a letter from Southampton House on June 23rd, 1595, as if he were visiting there. "Memorandum. On 10th July 1595, the book about the pretended marriage of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Katherine, deceased, daughter of the late Duke of Suffolk, was handed over by Heneage to Burleigh."[2]

On July 11th Sir Thomas wrote to Cecil[3], "I am very glad of your Progress, the rather because you make your return by my poor Lodge of Copt Hall, where I will make as much of you all as I can, though it will be far short of what I would and where you shall be not the least welcome. Myself am troubled greatly by an unkind and injurious son-in-law, and being to meet him with my learned council this afternoon, at my Lord Keeper's, I shall not be able to see you till tomorrow at night, at the Court....I and my wife commend us to you and my best beloved cousin, as to those we specially love and account of. At the Savoy."

On July 25th from Copthall he writes to Cecil[4] that he had a touch of the gout, and would be grateful to know when the Queen is coming. "I hope that her Majestie will hold her determination

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, v. 233.
[2] *Ibid.* 273.
[3] *Ibid.* 277.
[4] *Ibid.* 290.

towards the end of gresse time to visit this poor Lodge, which I love for nothing so much as that she gave it to me, and that I hope, ere I die, to see her Highness here, though not pleased as my heart desires, yet contented with such mean entertainment as my most power can perform, with most goodwill; and so give her Majestie occasion to like better her forest that lieth so near here, and that of late her Highness hath come so little over."

On July 29th the Countess wrote to Sir Robert Cecil[1]: "You do well to comfort those who love you, especially when with one labour you can comfort us both; Mr Heneage taketh your sending, and I your saying, very kindly. This hath been a painful night to him, I hope better of the day. Little do I doubt of your readiness upon any occasion, to do that I desired and may have need of, believe, I pray you, to find my true thankfulness for that, and more, which I lay up in store. At Heneage House, well freed from visitation, which at this time would be very cumbersome. P.S. I pray you commend me to that wicked woman, that loves you and likes me. They call her my Lady Katherine."

She wrote Cecil again on the 2nd of August[2]: "Your letter, shewing her Majesties liking to continue her purpose in coming to our poor lodge at Copthall, hath given him more comfort than anything else, the rather, for that he esteems it grows from her own goodness. That he most desires is to know the certainty of her time of coming, without the which he shall be evil able to do that he desires and shall become him. In this he specially reposes himself in you to be assured so soon as you can. He thanks you for your letter."

On August 9th, 1595, the Countess jestingly wrote[3] to Cecil: "We hold it a great infortunite for us that any occasion moved her Majesty to speak of us to so great an enemy as we esteem yourself to be to us both, assuring ourselves you took the present occasion to pour forth your malice which we must hear and desire no better. Mr Heneage was much revived by your letter, as indeed he is ever glad to hear from you, believing in your love, and of his desire to see her majesty well content in Copthall, I think you are sufficiently perswaded, but that we may have certainty is that we wish, and in such time as may leave us possibility to shew our harts to her in

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, v. 294. [2] *Ibid.* 299. [3] *Ibid.* 309.

some measure, rather now than any other time, yet am I at this time much troubled with hearing that the smallpox is full at Epping, and at Waltham, and in some houses between that and Copthall." She asks Sir Robert to consider what were best to be done.

On Aug. 25th Sir Thomas thanked Cecil for his care for him "that can yet little boast of good amendment."[1]

On September 2nd he wrote again to Cecil[2]: "I love your letters, and to hear from you rejoiceth me, specially when you record your love to me, which can never be more than can be fully requited. Well have you discharged the office of a friend, in the matter and manner of delivering the humble remembrance of my most bounden duty to her excellent majesty, by whose grace only the heart of a healthless body is uphelde, which surely without the unspeakable comfort of her goodness in this long, weary, and most painful sickness of mine, would have sank and yet to tell you truly I can evil boast of great amends yet never man was more cared for by a most kind companion that cares not to kill herself to cure me. God reward her, for I cannot but by the favour of that grace which upon earth is the fountain of our grace." The letter is written from Sir John Petre's house at Thorndon, where he is very happy.

On the 4th Sir Thomas Shelley[3] asked Heneage to reconcile him to Sir Robert Cecil and my Lady Cobham, whom he had wronged in his marriage with one he had fallen in love with.

After this, Heneage lingered about six weeks, during which the young Earl of Southampton would be sympathetic with his mother and sorrowful for himself, and again his birthday would be clouded by a great sorrow. The Privy Council Register implies that Mr Vice-Chamberlain signed on October 19th. On the 20th the Earl of Oxford wrote to Cecil that, considering the danger of life in which Mr Vice-Chamberlain lay, he begged Sir Robert Cecil to secure him the Forest of Waltham and Havering, which had been in Heneage's care. On the 28th the Bailiff and Aldermen of Colchester wrote to Sir Robert Cecil about his desire of holding the Recordership of that town, void by Heneage's death.

Probyn, who seems to have been a servant of Sir Thomas, wrote to Cecil on October 21 with some peculiar notes. He had both yesternight and this day sought John Arden and found

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, v. 309. [2] *Ibid.* 359. [3] *Ibid.* 427.

his lodging in Southwark, near to the place where hawks are sold there; but he has gone into the country (as the host says) for a few days. On his return he is to be sent to Heneage House and due notice will be given. "The cabinet wherein is the written description of Ireland[1] with the map which was Mr Secretary's and written by Mr [Davison] when he was in the Tower is come to Heneage House and my Lady says only Cecil shall have it or anything else there is to pleasure him." In the same cabinet are other books which will also be kept for him. His Lady sent by Mr Heneage this forenoon to Cecil, or he would have waited on him before, but in seeking for Arden and compounding with Pawles for burying the corpse he found no time to come[2]. Probyn's name appears as Proby in Bishop Fletcher's letter (quoted below) and there is mention of John Arden going to Cecil's house to clear himself.

The Mayor and Aldermen of Hull offered Cecil the High Stewardship[3] of the town on November 4th; and the Bishop of Salisbury sent him, on November 12th, the patent for the Clerkship of Sarum, vacant by the death of Sir Thomas Heneage[4]. Whyte said on 22nd November, 1595, that Sir Thomas Heneage's "funerals were solemnised on Thursday, his offices all unbestowed."

There seems to have been some trouble about his funeral, because Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, wrote to Cecil on November 27th, 1595[5], telling him that he had called to see him "about some matter it pleased you to mention to my very good friend Mr Richard Stanhope....I do very heartily pray you to think that there hath passed not one word, I may truly say thought touching either the late deceased or any other person, only, I not being made privy to the funeral, nor satisfied for my fees due, being both keeper and repairer of the body of the church, did overnight charge my officer of the place to go to my Lady Southampton and acquaint her with the usage, I wrote also to her in as kind wise as I could. Proby came to me thereabout, and gave me his word for it, with whom there was not a note. Until I can speak with you I earnestly desire you to be persuaded whatever the malignant invention is, that I love you as unfeignedly as any good friend in England."

Sir Thomas Heneage had done his best to reward his wife for

[1] Preserved in B.M. Add. MS. 33,743 (Gr. xv). [2] *Salisb. Papers*, v. 525.
[3] *Ibid.* 439. [4] *Ibid.* 454. [5] *Ibid.* 475.

all her love and care by expressing his gratitude to his friends. But he also expressed it in his will[1]. He did all he could to leave her comfortable and free from any interference at the hands of his "injurious son-in-law." He also appointed as sole executrix his "dearly beloved wife Marie." This trust was to prove a burden and a trouble to the poor Countess in one case which her dying husband little expected could befal. "In December William Killigrew was deputed to make payment in the Office of the Chamber upon the death of Sir Thomas Heneage."[2] The Inquisition of his property was taken the following year[3].

The gossip about Southampton did not prevent him from being courted by poets and other writers. We have seen that Florio dated his special association with him at least from 1594, though he did not dedicate to him directly until 1598.

From a close reading of the *Sonnets*, it would seem that George Chapman had striven to win Southampton's notice by this time. His special original effort has not been preserved, but the allusions which have been traced to him cannot be ignored. (See *Sonnets* LXXVIII-LXXXVI.)

Gervase Markham too, a lifelong admirer of his, first published in that year a sonnet on the young Earl—his narrative poem on the death of Sir Richard Grenville must have been written at least earlier in the year. On September 9th, 1595, "James Robartes entered for his copie under the Warden's Handes a Booke intituled The Most Honorable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinville, Knight," printed that year by J. Roberts for Richard Smith. It is prefaced by four addresses, the first in prose "To the Right Honorable his singular Good Lord Charles Lord Montjoye"; the second, a sonnet to the Right Honorable Robert, Earl of Sussex; the third, a sonnet

To the Right Honorable Henrie Wriothesley Earl of Southampton and Baron of Tichfielde.

Thou glorious Laurell of the Muses Hill
  Whose eyes doth crowne the most victorious pen
Bright Lampe of vertue, in whose sacred skill
Lives all the blisse of eares—inchanting men

[1] 70 Scott.
[2] Burleigh's Diary.
[3] Inq. P. M. 38 Eliz. Part II. 107. Thomas Heneage, Miles, Essex.

From graver subjects of thy grave assayes,
Bend thy coragius thoughts unto these lines,
The grave from whence mine humble Muse doth raise
True honors spirit in her rough deseigns;
And when the stubborne stroke of my harsh song
Shall seasonlesse glide through almightie eares,
Vouchsafe to sweet it with thy blessed tong
Whose well-tun'd sound stills musick in the spheres
So shall my tragick layes be blest by thee
And from thy lips suck their eternitie. G. M.

Another sonnet follows, "To the Honorable Knight Sir Edward Wingfield."

The poem is in remembrance of Sir Richard Grenville's last fight in the little *Revenge* against the whole Spanish fleet, when he was only conquered at last by the yielding of his men. The story as told must have stirred the blood of the young men of the time, who thirsted for glory. It certainly stirred Southampton's, as will be seen later.

We can gather from a later dedication that the Earl of Southampton, before he came of age, had studied Italian very closely under John Florio, in company with the young Earl of Rutland. Probably he then intended to travel to Italy, but various causes hindered him. Rutland went.

This young man was about three years younger than Southampton, and they were much attached to each other. His town house becomes interesting to Shakespeareans because it was on part of the old Holywell Priory Estate, of which the other part, granted to Henry Webbe, was eventually sold to Giles Alleyn and let to James Burbage, who was then in trouble with his landlord. Now, on July 4th, 1595, Roger, Earl of Rutland, brought a suit by James Morice his attorney in the Court of Wards[1], stating that his father[2] Edward, Earl of Rutland, was in possession of the Mansion House of the late dissolved house of St John's in Holywell, by a lease from her Majesty for divers years yet unexpired. In 1573 his father[2] had granted a lease of 21 years to "William Adams of a tenement adjoyning to the Holywell gate, and next adjoyning to the Porter's

[1] Court of Wards and Liveries, Michaelmas, 38 Eliz.; also Inq. P. M. Edward Earl of Rutland 30 Eliz. Part II. no. 52.
[2] Should be "uncle."

Lodge of his great Mansion House for 21 years." Adams was to keep it in repair. But he assigned it to Stephen Lorymer, who had died; Lorymer's widow had married Robert Braynesford, and Morice applied to the Court to make him pay cost of reparations. Braynesford pleaded that the only person liable for repairs was William Adams. Was this the navigator William Adams of Japanese fame?

The young Earl of Rutland went abroad in September, 1595. Sir Thomas Lake wrote to Sidney on October 1st, 1595[1], "My Lord of Rutland hath leave to Travayle and departed within ten days. His first visit will be to you." George Gilpin, writing to Sidney from the Hague on the 22nd, said "I hope ere long, to see you here with my Lord of Rutlande."[2] On the 29th of November Rowland Whyte told Sidney he had "delivered his letter to Mr Roger Manners, with praises of his nephew at which he is glad."[3]

So Southampton would not at that time have him for a companion, and this would throw him even more into the society of Elizabeth Vernon. She may be supposed to have been one of "the faire ladies who doe daily trip the Measures in the Council Chamber" as Whyte told Sidney on December 8th, 1595.

A curious letter of that year I cannot pass by without noting, because of the peculiar phrase about the "moon's eclipse."[4] If we could discover to what person it applies, we could throw light on *Sonnet* CVII. "I left the moon in the wane at my last being at the Court; I hear now it is a half moon again, yet I think it will never be at the full, though I hope it will never be eclipsed, you know whom I mean," said Sir Thomas Cecil to his brother Sir Robert on July 9th, 1595.

One of the popular dramatists essayed to glorify the Queen and honour her favourites in the quaint poem "*Anglorum Feriæ Englandes Hollydayes*. By George Peele. 1596," an account of the jousts arranged to celebrate the anniversary of the accession of Q. Elizabeth "celebrated the 17th of Novemb. last, 1595." A list of knights who were present is given:—"Renowined Cumberland" the Challenger, the Earl of Essex and Ewe, the Earl of Sussex led as defendants.

[1] *Sidney Papers*, I. 352.
[2] *Ibid.* 355.
[3] *Ibid.* 356.
[4] *Salisb. Papers*, V. 273.

THE THIRD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON IN A SUIT OF WHITE, WITH ARMOUR
(At Welbeck Abbey)

Then Bedforde and South-Hampton made up five
Five valeant English Earles. South-Hampton ran
As Bevis of South-Hampton yt good knighte
Had iusted in the honor of the day,
And certes Bevis was a mighty man,
Valeant in armes gentle and debonaire.
And suche was younge Wriothesley yt came
As yf in dutie to his Soveraigne.
And honors race for all that he had donne,
He wolde be of the noblest over nunne.
Lyke to himselfe and to his Ancestors,
Ran Bedforde to express his redyness.

CHAPTER VIII

SEA DREAMS AND ACTIONS

1596–7

SIR JOHN HAWKINS had died on 12 November, 1595, near Panama, and on the 28th day of the first month of the year 1595–6 Sir Francis Drake[1], the terror of the Spaniards, worn out by disease and disappointments, died in his ship *The Defiance* off the coast of Porto Bello, Panama. Prince, in his *Worthies of Devon*, quotes some lines by an unknown author concerning the end of this great captain:

> 'The waves became his winding sheet, the waters were his tomb;
> But for his fame the ocean sea was not sufficient room.

It is surprising how soon the sad news crossed the sea and moved the hearts of his fellow-countrymen. At the same time it hastened Elizabeth's naval activities in waters nearer home. She proclaimed the intended expedition under the Lord Admiral and the Earl of Essex. "Her Majesty hath good intelligence of perfect amity with all Kings and princes of Christendom, saving with the King of Spain."[2] When Calais was besieged by the Spaniards, Elizabeth offered to help the French King against them, and raised troops in Kent to repair to Dover for the purpose; but the offer was declined and Calais taken, and a large English and Dutch fleet was sent to attack Cadiz. By April 1596 a warrant for £4000 was granted the leaders[3]. By the 15th of May, Essex and the Admiral were at Plymouth with the army. They started early in June, but, being set back by contrary winds, it was the 9th of that month before they finally set sail. The Lord Admiral was in the *Ark*, Essex in the *Due Repulse*, Lord Thomas Howard, second son of the Duke of Norfolk, in the *Miranore*, and the Rear-Admiral Sir Walter Raleigh in the *Warspite*. The Dutch Admiral Duvenvoord was in the *Neptune*. The question is, did the Earl of Southampton go with them? Modern biographers say he did, but I can find no support for that opinion, except the manuscript copy of Thomas Wilson's translation of the *Diana*[4] from the Spanish of Gorges de Montemayor, 1596. He

[1] D.S.S.P. Eliz. CCLVII. 48.
[2] Stow, 768.
[3] Burleigh's Diary.
[4] B.M. Add. MS. 18,638.

dedicated it to "the Earl of Southampton, now upon the Spanish voyage with my Lord the Earl of Essex."

The State papers do not include his name, nor do Camden, Stow, Baker, nor any other contemporary historian. It is most likely that the translator had forgotten[1]. It is quite certain that Southampton had wished to go. As early as March 17th, 1595–6, the Lord Admiral, writing to Cecil, said[2], "I thank you for your good news. My Lord Thomas Howard and the Earl of Southampton was with me when your letter came. There came to us, being aboard of the *Due Repulse*, the Earl of Cumberland, and he seemed to be much grieved with that he is stayed; but I dealt so with him, as he knoweth how it must be." On April 13th, when they were at Dover[3], the Queen instructed Essex to take only such as had licence to go, viz. "Sussex, Rich, Herbert, Burgh, but not Derby and Southampton." A letter of the 16th, from Essex to Cecil, must have crossed this, in which Essex says, "I know not whether Lords Southampton and Compton, who are here, have licence to go. I have charged them to return else, and if they come on board without it will send them back. Lord Mountjoy has shewn me his warrant. I am resolved that obedience is better than sacrifice."[4]

In the list of the "names of the army that went abroad" that of Southampton does not appear, but in the Earl of Sussex's Regiment Captain William Harvey is mentioned, with 300 soldiers[5].

On the other hand, from London in June, 1596, Southampton wrote to Sir John Stanhope[6] about the advowson of Worthing Vicarage, and on July 1st executed[7] a power of attorney to William Rounching to receive of George, Earl of Cumberland, and John Taylor his servant one thousand pounds[8]. It does not seem very likely that Southampton was in the army, seeing that Sir George Gifford wrote him news of the events[9]: "Departing from Plymouth the 9th of June," hallyng "between 30 or 40 leagues off, for fear of being discovered upon the coast, we ran in upon our height, the 20th of the same for Cales (Cadiz) and the day before Sir Walter Rawly having given chase with some other of his squadron to 9 sail bound

[1] Add. MS. 18,638, see p. 3.
[2] D.S.S.P. Eliz. CCLVII. 24.
[3] *Ibid.* 60.
[4] *Salisb. Papers*, VI. 102.
[5] *Ibid.* 35.
[6] *Ibid.* CCLIX. 42. See *ante*, p. 84.
[7] In possession of Mr. Thomas Orde, says Gerald Massey.
[8] Birch. *Mem. Eliz.* II.
[9] *Salisb. Papers*, XIII. 577.

for the Indies, was by 4 o'clock in the afternoon in manner come up with them and an unfortunate and sudden fog, despite the good success that we were in hope to have, took us, that we were not able that night till 12 of the clock to see two ships long from us, whereby we were frustrated of that hope....Sunday our generals anchored at mouth of the harbour of Cadiz where one fort played on us to little purpose." Gifford, describing the fight, says that "Sir Walter Rawly and our general defeated the Spaniards who set themselves on fire. Our general landed 4000 men, others were to follow. Cadiz was 14 miles off, but they never stopped until they reached the market place. Sir John Wingfield was killed, and two more of command, two hundred in all slain." They stayed 14 days, and buried there Sir John Wingfield in the church of St Sebastian with great honour. "They won great honour for their mercifulness, letting the men, women and children depart. In Cales Road, 5th July 1596." The Lord Admiral wrote to his father-in-law[1]: "I can assure you there is not a braver man in the world than the Earl is, in my simple poor judgement, a grave soldier, for what he did is in great order and good discipline performed. We finished our business in Cadiz by the 3rd of July." Among the knights made for signal bravery before Cadiz on the 27th June were Sir Matthew Browne, Sir Humphrey Drewell, Sir William Harvey, and Sir Gelly Meyrick[2]. Essex wanted to keep Cadiz and go on to the Azores. But many of them wanted to return home with their booty, others thought they had not sufficient men for further action, and Essex was forced against his will to come home. They arrived in England on the 7th–8th of August. Burleigh in his Diary notes: "August. Letters written to the Lord Admirall arryved at Plymouth, and to the Earl of Essex arrived at Portsmouth, and to the Dutch commander Duvenvoord, of thanks for their services." If Southampton started, it must have been as stowaway, and he must have been duly sent back. But nowhere is there any notice of his presence.

A statement becomes important when it is made to bear the whole weight of proof. Hence it is necessary to check the oft-repeated assertion that Southampton took part in the Spanish voyage of 1596. The manuscript copy of the *Diana* of Montemayor in the British Museum was transcribed by the translator himself for presentation

[1] Add. MS. 18,638. [2] Stow's *Chronicles*, and Collins, IV. 146.

"to the Right Honourable Sir Fulke Greville Knt. Privie Councillor to his Majestie and Chancellor of the Exchequer, my most honorable and truly worthy to be honoured frend." He states "Sir, heere have you att length the transcription of this peece of my ydle younger labours, which I have clothed in greene, as being some of the fruits of my greene yeares, and done only to entertaine my thoughts and to keep my English in journeying...(after fifteen years painfully spent in university studies)....I know that you will esteem of them, because that your most noble and never enough honoured friend Sir Philip Sidney did very much affect and imitate the excellent author thereof." Now, as he transcribed the translation, he also noted on its first page another association of his early work, "Diana de Montemayor done out of Spanish by Thomas Wilson Esquire, in the yeare 1596, and dedicated to the Erle of Southampton who was then uppon ye Spanish voiage with my Lord the Erle of Essex."

It is quite clear that he translated this dedication in 1596; but there is just a possibility that he dedicated his work after he came home, and, looking back after the lapse of years, confused Essex's first and second voyages.

The next question which arises is, why is there no notice taken of this dedication by the contemporary world? Why was the work not printed? Now, if it had been dedicated in 1597, as I think it must have been, Southampton had already fallen into the whirl of public life, absorption in love-making, royal disfavour. Demands upon his time and purse would be necessarily delayed, and then, somebody else was known to be translating the *Diana*—not only translating it, but having it printed, in 1598, and dedicated to no less a personage than Lady Rich. Wilson himself might not wish his translation to compete with the other; Southampton might not like to have anything printed which could in any way displease Lady Rich. The *Diana* was "translated out of Spanish into English by Bartholomew Yong of the Middle Temple Gentleman." Yong dedicated it to Lady Rich, praising her linguistic learning, from High Ongar in Essex, on the 28th of November, 1598. It was printed by Edmund Bollifant, 1598.

Gerald Massey said that Mr Astle had seen Southampton's name included among those who went to Cadiz in 1596, under the head of "Militaria," in the Record Office. I have been unable to find it

under what is left of that section; though I find communications about the taking of Cadiz and the Spanish loss of four million pounds.

It is strange that the defeat of the Spanish Armada should have been left unnoticed at the time in English literature. But Essex's success at Cadiz has been commemorated by the greatest poet of the day. Spenser in his *Prothalamium* says of him

A worthy Peer
Great England's glory, and the world's wide wonder
Whose dreadful name late thro' all Spain did thunder
And Hercules two pillars standing near
Did make to quake and fear:
Fair branch of honor, flower of chivalry
That fillest England with the triumph's fame
Joy have thou of thy noble victory,
And endless happiness of thine own name,
That promisest the same;
That thro' thy prowess and victorious arms
Thy country may be freed from foreign harmes
And great Eliza's glorious name may ring
Thro' all the world, filled with thy wide alarms
Which some brave muse may sing
To ages following.

There is a lengthy report of the Spanish voyage, which does not seem to have been printed, among the Loseley Papers. At first the Queen even thought more might have been done than was done, considering the expense; and, when news came in September that the Spanish West India Fleet had arrived in Lisbon two days after Essex was practically forced to return without finishing his plan, she became very dissatisfied[1].

Though there is no record of Southampton at Court that year, we must believe that he stayed in the country, mortified and fretting, with a good deal of unpleasant legal business to get through. He was very much handicapped by the extravagance and liberality of his father. There seems to have been many hitches in his affairs, and he had little power to work his own will. He attempted to earn something by mercantile transactions. Anthony Ashley[2], who made the financial preparations for the Spanish expedition, writing to Cecil, referred to the important matter committed to his charge.

[1] Birch, *Memoirs of Reign of Elizabeth*, vol. II. pp. 271–3.
[2] *Salisb. Papers*, VI. 158.

"I do find that some parties interested have been earnestly dealt with from the Earls of Derby and Southampton to buy the thing with warrant to save themselves harmless from all danger, April 28th 1596." It is not quite clear what "the thing" was, but it was probably a foreign prize. Southampton[1] had evidently not then gained possession of all his property from the crown, and had applied for it. After a list of the "cases adjudged for the Queen 1596" is entered "My Lord of Southampton's case for the inheritance of all his lands—2000 marks per annum."

In later days Edward Gage and William Chamberlain implored Cecil to realise the burdens on the Earl's property[2]. They shew that the land in the Earl's possession, with houses and park, was valued at £1045. 18*s*. per annum and certain common fields etc. at about £100—in all £1145. 18*s*. Annuities issuing out of this amounted to £395 per annum; leaving £750. 18*s*., out of which other rents, fees, and annuities payable are £80, and in charges of houses, park, and office at least £100. So there was not remaining sufficient to pay his heavy debts and keep himself. "The now Earl, by a deed of gift dated 10th February 1596 did grant all his leases unto the said Ralph Hare, Edward Gage and William Chamberlain," for purposes of repaying them, and the trustees bought the inheritance with their money, to enable him to do so, from the Lord Treasurer. They then explain other leases until 1602. "The late Earl died being greatly indebted," and the now Earl handed over all his leases to his executors to meet his liabilities, the Countess's fortune not included.

Yet he wanted to serve the Queen. To this date should probably be referred Southampton's letter to Cecil, giving no news but referring to past favours. "P.S. Though my fortune was never so good as to enjoy any favour from her Majesty, that might make me desire to stay in her court, yet should I account myself infinitely unhappy, if with the loss of serving her, I should likewise lose her good conceit of me, wherefore I pray you to study to prosecute that, and I will direct the whole course of my life to do her service."[3]

The Earl of Rutland, after he came back from the continent, desired to see something of war. "Among the Captains named as

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VI. 553. [2] D.S.S.P. Eliz. CCLXXVIII. 132, 133, 134.
[3] *Ibid*. CCLXIV. 2.

suitors to be employed in Ireland" in 1596 is "the Earl of Rutland."[1] He seems to have been allowed to go, or to have taken leave, as in a letter to Cecil he says, "You will give me leave amongst the rest of your friends to recommend my service and best affection to you, being infinitely glad that her Majestie was not acquainted with my going, for I protest I should not have been stayed for anything in the world, so much I desire to know and see the wars."[2]

Dr Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, who had been troublesome about Heneage's burial fees, died on June 16th, 1596.

Sir Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain, died at Somerset House in the Strand on July 23rd, 1596 (Stow says the 22nd). His son succeeded to his title, but not to his office, which was bestowed on Lord Cobham. Hence arose the change in the title of Burbage's players from 'the Lord Chamberlain's servants' to 'Lord Hunsdon's servants'—but not for long, for Lord Cobham died early in the following year. He had signed the petition against the players in Blackfriars and against the use of the name Oldcastle[3].

On August 19th the Scots made a firm peace with England[4]. Sir Thomas Wilkes wrote to Thomas Edmondes[5], "Sir Richard Bingham has come over without leave, and the oldest Countess of Derby hath departed this life, 30th September 1596, Greenwich." Camden in his *Annals* records her death. He says of her: "Only daughter of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and Eleanor Brandon niece of Henry VIII, who, out of her womanish fancy and curiosity, consulting with wizards with a vain credulity, and out of I know not what ambitious hope, did in a manner lose the Queen's favour before she died."[6]

James Burbage[7], the founder of the British stage, was buried on February 2nd, 1596–7 in St Leonard's, Shoreditch. He left two sons, Cuthbert and the famous Richard.

Birch[8] tells an amusing story of the quarrel between the Earl of Northumberland (Essex's brother-in-law) and the Earl of Southampton early in 1596–7 It seemed very likely to have proceeded to a duel, as it produced a challenge. The copies of the papers which

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VI. 559. [2] *Ibid.* VII. 329.
[3] My *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage*, p. 66.
[4] Burleigh's Diary. [5] D.S.S P. Eliz. CCLX. 39.
[6] Camden's *Elizabeth*, p. 596. [7] My *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage*, p. 66.
[8] Birch, *Memoirs of Reign of Elizabeth*, II. 274.

had passed between them were sent to Mr A. Bacon, with a letter, dated from the Court, giving an account of the affair. "The gentleman whom the Earl of Southampton sent with his rapier, coming to do his message, upon his naming Lord Southampton, his Lordship instantly embraced him, asking him if he had brought him a challenge which (he says) if he did I accept it beforehand. His answers were, that he did not; only he brought his rapier, which the night before he promised to send, withal appointing time and place that same day. My reply was that Southampton had not a novice in hand, I knew well when I was before or behind on points of honour; and therefore I had nothing to say further, unless I were challenged. After his departure he returned within the space of half an hour and brought me a challenge absolutely, but in mine opinion stuffed with strange conditions, for he would both have assigned the place and the time, and have chosen the rapier single, because his arm was hurt with the ballon. My reply was that I knew the Earl played not with his left hand, and that I would stay to press him, till his arm were well. Afterwards I would appoint everything apt in such a case. But within one hour after, her Majesties commandment was laid upon us with the bond of allegiance. We went to court, where we were called before the Lords. The conclusion was this, that they assured of their honours, they knew that he had not spoken these words, which afterwards he affirmed. My answer was, that I rather believed their Lordships than any other; and therefore the lie I had given was nothing; and so revoked he his challenge, and we made friends. This is the end of an idle tale." Like Touchstone in *As you like it* (v. 4. 92):

We quarrel in print by the book.

A few other things that happened during 1597 should be noted.

George Brooke[1], second son of Lord Cobham, wrote of the serious illness of his father at Blackfriars on the 5th of March 1596–7. He died during that night. The second Lord Hunsdon succeeded him as Lord Chamberlain; his son Henry, Lord Cobham, as Warden of the Cinque Ports. On the 7th the latter wrote very much distressed about the arrangements for his father's funeral. For some unexplained reason Burleigh[2] would not allow the funeral

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VII. 96. [2] Birch, *Mem.* II. 274.

to take place from London. This prohibition would entail his "bringing all the staff from Blackfriars and Canterbury to this mean house, Cobham Hall 17th March 1597."

After that, Lord Hunsdon's players became the Lord Chamberlain's again[1]. Richard Bancroft, appointed in 1584 Rector of St Andrew's, Holborn, became Bishop of London in 1597, and the Queen, by her prerogative, named his successor John King to St Andrew's (10th May). The living was in the gift of Southampton; but the Queen's privilege conceded it.

There is no recorded notice of Southampton's love-making—the young people evidently took more care now not to attract attention. But gossip had another, even more spicy, morsel for society. Whyte told Sir Robert Sidney "a Speech goes that my Lady Southampton[2] will have Sir William Harvey, 20th May 1597." Perhaps he had been helping her again through some little bits of business. I found lately among the uncalendared papers of the Court of Requests a Book of Orders in fragments, with the entries: "On 16th April 1597 The Countess of Southampton to shew cause why she should not answer, and deliver evidences upon her othe on Tuesday next."[3] "Tuesday 19th April 1597 Smallfinch and Countess Southampton. The plaintiff to amend his bill in this point, that the lands are *houlden in capite*, and that, by reason thereof prymer seizen is due to her Majestie, and then her Ladyship to answer on her othe."

One of the Queen's young subjects was already longing to join the whirl of Court life, the young William, Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Pembroke (born 1580). Whyte tells Sidney that "he hath with much adoe, brought his father to consent that he may live in London, but not until next spring....My Lady Rich is recovered of her small pox, without any blemish to her beautiful face 19th April 1597."[4]

Rowland Whyte gives us a little bit of private life at the beginning of 1596–7. Sir Robert Sidney's wife had a daughter in London, but she would settle nothing about the christening until she heard from her husband about his plans; he was abroad[5].

The Earl of Southampton was invited on February 21st; on the next day Whyte wrote: "My Lord of Southampton did take it

[1] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, I. 272. *Salisb. Papers*, VII. 147.
[2] *Sidney Papers*, II. 53.
[3] U.C.R. Eliz. Bundle, various, 377.
[4] *Sidney Papers*, II. 43.
[5] *Ibid.* II. 20, 21, 22.

exceeding kindly that he was desired to be a godfather, and will most willingly do it." "My Lady Sussex and my Lady Bedford invited for the christening on 1st of March. My Lady Sussex named her Bridget. The two countesses of Derby and Southampton were there. My Lord of Southampton, my Lord Compton, Sir Thomas Garrett, and Mr Roger Manners bid them all welcome in your name." (This Bridget, the Earl's goddaughter, died on the 25th March, 1599, at the age of two years and four months, and was buried in the chancel of Penshurst, before her father was estranged from her godfather through the Essex rising.) On the 2nd March, Whyte goes on to say that "L. Southampton hath leave to travel for a year, and purposes to be with you before Easter."[1] But he changed his mind, for on April 9th, 1597, Whyte told Sidney, "My Lord Thomas Howard, by the end of next week, goes to sea, and Sir Walter Rawley with them. My Lord Southampton by 200 meanes hath gotten leave to goe with them, and is appointed to goe in the Garland."[2] They were not quite so quick about it as Whyte at first expected, for by 4th May they were still on land. "My Lord Borow went to St Albans yesternight, very well accompanied; for my Lords Southampton and Compton, Lord Thomas and Sir Walter Rawley lay with them there all night. Yesterday morning he was with my Lord of Essex at Barnes, and came back with him in his coach."[3]

A little bit of indirect information concerning Southampton is found in a petition to Cecil on May 7th[4]. Sir Humphrey Drewell, his old servant, who, with Florio, wanted to duck the Sheriff of Southampton for interfering in the Danvers affair in 1594, was now imprisoned for his supposed connection with Sir Thomas Arundel's servant, Smallman. He said that on Monday he had been to see Lord Southampton, who was evidently staying with or visiting his sister, Lady Mary Arundel, in Arundel House in the Strand. On Tuesday he went there again, because he heard that Smallman wanted to see him, and he went out at the back door to advise Smallman to give himself up, or it would go worse with his master. That was all he had to do with the man, and Drewell begged Cecil to secure him liberty.

[1] *Sidney Papers*, II. 24.

[2] *Ibid.* II. 37. Cipher number for Sir Robert Cecil 200. Essex was 1000, Southampton 3000.

[3] *Ibid.* II. 50.

[4] *Salisb. Papers*, VII. 189.

Southampton would be specially careful of his own doings at this time, for at last he seemed about to secure the desire of his heart, a good sea-fight. Whyte says on the 2nd of June, "My Lord of Essex's patent is drawing" and enumerates those who he thought were going to sea. Chamberlain[1], on the 11th, tells nearly the same story to Carleton even more fully: "The Erle of Essex is general both by sea and land; the Lord Thomas Howard Vice-Admiral, Sir Walter Raleigh rear-vice Admirall, who is newly restored to the executing his place in Court of Captain of the Garde; the Earl of Southampton the Lord Mountjoy and the Lord Rich, go as adventurers, though some say Lord Mountjoy is to be Lieutenant General on land; the Earle of Darbie, the Lord Gray, the Lord Windsor, and William Compton *pretend* likewise to go, but it is thought shall not get leave....It is said that the Earl of Essex takes his leave at Court on Sunday next the 12th of this present, and hopes to be gone in 10 days after. The presse is great....We have here a new play of humours in very great request and I was drawn alonge to it by the common applause but my opinion of it is (as the fellow said of the shearing of hogges) that there was a great cry for so little wool." So Chamberlain does not seem to have been impressed by Shakespeare's judgment of Jonson's play, or his acting in it.

On July 1st[2] Southampton wrote Cecil a friendly letter, saying that nothing had happened yet worth his knowledge; he writes again on July 10th[3] in a very similar style; on July 19th he writes, "You will have an account of our unlucky beginning from the bearer."[4]

Raleigh wrote a letter from Plymouth on July 6th, 1597, to Cecil, containing an allusion which ought to be re-read in the light of later events. "Wee have all written for supply, without it we can do little or nothing and we shall not be abell to retch the place of our greatest hopes. I acquainted my Lord Genrall with your letter to mee, and your kind acceptance of your entertaynment. He was also wonderfull merry att your consait of Richard II. I hope it shall never alter, and whereof I shalbe most gladd if it is the trew way to all our good, quiet and advancement, and most of all for her sake whose affairs shall truely fynd better progression I will ever be yours."[5]

Southampton's cousin, Lord Montague, was in some way con-

[1] D.S.S.P. Eliz. CCLXIII. 99.
[2] *Ibid.* CCLXIV. 2.
[3] *Ibid.* 20.
[4] *Ibid.* 34.
[5] *Ibid.* 10.

nected with the expedition. He wrote to Cecil in July, "If you will grant me a warrant for some post horses for myself and company, I shall make the more haste after my Lord of Essex. I have now dispatched all he charged me with. If you command me I will come to Court for your commands, but am loath to do so." Essex reported on the 20th that they had found Raleigh, Carew, Harvey, Throgmorton, but not Lord Thomas, Southampton, or Mountjoy. On the 31st, however, he reported these were safe, and Lord Thomas notified the violence of the storm[1].

Palavicino on July 26th wrote: "Lord Howard has shewn valour and constancy in keeping his course. May God prosper him also in his other actions. It is well that he has the Earl of Southampton and Lord Mountjoy with him."[2]

Collins includes with Whyte's letters others to Sir Robert Sidney. Sir William Browne (a relative of Southampton by the mother's side), wrote on July 24th from Plymouth. They had put out on Sunday, July 10th, in three squadrons, led by my Lord of Essex, Lord Thomas Howard, Vice-Admiral, and Sir Walter Raleigh, Rear-Admiral. On the first day all went well, but severe storms arose. "On Monday night, Rawley left us, our ship being the Mary Rose, not the swiftest of sail or the best of steerage." "Lost my Lord General on Friday, beat about until the Sunday after, when we were driven to go home, as we had sprung a great leak, and arrived at Plymouth on Tuesday, and found Rawley there. A day after my Lord General reached Falmouth and came here by land. His ship is much injured but he wants to start again. There is sickness on board, want of victuals and many repairs needed."[3] No reply from Court. On 3rd of August he wrote again: "My Lord of Essex went up to Court, to solicit that something might yet be done, Rawley went with him, my Lord of Southampton is also gone after him."[4]

A short account of the Island Voyage is given by Purchas with no mention of Southampton. Monson, in his *Voyages*, gives a fuller account of his own action, minimising the importance of Southampton's exploit, and giving an ingenuous story of Essex's seamanship.

Camden gives a general, all-round history of the effort made by Essex to carry out his frustrated plans of the preceding year.

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXIV. 64–65.
[2] *Salisb. Papers*, VII. 319.
[3] *Sidney Papers*, II. 57
[4] *Ibid.* 59.

Stow also follows the events with interest.

Elizabeth sent Essex orders on the 11th August that he was not to attack Ferrol in person. On the same date Sir George Carew, writing to Cecil, says, "Without flattery or affection he is a worthy commander."[1]

Essex himself, in a letter to Mr Knollys on August 28th, sends instructions how to give the details to Elizabeth: "We set sail from Plymouth 17th of this month; on the 25th we made land east of Cape Ortegal, on Thursday manœuvred for wind, on Saturday discovered the St Andrew which we had lost sight of, no sooner had I got her up but Rawleigh shot a signal of distress, having broken his main yard. I willed him to keep along the coast the berth he was in. I had to lie by to stop a desperate leak....Next morning we came to Finisterre, but St Matthew breaking her foremast went home, and the Warspite and Dreadnought went on without stop to South Cape. We did not attack the fleet at Farrol, because we had not the St Matthew the principal ship for that action, nor the St Andrew, till my own was almost sunk, and I not able to make sail until Rawleigh, the Dreadnought and 20 ships were gone. On 31st last night heard from Rawleigh that the Spanish Fleet which was at Farroll had gone to the Islands to waft home the Indian Fleet, and that he would lie 20 leagues off Burlings till he heard from me. Council agreed to make for the Islands, and 4 pinnaces sent to advertise Rawleigh."[2]

We have Sir George Carew's account[3] of the troubles of his ship, the *St Matthew*. "On the 22nd of August we had foul weather, my ship laboured more than the others, and broke her bowsprit and foremast. We shot off our ordnance and hanged out lights, but the ships which were ahead could not hear it, or discern it, except the Garland the Earl of Southampton's who an hour after day came to me, and did not leave me till evening. At that time my Lord of Southampton seeing no possibility for my ship to follow the Fleet, and understanding from us that we were in great peril to be lost by reason of great leaks, sent his pinnace unto me to come aboard his ship. Although the danger I was in were inducement enough unto this, yet that my departure might not discourage the gentlemen and others aboard me, I resolved to take the fortune of my ship. The Earl, fearing to be embayed, and to lose the Fleet

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VII. 345, 371. [2] *Ibid.* 368. [3] *Ibid.* 371.

which all that day was never in sight, headed for his course, and left me a wreck carried every way at the pleasure of the sea....I had rather have lost mine arm than be absent from his service, as now I am. Rochelle 31st August."

Southampton did make up to the fleet; for amongst the news sent home was a common letter written to Cecil[1]. "We that subscribe this letter, send you many good wishes, and are desirous to have all our friends know that we live and hope yet to do something worth her Majesty's charges. We are your assured friends Essex, Rutland, H. Southampton, Howard, C. Mountjoy, T. Gray, Chr. Blount, Fr. Vere, A. Sherley." In Essex's handwriting there is written against the signature of Lord Grey, "This is one whom I never saw, I protest, until I was on this coast. August 28th 1597."

Whyte wrote to Sidney later: "My Lord Grey is in great displeasure and the Queen threatens to imprison him, for his presumption to goe without leave. And many other Pensioners, on their return, shall suffer for their faults."[2]

Camden gives materials for the remainder of the voyage. It had been arranged that Essex and Raleigh should attack together, but Raleigh, outsailing Essex, landed independently at Fayal, took and spoiled the island. "Enemies made Essex think that Raleigh had done this to rob him of glory"; he cashiered Raleigh and his followers. But Lord Thomas Howard mediated and persuaded Raleigh to acknowledge his fault, and Essex forgave him. "For Essex being a man of most mild nature, slow to take offence, and apt to lay down displeasures, forgave old enmities which were now wearing out for the Commonwealth's sake, which notwithstanding on both sides were rather laid asleep than quite taken away." Essex meant to have landed at Gratiosa, but unluckily a pilot dissuaded him, because of inconvenient roads. So he set sail for St Michael's, commanding Vere and Sir Nicholas Parker to watch with their ships between St George's Isle and Gratiosa, and the Earl of Southampton and Sir William Monson with their ships to do so likewise on the west side of Gratiosa. But an hour or two after, the American fleet, seven of them laden with treasure, arrived, and hearing of the presence of the English, fled to Terceira. As they passed by Monson, he gave notice, and he, Southampton, and Vere followed

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VII. 369. [2] *Sidney Papers*, II. 74.

them, waiting for help. Only three rich ships strayed from the line and were taken, one of them by Southampton. He and Vere, in great boats, attempted to enter the harbour at Terceira at night to cut the cables of the nearest ships, that they might be blown out to sea; but, the Spaniards keeping diligent watch, they lost their labour. On the arrival of Essex there was a council of war. When the others saw the strength of the defences of Terceira and the contrary winds, they refused to adventure a landing. After knighting Southampton, Rutland, and others for their valour, Essex landed at Villa Franca and found rich pillage there. A great tempest rising on the 9th of October, he gave the signal to go home. The Spanish fleet gave chase, but the English never saw them. All of them reached home safely, but many Spanish ships perished.

On the 28th of October, 1597, Whyte wrote to Sidney: "This morning my Lord Essex's letters came to court of his safe landing in Plymouth. He had unfortunately missed the King's own ships with the Indian Treasure but fell on the merchant fleet. Four of them he hath taken, and sunk many more, my Lord of Southampton fought with one of the King's great men of war, and sunk her."[1]

There is one curious remembrance of this enterprise, which students are apt to miss, since it is preserved among the papers of James I, entered as "Account of an expedition made in Elizabeth's time to take the Islands of Azores."[2] It is a MS. of 60 pages, much damaged; the headings are given in the *Calendar*. "Good commanders are not to be judged by success. The names of commanders, captains and ships. The design of the Voyage. The islands are of great use to Spain. Contrary winds the hindrance of this voyage. The fleet dispersed by great tempest. Lord Rich leaves the voyage. The common grief for the loss of time. An old custom. The general changes his ship, and the Vice Admiral the same. Great storm in the Bay. The Master of the Ordnances ship distressed, the Earl of Southampton comes to his relief. The St Matthew lands at Rochelle. The Warspite in distress. A false report. Their plans designed for the whole fleet. The Warspite again distressed and repaired. They meet at the Islands. A dead calm. A rainbow seen at night. Pliny's opinion of rainbows at night. The Rear-Admiral meets the fleet at Flores. The Admiral satisfied of the falsehoods

[1] *Sidney Papers*, II. 72. [2] D.S.S.P. James I, Addenda XXXVI. 94.

given out against the rear admiral. Lord Grey. Other rainbows seen, with the use thereof."

I cannot find what was said of Lord Grey; but we know that by November he was in the Fleet prison for contempt of the Queen's orders in joining the expedition.

Some time that autumn Lady Southampton wrote to Cecil[1]: "Yesterday's storm filled my heart with sourest thoughts. I purpose to send presently to him, whereto I beg a warrant for post horses for my trusty servant Smith for his better speed. P.S. I purpose Thursday to thank the Queen for her favour, I hope you may have some fresh news for me then."

Another letter to Cecil[2], entered as November, 1597, says: "to prevent the fortunes of my son's letter to you and myself I send mine to him, to expect next dispatch, hoping by your favour it shall be conveyed to him, all well done that were set to be done, I wish I might hear of his speedy home-coming, which, if you think I may hope for, I pray you give me a little light."

On the return of the fleet at the end of October Essex was met with the news that the Queen had appointed to the Royal Secretaryship Sir Robert Cecil, a fast friend of Raleigh, instead of his nominee, Sir Thomas Bodley. Cecil was also made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which Essex had hoped for himself.

The Queen received Essex coldly. She thought he ought to have done more, and given more prominence to Raleigh and Monson. Grudges grew again between Essex and Raleigh. She was also displeased with Essex for making so many knights.

One of the complex causes which induced her to be cold to Essex was a slander, started by his enemies, that before he went he had behaved improperly with a certain great lady. Lady Bacon, whose sons had benefited so much from his kindness, took it on her to reproach him with this, and exhort him to repentance He denied the story absolutely: "Worthy Lady, think me a weak man full of imperfections, but be assured I endeavour to be good, and had rather mend my faults than cover them."[3]

Southampton received no recognition whatever for his special bravery in action. Disappointed and embittered, he turned anew

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VII. 539. [2] *Ibid.* 499.
[3] Birch, *Mem.* II. *Salisb. Papers*, VII. 392.

to his chief consoler Elizabeth Vernon, who noted for his benefit all the Queen's varying and discontented words. A fresh and binding attachment was cemented between them. The Queen frowned upon matrimony, and they took a forbidden path.

Parliament began on 24th October, 1597, and Southampton was duly summoned. He was present on the 7th and 26th November and on the 13th and 14th December, and Parliament rose on the 8th February, 1597–8[1].

Lady Southampton had by this time learned that, if it were painful and humiliating to be ignored in her husband's will, it might be difficult and even dangerous to be left "sole executrix." Probably through his illness, Sir Thomas Heneage had left the onerous duties of his place to deputies, who had both delayed and confused the making up of his accounts. The Countess found it difficult to square things that she did not understand. Already the courtiers gossiped about her affairs—Sir John Fortescue wrote to Cecil on June 9th, 1596, "It grieveth me not a little that for my Lady of Southampton my Lord your father should be blamed, whose carefulness for her majesty therein I can be a witness of."[2]

But it is clear to those who have been through the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, in the Pipe Office and in the Audit office, as well as the first payments, that the fault was not hers, but that of the invalid Sir Thomas Heneage himself, or of his representatives. It is not clear whether this following debt refers to Lady Southampton or her husband.

On December 9th, 1597, "At the Savoy £275 upon Mr Sydney's order Particular Receiver of Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridge. Money to be applied for the Lady of Southampton, for a debt of £163."

At last, the Queen herself wrote to the Countess of Southampton on December 16th, 1596[3], to say that, at the decease of her late husband, Sir Thomas Heneage, he had £1314. 15*s.* 4*d.* in hand as Treasurer of the Chamber. "You as executrix have paid £401. 6*s.* 10*d.* and £394. 9*s.* 11*d.* to the Guard. We require immediate payment of the balance £528. 18*s.* 7*d.* to the treasury of the Chamber, on which you shall receive acquittance for the whole sum." This is a damaged draft, and the calculation is obscure.

[1] *Journal of the House of Lords*, II. 192.
[2] *Salisb. Papers*, VI. 213.
[3] Cal. D.S.S.P. Eliz. CCLXI. 14.

But the matter seems to have been finally settled, as no further notice of it is preserved after the above was copied into the accounts of the Chamber rendered by the Countess of Southampton for one year and 61 days[1]. This was to let Killigrew[2] start clear. More information concerning this debt comes in James' time.

In Henry Lok's *Sonnets of the Author to divers, collected by the Printer* published with *Ecclesiastes, otherwise called the Preacher*, by H. L. Gentleman, and *The First Part of Christian Passions, containing a hundred Sonets of meditation, humiliation, and prayer* by H. L., and printed by Richard Field in 1597, the 17th Sonnet in the collection *To divers noblemen* is addressed

To the Right Ho. the Earle of Southampton.

Amongst most noble, noble everyway,
Among the wise, wise in a high degree;
Among the vertuous, vertuous may I say;
You worthy seeme, right worthy Lord to mee.
By bloud, by value, noble we you see,
By nature, and by learnings travell wise,
By love of good, ils hate, you vertuous bee:
Hence publike honor, private love doth rise,
Which hath inuited me thus to devise,
To show my selfe nor slacke to honour you,
By this meane gift (since powre more fit denies)
Which let me crave be read, and held for true:
Of honor, wisedome, vertue, I delate,
Which (you pursuing) will advance your state.

[1] Treasurer of the Chambers' accounts, Pipe Office, 542 (257), and Audit Office, Bundle 386, roll 33.

[2] Official Treasurer, *pro tem.*, to receive accounts from the Countess of Southampton and hand them over to Sir Thomas Heneage's successor, Sir John Stanhope.

CHAPTER IX

THE TWO COUNTESSES OF SOUTHAMPTON

THE year 1598 was a critically important one in the fortunes of the Wriothesley family. The Earl of Southampton was being driven by cross-currents hither and thither, becoming bitter in the lack of royal appreciation and consideration, hampered by insufficient means in fulfilling any of his plans in the lordly way he would have liked to do. He wanted to travel, he wanted to fight, and, had things gone smoothly with him, and had the Queen been kind, he would probably then have quietly married and been happy. He had not confided in his loving mother, he was irritated at her actions, and the spreading gossip about her galled him. He had dealt secretly with his mentors; he had grown suspicious and cold to the girl he loved. He had done wrong, and he tried to remedy it imprudently; he had become what is called, in a young man like him, "a little wild." In a half frenzied hope that fortune at least might favour him if he wooed her properly, he had turned to hazard what he had at games of chance, and he lost in these also. Meanwhile those who loved him suffered, those whom he loved counselled him faithfully; but he could satisfy neither them nor himself. Much of this story may be read in contemporary letters, which can only be pieced together by comparing and translating. The five thousand pounds which he had to pay Burleigh for refusing his granddaughter was a loss which hampered all his plans.

The newsmonger Whyte tells Sir Robert Sidney a great deal for our benefit. On the 14th January, "I heare my Lord of Southampton goes with Mr Secretary to France and so onwards on his travels, which course of his doth exceedingly grieve his Mistress, that passes her tyme in weeping and lamenting."[1] On the 19th he says, "I hard of some unkindnes should be betweene 3000 (the Earl of Southampton) and his mistress, occasioned by some report of Mr Ambrose Willoughby, 3000 called him to account for it, but the matter was made known to the Earl of Essex and my Lord

[1] *Sidney Papers*, II. 81.

ELIZABETH VERNON,
MAID OF HONOUR TO QUEEN ELIZABETH
(At Hodnet Hall)

Chamberlain, who had them under examination; what the cause is, I could not learne for yt was but new; but I see 3000 is full of discontentments."[1] It is most probable that Ambrose Willoughby had said there was another man to whom the fair Elizabeth was more friendly than she should have been, and that this roused the Earl to a hasty challenge of the tale-teller, and caused a coldness towards the lady, whom, being the cousin of the Earl of Essex, he dared not rate as if she had been a person of lesser import.

On the 21st the news is: "The quarrel of my Lord Southampton to Ambrose Willoughby was this. That he, with Sir Walter Rawley and Mr Parker, being at Primero in the Presence Chamber, the Queen was gone to bed, and he being there as squire of the body required them to give over. Soone after he spake to them againe, that if they would not leave, he would call on the guard to put down the bord, which Sir Walter Rawley seeing, put up his money and went his wayes. But my Lord of Southampton took exceptions at him, and told him he would remember it, and soe, fynding him between the Tennis Court Wall and the garden, struck him, and Willoughby pulled off some of his locks. The Queen gave Willoughby thankes for what he did in the presence and told him, he had done better if he had sent him to the porter's lodge to see who durst have fetched him out."[1] Now this has been read as a purely comic incident, but, taken with the previous letter, we can see a much more serious question involved. Willoughby had been spreading unpleasant gossip about the only woman Southampton appears ever to have cared for, and he wanted to punish the slanderer, but Essex and Hunsdon prevented this. When Willoughby found Southampton trying to finish a game, probably as an expectant winner, he stopped it rudely (Primero was not a noisy game). When he spoke of the guard, Sir Walter was bound to go, as he was nominally their Captain then. Then, left alone with the officious Squire, Southampton evidently said sharp words about his gossip and this mean way of punishing a superior. Southampton knew that he dared not make a noise in the Presence Chamber, but when fortune shewed him his adversary in the garden, he could not forbear striking him. Willoughby not only retaliated, but told the tale, and the Queen thanked him. It must have added a new bitterness to the Ea

[1] *Sidney Papers*, II. 82. [2] *Ibid.* 83.

feeling to be made ridiculous at Court, while his heart was sore over other things, for it is evident he was punished by being banished the Presence for some days. On the 28th January we hear, "My Lord Southampton is now at court, who for a while by her Majesties command, did absent himself from it[1]"; and on the 1st February, "My Lord of Southampton is much troubled at her Majesties straungest usage of him. Somebody hath played unfriendly parts with him. Mr Secretary hath procured him licence to travell. His faire mistress doth wash her fairest face with too many teares. I pray god his going away bring her to no such infirmity, which is, as yt were, hereditary to her name."[2] The meaning of the last four words remains obscure.

The information of 2nd February was: "yt is secretly said that my Lord of Southampton shall be married to his faire mistress"; but apparently, as he had done in his younger days, "he asked for a little respite."[3]

On the 6th of February he had final permission and "Licence to the Earl of Southampton to travel beyond seas, and remain two years, with ten servants, six horses and £200 in money."[4]

On the same day, a certain Humphrey Basse instructed William Wollaston, merchant of Rouen, that he had "agreed with Edward Gage, and William Chamberlain servants [?] of the Earl of Southampton to furnish him with 1000 crowns 'soll' (current money) which makes £300 sterling, at Southampton's pleasure."[5]

Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Brooke, and their train started on their journey on the 10th of February, and with them the Earl of Southampton[6]. Whyte wrote to Sidney on Sunday the 12th February: "My Lord of Southampton is gone and hath left behind him a very desolate gentlewoman, that hath almost wept out her fairest eyes. He was at Essex House with 1000 (Essex) and there had much private talk with him in the court below."[7]

When the Ambassador's party reached Paris, the King was at Angers, and thither they had to follow him[8]. They took thirty days in travelling from Dieppe to Angers in this way. The places were 300 miles apart, but they only spent sixteen days in travelling, the

[1] *Sidney Papers*, II. 86. [2] *Ibid.* 87. [3] *Ibid.* 88.
[4] D.S.S.P. CCLXVI. docquet. [5] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 37.
[6] Birch's *Memoirs*, vol. II, and Camden's *Memorabilia*.
[7] *Sidney Papers*, II. 90.
[8] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 91. Birch's *Negotiations*, II. 323.

rest being accounted for by an accident, and delayed dispatches. They were received with great honour when they reached the Court. Cecil specially presented to the King the Earl of Southampton "who had come with deliberation to serve him, whereupon the King welcomed and embraced the Earl."

After the conference Cecil asked the Queen to send ships for them to Caen, which would save 200 miles of riding, by which means he got home again by the 29th of April, "after a vile journey that route."[1] Of course, Southampton did not go the whole way home with them. He made straight for Paris.

On the 20th May Chamberlain told Carleton that "Sir William Harvey is said to have married the Countess of Southampton."[2]

Southampton wrote to Essex in June, thanking the Earl for accepting a present from him. "I would willingly give you an account of my meanings, but I have hitherto been altogether uncertain how to dispose of myself, nor do I yet know well how to resolve, nor can I be better assured what will be determined in England concerning this peace now spoken of."[3] He knew that things were done slowly in England, and tried to be patient (the letter is endorsed June 1598, in France).

Then something happened, sweet and bitter at once, which tended further to disarrange his plans. The two Danvers for whom he had risked so much and pleaded so much, unable to return to England, had agreed to go with him to travel in Italy. Then, unexpectedly the Queen yielded to the entreaties of their friends and the representations of Cecil, and forgave them. As she had confiscated their property, they had to give up the Italian tour, for which the arrangements were nearly completed. It was absolutely necessary they should both go home and express their gratitude for their pardon in person, or there would be little hope of the Queen's grace being extended to restitution. Sir Henry, being the younger, and less burdened with the responsibilities of property, hoped he might be able to return to Paris shortly and redeem his promise of going to Italy with the friend to whom he owed so much. On the 30th June was dated "The Pardon to Sir Henry and Sir Charles Danvers, for killing Henry Long."[4] Sir Charles[5], on the 11th July,

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXVII. 5. [2] *Ibid.* 23. [3] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 241.
[4] D.S.S.P. CCLXVII. docquet 30th June. [5] *Ibid.* CCLXVIII. 2.

thanked Cecil for his "comfortable news," and "for having wrought so mightily with the Queen for him." He will take leave of the King tomorrow, and go to the seaside to wait for instructions. "I have delivered your commendations to the Earl of Southampton."

Sir Thomas Edmondes the English agent in Paris, sent on to Sir Robert Sidney on July 15th[1] "certain songs which were delivered me by my Lord Southampton to convey to your Lordship from *Cavelas*."

Southampton had an application from a gentleman called George Cranmer, who would like to enter his service or that of Sir Henry Danvers, from Orleans on 23rd July[2].

But alas for all plans. More misfortune followed Southampton through the illness of the Danvers[3]. Carleton, then in London, wrote to Chamberlain on the 7th of August, "The two Knights Danvers are stayed at Paris by sickness. Their pardon is conditional on their contenting Sir Walter Long by paying him £1500; £1200 is paid, the rest they think too late in receipt." So, even if they could manage to pull through their own difficulties, neither of them would be in a position to help their friend.

It must have been during Southampton's absence, on 8th March, 1598, that a suit in Chancery was brought forward in his name against Richard Cobbe, who resided at Swarrton, a dependency of the manor of Micheldever, and owed him £3 a year as quit-rent. It is only interesting because it marshals all his ancestors in the field, in relation to the Abbot of Hyde. Their oldest witness was 80 years old. He knew that the manor of Micheldever was part of the Abbey of Hyde, and that the Abbot sold the stock. He had been on the Homage list, and with the rest of the jury had presented Richard Cobbe for default of suit of court. He had heard the officers say that Richard Cobbe and Thomas, his father, had to pay £3 rent. Another old witness said he had not known the Abbot, but he knew that Micheldever was part of the Abbey lands. He had also heard that the late Anthony, Viscount Montague, owned lands for 40 years which were held of the manor of Micheldever, and that he had to pay £3, and owed suit of court for them. Jane late Countess of Southampton, had told him in her house at Titchfield that Thomas Cobbe, the

[1] *Sidney Papers*, II. 101.
[2] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 270.
[3] D.S.S.P. CCLXVIII. 18.

father, had withheld the rent of £3 and that she meant to sue him. He had been a Homager of Micheldever, and had presented Richard and Thomas Cobbe for default of suit of court. He did not know if they paid rent. The next aged witness said that he had always heard it credibly reported that Anthony, late Viscount Montague, held the lands of Micheldever and had passed them to Cobbe, and that he had paid the rent to Jane, Countess of Southampton. The lands came from Sir William Fitzwilliam to Viscount Montague, and from him to the Cobbes. Thomas Cobbe did eventually pay to Jane, Countess of Southampton, £30 for arrears. The next witness said that Thomas Cobbe himself told him he had paid. The next witness was sure that Fitzwilliam's lands became Montague's; that Montague had conveyed the manor to Thomas Cobbe; that he had seen the collector's books with the entry that Thomas Cobbe owed £3 rent, and the said Thomas did not deny it, but paid it eventually to the officers of Henry, the late Earl of Southampton. He shewed the book of collections, where it is shewn further that a certain quit-rent of 8*d.* a year should be paid for a certain tenement which Thomas Cobbe purchased of Mr Harris of Broughton and Jane, the said Countess, for Peter his son. The next witness was servant of Edmond Clark, thirty years ago, for 16 years, and often heard that rent had to be paid to Jane, Countess of Southampton, and of the composition by Thomas Cobbe. The chief query for both sides was whether Sir William Fitzwilliam was lord of the manor or grange of Swarrton, and if he held it of the said Abbot as part of the manor of Micheldever (one of the possessions of the Abbey). Was this before or after the Dissolution? The defendant's witnesses only knew that Fitzwilliam's lands were the same as Montague's, but they did not know if Montague ever paid rent for Swarrton to the lord of Micheldever. The depositions were taken on April 6th, 1598. The first "Decree and order"[1] after the deposition only appoints another commission to hear the depositions and to give 14 days notice to either side. Nothing further is recorded, but Southampton's case is so strong that it evidently must have led to a composition by Richard, such as his father Thomas had made with Countess Jane. Now, it may be noted that this suit is brought by

[1] D. and O., A.B. 732, and B.B. 710. It is a curious coincidence that in the same volume is the Shakespeare's Case against Lambert (B.B. 886).

Southampton in relation to the title of his cousin Anthony, Viscount Montague, who inherited from his great-grandfather lands bequeathed him by his step-brother Sir William Fitzwilliam, who became Earl of Southampton, though this is never once mentioned in the course of the proceedings. (Another case was tried over the same property in Car. I, 17, 24th July, by Thomas, fourth Earl.)

Southampton's hopes of service in France were frustrated by the results of the treaty of Verviers, and his alternative plan was to go to Italy with the two Danvers. While waiting for them, he was one of those who witnessed the quarrel between Sir Charles Blount and Sir Melgar Leven[1], which led to a duel, forbidden alike by the French King and the Earl of Essex. Southampton wrote to Essex in June thanking him for accepting a present[2].

"On Aug. 4th being Friday died the Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, at Cecil House in the Strand," said his son Robert in his Diary. His funeral was on the 29th of the month. R. Lytton wrote to Carleton the same day "that there were many great men present, my Lord of Essex, to my judgment, did more than ceremoniously shew his sorrow."[3]

Chamberlain the next day expanded the news: "There were about 500 mourners, among the rest the Earl of Essex, who carried the heaviest countenance of all."[4] He incidentally added that the Earl of Essex, not being received at Court, retired to Wanstead. Many of his friends implored him to return to Court, among them Egerton, who lovingly advised him "You leave your friends open to contempt, and encourage foreign enemies by the news that her Majesty and the realm are maimed of so worthy a member, who has so often daunted them, August 1598."[5] Essex replied[6], "I would sooner make you a judge than another, but I must appeal from earthly judgment when the highest has imposed the heaviest punishment without trial. I am not unreasonably discontent, but the passionate indignation of a Prince is an unseasonable tempest, when a harvest for painful labours is expected, and the smart must be cured, or the senseless part cut off. The Queen is obdurate and I cannot be senseless. I see an end of my

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 228.
[2] *Ibid.* 241.
[3] D.S.S.P. CCLXVIII. 31.
[4] *Ibid.* 33.
[5] *Ibid.* 43.
[6] *Ibid.* 45 (an abstract from).

fortune, and have set an end to my desire. When present, my enemies were absolute, and I could do nothing for my friends. I am released from duty to my country by my dismissal. I will always owe duty to her Majesty as an Earl Marshal of England, and I have served her as a clerk, but cannot do so as a slave....I cannot yield truth to be falsehood. Princes may err, and subjects receive wrong, as I have done, but I will shew constancy in suffering."

Southampton wrote to Sir Robert Cecil on August 20th, "Though I have very little matter of business to write of, yet can I not see this bearer depart without a letter unto you, though it be but only to put you in mind of one, whom you have given cause in the best kind ever to remember you, and to acknowledge the debt in which by your many favours I am bound unto you. For the return of him and his brother I cannot but rejoice with you, though in respect of myself, I find more reason to mourn the loss of so pleasing companions, but such is my affection to them, as I do prefer their good before the satisfaction of myself. If it had not been for their departure, I should ere this time have written unto you out of Italy, but now by means of that my journey is stayed until I hear out of England, for if, after the dispatch of his business there, I may not have the company of the younger, my voyage will be infinitely unpleasing unto me, being to pass into a country of which I am utterly ignorant, without any companion. I cannot here imagine what may hinder him, but if any let should happen, I beseech you if you can, remove it, for I protest it will be an exceeding maim unto me, if I miss him."[1]

The friend is evidently Sir Henry Danvers, inasmuch as he seems to have been "the bearer" referred to. For Sir Henry wrote to Sir Robert Cecil in London that month, saying, "I have hitherto kept this letter of my Lord of Southampton's[2], hoping an opportunity to deliver it myself, but your Honor's going to the Court, and uncertain return hither hath made me rather choose to present both it and my most humble duty and thanks for your Honor's so high a favour, the value whereof is sufficiently shewn by what we have endured, and the many fruitless intercessions we have made; which benefit having solely received from your Honour, I may freely profess that what I am, or by the continuance of your favour may be, must of

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 313. [2] *Ibid.* 323.

due only remain at your Lordship's devotion. So craving your Lordship's resolution in my Lord of Southampton's request, whereupon I would be glad to govern my sooner or later return to this town, I most humbly take my leave."

Something more serious during that month startled the Earl of Southampton and awakened him to a sudden sense of new responsibilities. It probably came in the first place through some letter from Elizabeth Vernon herself, which has not been preserved. For it is evident that he had learned, before the news grew into gossip, that the consequences of their past intimacy had fallen heavily upon her, and that she had been forced to leave Court and go to Essex House, under pretext of an ordinary illness. It is probable that they had been betrothed with the knowledge and approval of the Earl of Essex, who had apparently been acting as the lady's guardian at Court, since there was never the slightest shadow of reproach from Essex or ruffling of their friendship by the incident. But, young as he was, Southampton knew that, though a betrothal might make the condition of his beloved perfectly respectable in the eyes of the world, there would be difficulties about dower, and title, and Court precedence for her, and loss of the inheritance to the coming heir (if such there were), without the sanction of the religious service of marriage, a sacrament to a Catholic. This difficulty was not to be solved by delay and patience, but by courage and promptness. So he rushed off to London—as he thought, secretly—to do what he could to mitigate the consequences of his imprudence. He had leave of absence for two years, and he contemplated no trouble in going or coming. He knew that the Queen would be wrathful at his daring to marry one of her maids of honour without receiving her royal permission; he remembered what a noise was made when the Lady Bridget Manners had secretly married Mr Tyrwhitt without leave of anybody. But he probably reckoned that the royal temper would smooth down after a few formalities of appearance, confinement, confession, and petition. He also trusted probably too much to the influence of Essex, as well as to the power of time, in minimising his fault. Chamberlain wrote to Carleton on the 30th August, 1598: "Sir Charles and Sir Henry Danvers have come. Mrs Vernon is from Court, and lies at Essex House; some say she hath taken a venew

under the girdle and swells upon it, yet she complains not of foule play but says the Erle of Southampton will justifie it, and it is bruited, underhand, that he was latelie here fowre days in great secret, of purpos to marry her, and effected it accordingly."[1] What Chamberlain had heard "underhand," Cecil and the Queen had already heard from some secret "informers." The Royal Secretary wrote[2] to the Earl of Southampton on the 3rd of September, 1598, "I am grieved to use the style of a councillor to you to whom I have evere rather wished to be the messenger of honour and favour, by laying her Majesty's command upon you; but I must now put this gall into my ink, that she knows that you came over very lately, and returned very contemptuously; that you have also married one of her maids of honour, without her privity, for which, with other circumstances informed against you, I find her grievously offended, and she commands me to charge you expressly (all excuses set apart) to repair hither to London, and advertise your arrival, without coming to the Court, until her pleasure be known. Sept. 3rd 1598. From the Court at Greenwich."

At the same time, or at all events by the same post, came over two important missives, one from Sir Robert Cecil to Mr Edmondes, English agent at the French Court, enclosing another from the Queen herself to her "trustie and well-beloued Thomas Edmondes Esq. our Agent with the French King."

Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Edmondes, English agent at the French Court, on the 3rd of September sent commands:

Mr Edmondes, the haste I have to send away this messenger forbydds mee to spend longer tyme than I must of necessitie; But so it is, that my Lord of Southampton's coming hither is known and what he hath done for which the Queen is much offended. You know the nature of his offence, and what it is lyke to prove, which makes me wishe that his Lordship should take heed [not] to make it worse with any contempt, being the first day it is knowne, a matter that cannot danger his fortune further then the cloude of her Majesties' favour, who punisheth the forme rather than the substance. By this letter you shall perceave what you have to doe, and for any further matter from hence, there is no accident worth the wryting, and therefore I do here conclude that I remayne your loving friend assuredly Ro. Cecil. Greenwich 3rd September[3].

Enclosed in this was the following:

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXVIII. 33. [2] *Ibid.* 47. [3] Stowe MSS. 167, 7, ff. 38–40.

Elizabeth R.

Trustie and well beloved we greet you well.

Where we have understoode that the Earle of Southampton hath been in England privily, and is passed over again without our knowledge contemptuously: And where we are informed that he hath behaved himselfe in other things contrary to his duety and to the dishonour of our Court, we doe commande you to charge him in our name precisely and uppon his duety to return presently upon the sight hereof: And therefore doe commande you to use all truthe and diligence to enquire him out, and to make our pleasure known to him, as you will answer it at your perill. Given under our Signett at our Manor of Greenwich this 3rd of September in the 40th year of our reign[1].

A servant of Essex, on September 7th, wrote to Carleton, "I find by Edward Reynolds my Lord's Secretary, that yesterday the Queen was informed of the new Lady of Southampton and her adventures, whereat her patience was so much moved that she came not to chapel. She threats them all to the Tower, not only the parties, but all that are partakers in the practice. It is confessed that the Earl was lately here, and solemnized the act himself, and Sir Thomas German accompanied him on his return to Margate. My Lord of Essex is sick. I now understand that the Queen has commanded that there shall be provided for the new Countess the sweetest and best appointed Chamber in the Fleet; her Lord is by command to return upon his allegiance with all speed. These are but the beginning of evils, well may he hope for that merry day ἐν θανατῳ which I think he did not find ἐν θαλαμῳ."[2]

Tobie Matthew also had his word to say to Carleton about the gossip on the 15th of the month. "Mrs Vernon has spun a fair thread, so fair, that I hold her a better spinner than painter. Fulke Greville is made Vice Admirall of the navy ,but whether Sir Henry Palmer or Sir William Harvey be chosen comptroller, I know not.... My Lord of Essex is reinstated in the Queen's favour[?]."[3]

The date of two letters puzzle me not a little; both are entered as of September. But they seem more suitable to the events of August. Southampton writes to Essex[4]:

The chief cause of my coming to this town is to speak with your Lordship. If you will be therefore pleased to give me assignation of some time and place

[1] Stowe MSS. B.M. Thomas Edmondes' corr. calendared by Dr Edward Scott. *Athenæum*, 1891, Sept. 26th, p. 864.

[2] D.S.S.P. CCLXVIII. 50. [3] *Ibid.* 56. [4] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 373.

where I may attend you to find you alone, so that I may come unknown, I will not fail to perform your appointment. I beseech you to let me know your will by this bearer, either by letter or word of mouth, and bind me so much unto you, as not to take notice of my being here to any creature, until I have seen you.

Endorsed "To the Earl of Essex on his coming over."

The following seems a reply to this; it is endorsed "1598."[1]

I do purpose, God willing, to be at Barn Elmes or London the next week, and do long to see your Lordship in one of these places. I commanded Cuffe to attend your Lordship upon your first coming, and to acquaint you what was the course which I thought would be of most advantage to you, to solicit kissing of the Queen's hand by Mr Secretary, and to spend some of your first time in that suit. I did also note down of your being so good a husband as to make a journey down to "Leaze." Your Lordship shall from day to day know by Cuffe what hath become of me, and your messengers shall find him out, if they seek him at Barn Elmes. I can say no more for the present than that I cannot be gladder of anything than I am of your Lordship's health, happiness and return hither. Newton Lodge 25th September.

This might fit either August or November 1598, or the following year.

Now, as Cecil noted that information had only reached the Queen on the 3rd of September, these letters of that date are not likely to have been written until the afternoon, and, even if the Queen were in haste, the messenger would probably not start until the following day at the earliest. There would be some days spent in travelling, and some days possibly spent by Edmondes in finding Southampton; but it does seem that a long time was allowed to pass before the culprit made up his mind to let his sovereign know his position. It was the 19th of September before he wrote to the Earl of Essex[2], "I have by your messenger sent a letter to Mr Secretary wherein I have discovered unto him my marriage with your Lordship's cousin, withal desiring him to find the means to acquaint her majesty therwith in such sort as may least offend; and if I may be so happy to procure of her a favourable toleration of that which is past, which obtained, I shall account myself sufficiently fortunate, for I assure you, only the fear of having her Majesty's displeasure is more grievous unto me than any torment I can think of would be. I trust therefore

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 537. [2] *Ibid.* 353.

that as my offence is but small, so her anger will not be much, and so consequently it will not be very difficult to get my pardon. To your Lordship's best direction I must leave all, assuring myself that you will be pleased to favour me as one who will be ever ready to do your servyse, and always remain your poor cousin to command. I beseech you to impute not the stay here of your servant Mr Cuff as his fault, for I have taken on me the boldness to hold him here until my departure. Paris 19th September."

He must have received Cecil's paralysing communication the very next day, and have written at once to him[1]. "I have received a letter by the post in your name, charging me, as from her Majesty, to repair to London, which, being unable to perform, I entreat you to satisfy her that no man lives who will with more duty receive her commands, though now I am forced to break this for this reason: I have stayed here for some time, only to attend the receipt of some money, which was to be made over to me to carry me further: that received will, if the Queen desires it, serve to bring me back to England, but till then, I have no means to stir from here. This is unfeignedly true." Even then, he does not seem to have received the Queen's personal command through Edmondes. But this he must have expected to follow, and he was left at his wit's end. He had no friend to help him but the Earl of Essex.

The Earl of Essex seems to have been still out of favour, and was still out of town. Tobie Mathew wrote to Carleton that "Divers Almains were with the Earl of Essex. One lost 300 crowns at a new play called 'Every man's humour.' 20th September."[2]

Southampton wrote again on the 22nd, alarmed and excited[3]: "Since I last wrote unto your Lordship, I have received a letter by this bearer from Mr Secretary, which doth signify her Majesty's heavy displeasure conceived against me, and withall lays a charge upon me in her name to make my present repair to London, which news, as it came unexpected so I assure your Lordship it was nothing welcome. Her anger is most grievous unto me, but my hope is, that time (the nature of my offence being rightly considered) will restore me to her wonted good opinion; but my so sudden return is a kind of punishment, which I imagine her Majesty's will is not to lay upon

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXVIII. 67. [2] *Ibid.* 61.
[3] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 357.

me: I mean, because when I am returned I protest unto your Lordship I scarce know what course to take to live, having at my departure let to farm that poor estate I had left for the satisfying of my creditors, and payment of these debts which I came to owe by following her Court, and have reserved only such a portion as will maintain myself, and a very small train in my time of my travel. I assure you I speak not this in hope by deferring to lessen any part of my punishment, for to satisfy her Majesty's displeasure I will willingly submit myself to endure whatsoever she shall be pleased to inflict, but I would only crave so much favour as to abide it in such a time, when the satisfying for my offence should be all the hurt I should receive. I beseech you therefore make me bound unto you by letting me hear from you as soon as may be, whereby I may know how to direct my course, for according as you shall think fit I will not fail to do; and for the excuse I have already made, I assure myself, it is such as no man can take exception unto Paris, 22nd September." (Endorsed "1598.")

In a day or two he must have received a letter written to him on the 20th by Lord Cobham from his rooms in Blackfriars (under the same roof as Burbage had bought his share for the rearing of a private theatre). "In my love unto you, I am bold to advise you that by any means you return, for I durst almost assure your Lordship the Queen's displeasure will not long continue. The exception that is now taken, is only your contempt to marry one of her maids and not to acquaint her withal; but for any dishonour committed by your Lordship, that conceit is clean taken away, so that your Lordship hath no manner of cause to doubt any disgrace, but for some time absence from Court, which I hope will not be long before it be restored unto you. If you forbear to come, I assure you it would aggravate the Queen, and put conceits into her which at present she is free of. Thus my Lord, with that love which I have ever professed to you, I hold this the meetest course for you to take, yet leave it to your better consideration, for I have my desire if you take that determination which shall fall out for the best."[1] Now, Lord Cobham was a person likely to know, for he was the son of the Lord Chamberlain (elected to succeed Lord Hunsdon) who had died in March, 1596–7.

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 355.

Even after receiving this good advice, so kindly given, the Earl of Southampton delayed. He little knew the evil consequences that delay would be the means of bringing to him, and, even more, its far-reaching effects on the fortunes of his dearest friend. He did not realise the measure of the Queen's towering wrath against him, nor how so many nursed that wrath to keep it warm. Common gossip had not reached him yet[1]. She guessed by this time that Lord Essex had known, and had been silent to her; this galled her, and she wanted the real culprit to vent her wrath upon, failing whom, she turned it on one she cared more for.

Still Southampton delayed, and apparently in his distressing perplexities turned to gambling. Of course he hoped to win; perhaps he believed in his stars, or his skill, or the power of his will. He was well aware that a full hand paved a pleasant path, and he wanted money, money, money, for so many objects, and at once. Unfortunately he lost it; and Cecil mysteriously heard of this—of course the Queen heard also, and his frantic efforts to extricate himself were naturally used to multiply the measure of his faults. The news came to Cecil in an anonymous letter (probably from one of his many spies abroad), dated Sept. 22nd/Oct. 2nd[2]. In the third paragraph "Je vous supplie Monsieur, de faire sçavoir ce mot à Monsieur le Comte, que votre Comte de Southampton, qui est du present dans Paris, s'en va de tout se ruenir, si on ne le retire de la France dans peu de jours. Car il fait de partys de 2, 3, et 4000 crowns à la paulone, mesmes Marechall de Biron dans peu de jours lui gaigna 3000 crowns, et chaqu'un se moque de lui, tellement que le Comte d'Essex faira un grand coup pour le dit Comte, de le retirer de bonne heure. Car autrement, il perdra tout son bien et reputation tant en France qu'en Engleterre, dont j'en suis bien marry [i.e. vexed] sçachant que Monseigneur le Comte l'ayme." This seems to be a genuine letter, and not a mere cipher hiding a double meaning, but it would do the Earl of Southampton no good at Court.

Southampton had heard that the Queen had blamed Essex for not telling her of Elizabeth Vernon's marriage, and on the 16th October he wrote[3], "I am sorry your Lordship hath by my means received blame, but I hope, seeing it was not in my power to avoid

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXVIII. 50.
[2] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 358.
[3] *Ibid.* 392.

it, you will be pleased to pardon that which is past, and believe that hereafter I will ever be more ready to serve you than any way for my sake to procure your Lordship the hazard of a second displeasure. For myself I assure your Lordship the thought of her Majesty's indignation conceived against me, is much more grievous than the fear of what soever punishment can be laid upon me, which, since she is unwilling to defer, I am resolved (as soon as I can with conveniency leave the country) to present myself to endure whatsoever she shall be pleased to inflict, hoping that when I have once abid penance sufficient for the offence committed, I shall be restored to her former good opinion, and have liberty to take what course shall be fittest for me, which is the only suit I intend to make, and that granted I shall account myself enough favoured. If the winds hinder me not, I will land in some such part of England as I will not fail to give your Lordship first notice of my arrival, and so be ready, before my coming to London to receive what direction you shall send me to Rouen, 16th October 1598." Endorsed "Earl of Southampton 6th October 1598."

So the Earl spent his 25th birthday in these anxieties.

In the list of the Queen's horses for October[1] there are mentioned "Grey Poole, Black Wilford for her Majesty's saddle, a bay that my young Lady of Southampton rode. Rone Howard, for Mrs Elizabeth Russell, Grey Fytton for Mrs Fytton."

We find the approximate date of Southampton's departure from Paris by a letter from Sir Thomas Edmondes to Sir Robert Sidney on 2nd November: "My Lord of Southampton, that now goeth over, can inform your Lordship at large, of the state of all things here, to whose better report I will therefore referre your Lordship."[2] This does not suggest that Edmondes thought Southampton in any great danger, nor does it seem that he had in any way kept himself secluded from the affairs of the time by the royal threat which clouded his career. There must be again a confusion of the two calendars; for Essex writes to his friend on the 4th November as if he were already home and in trouble.

Another person who had been fretting and fuming about the Earl's actions was his mother. There are certain unexplained references to her money matters that year, in which she may

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 417. [2] *Sidney Papers*, II. 104.

have needed her son's help. She had doubtless written often to him, but nothing has been preserved of their correspondence. She had certainly heard the gossip. She justly felt herself ill-used in being kept in the dark as to his intentions. Since her marriage with Sir Thomas Heneage, her son had been more free from paying her the ordinary duties of unmarried sons to widowed mothers. He had evidently also come under the influence of Thomas Dymock, who had been the cause of so much of her unhappiness with her first husband. Something had made a breach between the Countess and her son—possibly his secret love-making absorbed his free time—and he neglected to visit his mother. At any rate she had felt very much hurt—so much so, that she could not offer her son her confidence as to her own affairs. The Earl of Essex, peace-loving and peace-making as he was, had written her a kind, yet monitory, letter, and wisely asked her favour to help his young cousin. This letter has not been preserved, but the Countess (now Dowager) received it pleasantly and answered it fairly; her reply runs: "Your letter shews truly yourself ever noble and ready to perform best offices to all, if to your kinswoman with more care is agreeable with the rest and honours yourself as most becomes. A few days I perceive will bring your Lordship to the town, when it will please you to look into the Savoy, then shall I willingly hear your Lordship, and will not doubt to give you such satisfaction as in your judgment you will allow, assuring your Lordship in the mean, your kinswoman shall find your favour in me, and more should if she were not his that never was kind to me, but in this matter and manner unnatural, undutiful, God grant, not unfaithful; to your Lordship's heart I leave it that is a parent, but I hope shall never find that I have felt, for ever and ever....Savoy 6th October."[1] Endorsed "Countesse Sowth. Senior."

The Earl of Essex had his hands full, through the matrimonial troubles of the Southamptons. The young Earl had heard the gossip about his mother's marriage, and it had annoyed him, not only because she had arranged it without consulting him, or merely because of the general objection young men have to stepfathers, but partly because Sir William Harvey was not in such a good social position as his mother and he were, and partly, also, because it might lead to financial rearrangements that would be embarrassing

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 379.

to him in the present state of his affairs. It was necessary for him to settle some dower upon his young wife; she had little of her own[1].

The Earl of Essex wanted to find out how he could best have the Countess prepared to meet her son amicably, when he did return; but, entangled as he was with all the other demands on his time since his return to Court, he could not devote so much of his leisure as he could have wished. When Southampton did start, he seems to have travelled quickly, but he was incarcerated in the Fleet prison as soon as he arrived. Essex might find that convenient, as being a likely means of softening his mother before she saw him. Then, another event was about to take place. I believe that an apparently unconnected and undated letter of Lady Penelope Rich was written about this time to Mr William Downhall, one of Essex's servants[2]. "Mr Downall, This bearer tells me my brother would have me come to court in the morning early. I am here scarce well, and in my night clothes, having nothing else here, but yet I will come and desire not to be seen by any but himself, wherefore I pray you come for me as early as you think good, and devise how I may come in very privately. If it had not been for importuning my brother's rest, I would have come in the night, to have kept myself from any other's eyes. Good Mr Downall let me not fail to see you early." Now Essex was "at the Court" at that period. He did not stay long; he was not often there; and he never resided there after the following spring. It is likely he wanted to see his sister in order to effect through her certain arrangements with both of the Countesses.

The young Countess had just at that time a daughter, called Penelope after her godmother, the Lady Rich, who always remained on affectionate terms with her cousin Elizabeth Vernon.

Chamberlain's news to Carleton of the 8th November were: "The new Countess of Southampton is brought abed of a daughter, and to mend her portion, the Erle her father hath lately lost 1800 crowns at Tennis in Paris."[3] On the 11th it was: "At night the Earle of Southampton was committed to the Fleet."[4] On the 22nd

[1] Among "the Disbursements of Lord Essex 1598," is one entry "For the Countess of Southampton," probably a substantial wedding gift in money, *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 554.

[2] D.S.S.P. CCLXVIII. 108.

[3] *Cecil Papers*.

[4] *Ibid.* 115.

it was: "The Erle of Southampton is come home, and for h i welcome is committed to the Fleet, but I hear he is already up his delivery."

While he was spending his energy at home in favour of his frien the Earl of Essex was also writing to him of his dealings with h mother. There is some difficulty about the dates, probably account of the use of the double calendar at the time by travelle But the three following letters seem to be consecutive, and th explain themselves. The first contained either Lord Henry Howar report of his visit to the Dowager Countess of Southampton giv below, or some later one which took a more business form, whi has not been preserved.

The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Southampton:

Your Lordship shall by the sight of this enclosed letter know the succ of my Lord Harry [i.e. Howard] his negotiation. Since which time that writes of I spake with my Lady your Mother this afternoon in the pri Chamber. The apartment served not for long conference or for private, b she doth profess to be very kind to me, and saith she told the Quee enough to make her see that I and she were kind one to the other. I will g of purpose to her to her house as soon as the coming day is past, and then your Lordship shall have account of all[1].

Apparently it was to save some time for himself, and also to collect a larger number of facts and opinions, that Lord Essex had enlisted the co-operation of Lord Henry Howard. He knew that the Countess of Southampton would be drawn on by his courtly flattery to speak more freely than she would have done to himself. The result proved his judgment wise, for Lord Henry wrote to Essex:

According to your direction, most dear and worthy Lord I have pressed my honourable friend to enlarge her meaning touching the mystery you were desirous to understand; and found her no less favourably attentive to my motion, than warily discreet in her answer. Upon acquainting her with your demand of me (not out of curiosity but of love and honour) whether she were married, as many thought, or at the very point of marriage, as some gave out, she did assure me on her honour that the knot of marriage was yet to tie, although she would be stinted at no certain time, but ever reserve her own liberty to dispose of herself when and where it pleased her. She told me that you, in your discourse with her had so wisely tempered your affection to her son, with care of herself, as she would ever value your advice and love your virtue. I replied that out of the same kind regard of her

[1] *Cecil Papers*, 1597, Nov. 16, CLXXIX. 151.

honour and her good success, you required me to advise her not to give any scandal to the world by matching during her son's disgrace; for the greater pause and leisure she took in the last match, the greater hazard she would run in this by marrying unseasonably. I told her you thought the world would wonder what offence her son could make to purchase such a strange contempt at a mother's hand, and either make the ground thereof his matching in your blood, which you must take unkindly, or tax her own judgment which you should be sorry for. I told her that you spake not this out of partiality to my Lord her son in this particular (though you made his fortune yours and wished to him in every way as to yourself) but out of friendly care and tender sense of her reputation, which might receive hard measure upon accomplishment, because it raised some strange bruits only upon likelihood. She answered again that she found your doubt to stand upon such likely grounds, as she would warily provide for her own honour, howsoever she had heretofore been dealt withal. I proceeded further, giving her Ladyship to understand that your Lordship, fearing also lest unkindness might hereafter grow between her husband and her son upon the marriage accomplished before order were discreetly taken by her wisdom to prevent the motives of debate, could wish that she would tie their loves together by such strong and certain ligaments of confidence and kind affection, as no cause might arise hereafter of dissension, for so she might be free to take her choice at all times without the world's exception, her son's unkindness, or the wound of her posterity. My Lady told me that her son could take no just exception to the party who had been more plain with her in his defence during this time of separation and unkindness than any man alive. To your Lordship she would ever give all honourable satisfaction in this, or any matter, so far as she might with regard of her own estate and liberty, that she could possibly devise, but hoped that her son would look for no account of her proceedings in the course of marriage that made her so great a stranger to his own; and therefore as she would give no cause of unkindness by her fault, so she would not imagine that unkindness could arise without a just occasion. She said that children by the laws of God ought duty to their parents, not parents to those that sprang of them. Nature bound her to love, but nature and the law of God bound him both to love and reverence. I replied that your Lordship spake according to the judgment of a man that felt the passions of men, fearing that if order were not taken by her providence in time, somewhat might fall out to her great grief, which would be tried out by other means than the ten commandments. The draught of a pen and the settling of all proportions might do that in time, which hereafter could not be provided for so easily. In the end she said that Sir William Harvey would speak with her son before the marriage (if she forbade it not) but whether that fell out or not, yet he should speak with you whom he honoured. She would not only take hold of sundry words cast out by me about the rating of proportions and conditions of agreement etc. but ever

stood upon the quality of the person, her son's strange dealing to herself and her own liberty. She takes in so good part all I can affirm, both of your wise foresight of future harm and of your care to cut off causes that may breed them for want of safe provision in due time, together with your noble dealing with herself, as I do constantly believe that either you or no subject in the land shall do good with her, and bring matters to the pass that may satisfy. Your Lordship hath so absolute a state in all my vows and services, and doth so fully comprehend all faculties and forces of my mind and body within the precinct of that love I owe to you alone more than to all the world *tanquam in genere generalissimo* as I cannot show my own particular desire to do service to this honourable Lord *in individuo* as the case now stands, because your single word in giving me this charge to deal doth swallow all other obligations. But whensoever it shall please him to make proof of my service when it is not shadowed with your prerogative both he and the world shall judge in what degree I honour him; and a great deal more, since to his own good parts, he hath added your affinity. In haste at XI a clock[1].

The letter is undated; possibly it was written in October, before the Earl came home.

The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Southampton:

I have according to my promise been this morning with my Lady your mother. I have told her how sad I found you, how the grounds of it were her unkindness, the discomfort and discontentment you took in her marriage and scorn that Sir William Harvey should think to offer any scorn to you. I told her if it had been mine own cause I should have apprehended them as much as you did, and I fortified my opinion that mischief would grow if she did not prevent it, by many reasons. I made her see what a certain pillar and bulk she had to lean to in having so noble and worthy a son, what a fire would be kindled in her house, if she did not satisfy you, and what need she was like to have of you, if she divide herself from you, how dangerous and miserable a life she was like to lead. I do assure myself this has taken great impression. Sir William Harvey will be with her tomorrow, and tomorrow night I will be with your Lordship, if I may get hence. Else you shall have by letter what passeth betwixt him and me.

I hope tomorrow to get a gaol delivery, and so I shall not come so far to you, by the length of Fleet Street. 4th November[2].

The Earl of Essex to the Earl of Southampton, Nov. 5th, 1597:

This day about 10 o'clock Sir William Harvey came to me directed, as he said, by my Lady your mother. I told him I had dealt freely with my Lady, and so must do with him, that I thought both she and he had not

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 371.
[2] *Cecil Papers*, CLXXIX. 153. Holograph with seal.

carried themselves towards your Lordship as they should have done. For by their match, if it went forward, there was a certain mischief to fall upon you, and they added to that unkind and unmannerly carriage.

He answered that for his match, it was not an exception against him. For if my Lady should not marry him, she might marry another, and that were all one. But I replied that whosoever it were, it were a mischief to you, and you could not love him that were cause of it. To my experience that he never had shewed that respect of you since your coming over that your favourable usage of him heretofore did require, and that he had spoken carelessly, as though he regarded not whether you were angry or pleased. To those I say he answered laying the first to your mother's charge, who stayed him when he was going to you, and that he agreed with her. For the latter, he denied the words that he spoke anything unrespectfully of you, but when he was threatened, he said generally that they that were angry without cause, must be pleased without amends. After I had told him what I thought of his words, I bade him think advisedly now having given you advantage already, and being cause of mischief to you, how he did cross my sollicitation of my Lady giving of satisfaction to you before she married, for I did assure myself they would both repent it. He then began to make my Ladies state worse than it is thought to be, and said he would be glad to know what your Lordship did desire, but protested he thought it was not the way to threaten or to force my Lady. I told him you did not desire that which she had not, but that she would assure you that which she had. He speaks but generally that he will not cross or hinder you, but to deal truly with your Lordship I think he will not thank my Lady for it if she do it.

I concluded plainly what he was to trust unto from me, since now your Lordship and I were thus tied one to the other and that, when I was a friend, I went with my friends as far as any bond of honour nature or reason could tie a man. I do give your Lordship this hasty account, and would myself have come with it, but that I am not thorough well, and I attend better to sollicit your deliverance. 5th Nov.[1]

Southampton was released ere long, and seems to have made only half-hearted apologies to the Queen. My opinion is that she took a permanent distaste to him because he could not, or would not, give her sufficient flattery and admiration to satisfy her vanity. But he was free, at last, to cherish his wife and child and serve his friend.

Affairs had been going from bad to worse in Ireland. Raleigh, Sidney, Blount had all been offered and had refused the troublesome, expensive, and thankless task of becoming Deputy. The nation

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CLXXIX. 152. Holograph with seal.

looked towards Essex, but he was unwilling to leave Court so soon after his reconciliation. The Queen thought she wanted him to go, in her belief in his power to succeed; his enemies wished him to go, being certain they could secure his failure, when once out of the Queen's sight. The Queen granted all his demands and conditions, and his patent gave him power to choose all his subordinates, to plan his action, to have power to grant peace or continue war. In December, 1598, Southampton was as happy as a man hampered by poverty could be. He was settled in life with the woman of his choice, and he was about to have an active campaign under his beloved leader, who on December 8th chose him provisionally general of the horse[1]. But, alas, in both of these positions he required money. Elizabeth was economical. She did not pay in coin great noblemen who volunteered to serve her, and let them win their glory for themselves. A busy winter it would be for Southampton as well as for Essex in preparation for the Irish campaign.

Southampton wrote to Essex in November in favour of the bearer, who desired to be muster-master in Essex[2].

Taking the advice of Essex, the dowager Countess of Southampton had postponed her marriage with Sir William Harvey until her son's affairs ran more smoothly, and probably she also submitted to his judgment in the matter of her marriage settlements.

Sir Thomas Arundel wrote to Cecil from Anstey on the last day of December, 1598, that Mr Donnington, sometime servant of the Earl of Southampton, called there on Sunday on his return from Spain and he refused to see him, in case of doing anything to displease her Majesty[3].

Even through all the distractions of that year the Earl of Southampton had not given up the pursuit of literature.

Many new writers still wooed the impecunious patron, but one, in gratitude for past favours without begging for favours to come, had dedicated to him (with two others) the great work of his life. The Preface was certainly written and probably published in the earlier part of the year, before the crowding obstructions hindered Southampton's projected tour in Italy.

John Florio, formerly his Italian tutor and servant, this year 1598 brought out his *World of Wordes*, an Italian Dictionary,

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXIX. 6. [2] *Salisb. Papers*, VIII. 469. [3] *Ibid.* 528

dedicating it to the Right Hon. Patrons of Learning patterns of Virtue, the Earl of Rutland, the Earl of Southampton and the Countess of Bedford, collectively, as to three sponsors[1]. In prose he writes "May it please your Honors to join hand in hand." "I was to entreate three witnesses, to the entrie of it into Christendom... and so jointly to lend an eare to a Poor man that invites your Honours to a christening. Your birth, highly noble, more than gentle; your place, above others as in degree; so in height of bountie, and other virtues, your custome, never wearie of well-doing, your studies, much in al, most in Italian excellence; your conceits by understanding others to work above them in your owne; your exercise to reade what the world's best wits have written, and to speake as they write....In truth I acknowledge an entyre debt, not only of my best knowledge, but of all, yea, of more than I know or can, to your bounteous Lordship, most noble, most vertuous, and Most Honorable Earle of Southampton, in whose paie and patronage I have lived some yeares; to whom I owe and Vowe the yeares I have to live, But as to me, and manie more, the glorious and gracious sunne-shine of your Honor, hath infused light and life; so may my lesser borrowed light, after a principall respect to your benigne aspect, and influence, afford some lustre to some others. In loyaltie I may averre (my needle toucht and drawne, and held by such an adamant) what he in love assumed that sawe the other stars, but bent his course by the Pole Starre, and two guardes, avowing *Aspicit unam*, One guideth me, though more I see. Good parts imparted are not empaired; your springs are first to serve your selfe, yet may yield your neighbour sweet water; your taper is light to you first, and yet it may light your neighbour's candle. I might make doubte, least I or mine be not now of any further use to your selfe-sufficiencie, being at home so instructed for Italian, as teaching or learning could supplie, that there seemed no neede of travel; and none by travell so accomplished as what wants perfection? wherein no lesse must be attributed to your embellisht graces (my most noble, most gracious, and most gracefull Earle of Rutland) well entred in the toong, ere your Honor entred Italie, there therein so perfected as what needeth a Dictionarie? Naie, if I offer service but to them

[1] 1st edition. Note how he echoes Shakespeare's phrases, especially "to one, of one still such and ever so" (*Sonnet* v).

that need it, with what face seeke I a place with your excellent Ladiship (my most most honored, because best adorned Madam), who by conceited Industrie, or industrious conceite, in Italian as in French, in French as in Spanish, in all as in English, understand. What you reade, write as you reade, and speake as you write." After a little dissertation he continues, "that as Henricus Stephanus dedicated his Treasure of the Greeke toong unto Maximilian the Emperor, to Charles the French King, and to Elizabeth our dread Soveraigne, and by their favours to their Universities; so may I consecrate this lesser volume of little less value, but of like import first to your triple Honors, then under your protection to all Italian English Students...kissing your thrice-honored handes John Florio." An address "To the Reader" follows, as long and much less interesting. He chiefly spends his wit and satire in vituperative denunciation of one H. S., who has been unpleasant to him in literature. He gives no clue to the personality of H. S., but suggests many in Latin or English, as "Hugh Sot," etc. He does not guard against his enemies accepting it as "Henry Southampton." He addresses a sonnet to each of the three to whom the book is dedicated. Sonnet II is addressed:

To the Right Honorable Henrie, Earle of Southampton, etc.

Brave Earle, bright Pearle of Peeres, peerelesse Nobilitie,
The height of armes and artes in one aspiring
Valor with grace, with valor grace attiring,
Who more to amplifie vertues habilitie,
To adde to fore-learn'd facultie facilitie,
Now liv'st in trauell, forraine rytes inquiring,
Honors ingendered sparkles thereto firing,
Immutable in trauels mutabilitie.
Though there your Honor see what heere we heare,
And heare what here we learne at second hand;
Yet with good grace accept what was invented
For your more-ease, by yours—denoted here,
So may you more conceive, more understand
Returne more complete, trauell more contented.

IL CANDIDO.

The other two sonnets have the same signature.

CHAPTER X

THE IRISH CAMPAIGN

THE fortunes of the Earl of Essex form part of the materials of our national history, but no one has worked out for him a careful biography, such as Spedding has done for Bacon. Because his enemies triumphed, his history has suffered much in the telling. It is always so—*vae victis*.

Essex had a character far in advance of his times. He believed in some liberty for the subject, even during the life of a Tudor sovereign; he desired toleration in religion at a period when both parties held forcible conversion to be an article of faith; his political scheme was to give Spain no rest until she knew she was beaten, but to pursue a course of conciliation in Ireland, at a time when the gentle poet Spenser thought that there was no chance of peace but by the extermination of its inhabitants. Brave, generous, painstaking, self-sacrificing, patriotic, truthful (except in the matter of the Queen's beauty) as he was, one could well wish the last chapter of Elizabeth's reign re-written with an Essex who died of his own ague instead of her axe, in the same year that she died. He would not have got on with her successor.

He was descended from great ancestors, through the Bourchiers from Edward III[1]. A patent was granted in 18 Hen. VIII to his predecessor Walter Devereux, Knight of the Garter, Lord of Ferrers and Chartley, to be "Seneschal Chancellor and Chamberlain of the house of our most dear and firstborn daughter *Mary, Princess of Wales*." He was afterwards made Viscount Hereford. His son Richard died in his lifetime, leaving a young family—Walter, George, Elizabeth who married John Vernon, and Anne who married Henry Clifford. Walter, the second Viscount Hereford, succeeded his grandfather and married Lettice, the daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, in 1561–2. He helped the Earl of Shrewsbury to quench the rebellion in the north in favour of Mary Stuart, was made Knight of the Garter in April, 1572, and Earl of Essex in May

[1] Patents Hen. VIII, pt. 1. m. 10. 20th May.

following. He was sent to Ireland then, and was there in 1575, when the Queen, after the Kenilworth festivities, was received at Chartley by his wife. He wished to retire then, but Leicester's influence forced him to return to Ireland where he died a sad but religious death[1], leaving four children, Penelope born in 1563, Dorothy in 1565, Robert on November 10th, 1567, and Walter on October 31st, 1569 (Francis died early)[2]. His steward Waterhouse wrote to Sir Henry Sidney, "Her Majesty hath bestowed on the young Earl his marriage, all his father's rules in Wales, and the remittance of his debts. The Lords generally favour him...I do not think that there is at this day so strong a man in England of friends as the little Earl of Essex." He also refers to the "treaty between Mr Philip and my Lady Penelope," the "Stella" of Sidney's sonnets. Nothing shews why that match was broken off, and she given to the base Lord Rich. Waterhouse wrote to the boy's guardian, Lord Burleigh, "The young Earl can express his mind in Latin and French as well as English, very courteous, modest, rather disposed to hear than to answer, given greatly to learning, rather weak and tender of body, but very comely." The Earl of Leicester made haste to marry his widowed mother, and the Earl of Essex succeeded to the favour of his stepfather with Elizabeth. He had risen in that favour through his own attractions, but now he had come to the crisis of his life.

The earliest Court news of the year 1599 comes from Chamberlain, dated 17th January: "The Queen danced with the Erle of Essex upon Twelfth Day. His journey is somewhat prolonged.... He shall carry a great troupe of gallants with him, if all go that are spoken of. Spenser, our principal poet, coming lately out of Ireland, died at Westminster on Saturday last."[3] On the last day of the month he writes[4], "Sir William Harvey's marriage with the Countess of Southampton that hath been smouldering so long comes to be published." It is not clear whether or not her son was present at the wedding, but it is likely that Lord Essex managed that he should be, with his wife and sister. Chamberlain's letter also tells us, "The Erle of Essex's commission for Ireland agreed to. The

[1] See verses attributed to him in *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, 1596, and account of his death by Edward Waterhouse, Add. MS. 5845, ff. 337–49.

[2] See my *Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal*, p. 172.

[3] D.S.S.P. CCLXX. 16. [4] *Ibid.* 25.

presse of his followers will be much abated by reason that the Queen countermands many, as namely and first, all her own servants, the Earl of Rutland, and the Lord Grey, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Charles Danvers and many others."

Chamberlain writes on the 15th of March: "The Earle of Essex hath all his demandes, the Queen shewing herself very gracious and willing to content him[1]....He gives out that he will be gone the 19th of this month. The Erles of Southampton and Rutland (who hath lately married the Countess of Essex's daughter), the Lords Grey, Audley and Cromwell do accompany him." (The young Countess of Rutland was the only daughter and heir of Sir Philip Sidney by Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, who afterwards married the Earl of Essex.)

On 31st March, "Thomas Purfoot Senior and Junior entered for their copie *London's Loathe to depart to the noble Earle of Essex Earle Marshall of England, and Lord General of her Majesties forces against the Irish Rebels.*"[2]

Essex left London on March 27th, marching to Beaumaris. He had a very rough passage, landing at Dublin on the 14th of April. He intended to have marched directly north against Tyrone, a plan rejected by the Council for Ireland, as they said he could not feed an army there. He also thought it unwise to leave enemies behind him, who might combine, follow, and hem him in when he did go north. So he commenced proceedings south and west.

On April 15th was signed by the Earl of Essex, as Lieutenant and Governor General of Ireland, a warrant appointing the Earl of Southampton Lord General of the Horse in Ireland. Thereafter he did some hard marching and hard fighting. News came home of a "very brave charge by the Earl of Southampton."[3]

Lord Grey also made "a brave and successful charge," as the public described it, "*without* the orders of his general." But in the Diary of events it is described as "against the orders of the general," who for discipline's sake committed him to the marshal for one night. Sir Henry Danvers also had fought well and was wounded in the face.

Early in April Lord Henry Howard wrote to the Earl of Southampton[4]:

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXX. 57.
[2] Stationers' Registers.
[3] *Salisb. Papers*, IX. 133.
[4] *Ibid.* 125.

Though the time be short if we numbered days since you departed hence, yet hath it seemed overlong to those that resolve accidents and observe revolutions. Since these took their leave of their best company the pleasant moods which appear in sundry persons give me great cause to judge that all men were not created of one mould, but they that build upon a rock are not afraid of foul weather. I take no great delight in hearing strange exceptions cast over against my worthy Lord for moderate journeys, when Wiseman his servant was fitted by the same person for riding in post with so great expedition. For strange it is that those burdens should be laid upon such a master, which in an ordinary servant deserve compassion. If you too have heard the manner of proceeding with my Lord about Sir Christopher Blounte you will then conceive whether I had reason, as well out of judgment as out of tenderness, to shrink in the behalf of my dearest and most worthy friend, at the beginning of this enterprise. For this is only at the first *tentare patientiam* without any ground, and after as advantage riseth upon accident, to prove inconstancy. The Body of the Court begins now to grow wholly and entirely into one part, and that not the best. I doubt for awhile I shall not be able to give you account of "crust rattiones" in this place, suitable to your worthy general's deserts in those, but the greater shall be the shame of peevish prejudice when demonstrations shall deface emulations. Pardon my post haste, worthy Lord, for I have left in the world but one quarter of an hour to despatch my salutations to my dear friends amongst you, and besides my spirits which I left at Stony Stratford are scant returned to their old seat back again. As matters of importance occur you shall understand as a person dear to me for your own kind and honourable parts, but most dear of all for being near and dear to him in whom alone, concerning joys and comforts of this world, I protest to God my soul is satisfied. Be ever in this action, and in all others, as happy as I wish and so shall you not be troubled with wishing to yourself what was gained before by your constant friend's anticipation. I should account it happiness *in summo gradu*, which is more than pepper itself is hot, to be commanded by you in anything that might either do you service, or afford you satisfaction any way, until which time I recommend my resolution as a spotless paper, wherein you shall write your pleasure, and so far as my strength can stretch I will perform it faithfully. This letter, being written after that to my only Lord, stands instead of a new messenger to present my most affectionate and humble service to his Lordship. Wednesday. P.S. I beseech you that I may be commended to my Lord Grey, my Lord Burgh, and Sir Thomas Jermyne.

(That friendly remembrance to Lord Grey comes strangely in at this date.)

Fynes Moryson (brother of Sir Richard Moryson), who had received such timely help from the brothers Danvers in Paris in

1595, became afterwards secretary to Lord Mountjoy, and wrote a history of Tyrone's rebellion, reprinted in 1603, with additions, as a history of Ireland. He notes of this period that Essex had sent Sir Conyers Clifford, Governor of Connaught, to attack the rebels with 400 foot, and the Earl of Southampton's troop of 100 horse under the leading of Captain John Jepson. The English were attacked among woods and bogs, and the rebels drove them back. Every one would have perished, but for the timely help of Southampton's horse.

Lord Henry Howard wrote to the Earl of Southampton on April 27th, 1599[1]:

I doubt not but you shall hear by some other means of the constancy of some friends of yours at this last election. Northumberland was very gallant on your side. So were Worcester and Mountjoy, notwithstanding the Queen's special bar with special injury. But there was another[2] whom I will not name, that was not afraid to run upon the pikes of some that will be thought to be very special friends of his, to shew that he valued your friendship and noble virtues more than other men's caprices and partialities. But herof you must never take notice, because I tell tales out of school, and would not impart so much to any other than yourself. The world is more calm with us of late since your worthy General's and my dear Lord's arrival. Even now the Queen perceives, though somewhat too late for the world's satisfaction, (that wondered at so many showers without clouds) that a course was taken rather to prove constancy than to tax negligence. I have learned by these storms, raised without ordinary causes, to seek out new grounds in philosophy, and to prepare myself with patience against the next assaults, when probability may give shadows to exceptions, or envy take advantage out of best deserts to check forwardness.

The Queen begins to storm exceedingly at my Lord of Rutland's incorporation into Jason's fleet, and means, she says, to make him an example of contemning princes' inhibitions to all that shall come after him. God send him a good share in the golden fleece of honour which our worthy Lord shall compass by his valour, and then we will less fear the punishment that is inflicted upon generosity. The whole Court rejoiceth much at your safe arrival, and will rejoice a great deal more at the next news of your happy success against the enemy. There want not some in this place that set light the service, as an enterprize achievable with weaker force than the State employs. Many of your friends are well, and some are too well, if you will

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, IX. 438.

[2] This might have seemed to have meant Lord Henry himself, but he was not then a Knight of the Garter. It may refer to his cousin Thomas.

give me leave to be merry. We are only occupied by entertaining Dutch ambassadors[1], that before dinner speak not very wisely, and after dinner not very warily. We are only now in expectation of your first attempts, and thereupon I shall be able to give you some light of the Court's construction. The Queen excluded my Lord Keeper from nomination in this last choice of Knights, and though she named him not, yet gave cause to some to conceive that his being named at the election before was the cause why she would not suffer any enrolment of the scrutiny. Keep this to yourself, I beseech you, or I might be made a reporter of his disgrace, whom, for his virtue, and his kind love to my dear Lord, I love and honour. Please you to advertise my Lord of this, because I had forgotten to write of it.

By reason of the incompleteness of the registers of the Garter in Elizabeth's reign, this is new material, both in Southampton's life and the history of the Garter. It was not the first time he had been nominated.

The list of the army in Ireland[2] on April 28th, 1599, contains "Horse appointed to go with the Lord Lieutenant; his Lordship's own company,.....the Earl of Southampton, Sir H. Danvers, Lord Monteigle, Sir J. Leigh," and others, with from 25 to 100 men to each.

A touching little letter[3] from one who was always kept in the background because of her Majesty's ill-will, Frances, Countess of Essex, begging news from the Earl of Southampton of her lord's happy proceedings against the proud rebels, is dated May 13th.

Then came a letter from his mother, saying[4]:

This is the third letter of mine to you since I received one from you, though Wyseman and Tracye came from you, it made me a little doubtful of your well-doing, till they did assure me they left you well; so we presume for certain you are before now in the field, and some service undertaken. You may believe I carry a careful heart while you are in these dangers. I am desired by my Lady Cutts (whom you know that I may not deny) to commend a kinsman of hers, a Crockatt, to your favour. I have written by him to you, but leave it to yourself being assured you have more friends to favour than means to satisfy half. I greatly desire to hear from you. This 18th of May. P.S. We have a new Lord Treasurer, and my Lord Chief Justice sworn councillor. Sir Thomas Fortescue utterly refuseth "The Wards," whereat most marvel. My Lord of Rutland is sent for in great bitterness, it is feared the Tower will be his lodging for the time.

[1] See p. 55.
[2] *Salisb. Papers*, IX. 145.
[3] *Ibid.* 166.
[4] *Ibid.* 173.

Endorsed "The old La. Southampton to her son the E. of Southampton."

In regard to the Earl of Rutland, he had written to his uncle Mr Roger Manners, who replied on May 25th: "I am always ready to serve you. My credit in court is very little for that I come here very seldom. But Mr Scriven, who knows your designs and friends there, no doubt solicits them. I am going to Enfield until term begins, unless Mr Scriven recals me....At the Savoy May 25th."[1] A heavy post must have come over to the army of letters written on 10th June. Of these, not because of its importance, but because it completes Rutland's story, I take first Sir Charles Danvers' of that date to Southampton himself.

My Lord, I have been this month absent in the country upon very earnest business of mine own, and am only returned within these two days. Thus much I am desirous to let your Lordship know that you may not impute the miss of my letters all this tyme unto mee as a fault. At my coming to the towne I understand of ye order hath been taken here touching your place, the particulars where of will come soone enough to your ears: And yourselfe, of all others, is best able to directe yourselfe in this, as in all other cases yt concerneth you. Your friendes here find her Majestie possessed with a very hard conceipt and as they doubt not but your deserts in tyme will be of force sufficient to cancel a greater displeasure than this so doe they will yt yor Lordshippe would not omitt in the meane tyme, to hasten the returne of her favor by such means as you judge will be most pleasing to hir humour. Your Lordship hath many friends that love you, and esteem you, but among those which are able to doe you service I feare there are few that will prove so good pleaders in your owne cause as you once founde. If your Lordship take that course I will doe the best I can to see you seconded by your friends and shall be able to doe it the more effectually if I be governed by your instructions. My Lord of Rutland is come over, and from the Bathe, where he remains to cure himself of a swelling falen downe into his legs, hath written to the Council to know their pleasure whither he shall still come up or be dismissed. The Tower and the Star Chamber have been spoken of, but the Fleete, we feare, shall be his punishment. My Lord of Cumberland hath been dealing with Sir Edward Carye for Grafton, and as Sir Ed. Careye hath affirmed hath offered £500[2]. I spoke with Mr Chamberlain, and lett him knowe your Lordship's desire to have it, he feares the place will not yield you sufficient commodity of wood, for the maytenance of such a house as you must necessarily keepe, and that having no other land in yt, you will want many other as necessary comodityes, notwithstanding I have dealt

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, IX. 180. [2] Add. MS. 6177, ff. 57–107.

with my mother to stay the sale, till I understand what you will have done in case my Lord of Cumberland continues in this humour; but if your Lordship list to defer it, you may possess my Lord of Essex beforehand, without whose consent, I think no man will undertake to buy it. I finde Sir Robert Sidney willing to be rid of his government and desirous that your Lordship should have the offer of it before all others, but he thinks your course now directed ends, and that you are neither in place nor state of favour with the Queen to make the Sute which must be undertaken by whomsoever shall deale with him for it, for he will be content, but not be a sutor to leave it.

Sir Ed. Stafford, Sir John Stanhope, and Lord Herbert are named to the Chancellorships of the Duchy, and Sir W. Rawley to be Vice Chamberlain.... A Progress is appointed to begin the 12th of July to Wimbledon, and so through part of Surrey and Hampshire to Windsor. So I humbly take my leave. From London the 10th June 1599. Your Lordship's humbly to command[1].

The letter of the Privy Council to Essex of the same date was the most paralysing that a man in his position could have. He had come as a forlorn hope to Ireland, to do the best he could for Queen and country, with full powers to act. He had specially insisted on being free to choose his own officers. As soon as he landed he felt the shortage in supply, and the lack of preparedness. He wanted to march north at once, but the Irish Council voted against it. He had marched west and south, partly, no doubt, to disintegrate the foes he had to leave behind him. During his difficult march he learnt many painful lessons, and he returned eastward to face threatened famine, disease, desertions, disaffection, even in one case shameful cowardice before the foe. He felt his hands weakened by the work of spies and informers, his prestige marred through lack of the moral support of an approving sovereign[2], and now the one in whom most he trusted, the Earl of Southampton, who served

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, IX. 197.

[2] And through that spring had been running, at the new theatre called the Globe, the patriotic play of *Henry V*, where the model for the hero was evidently the Earl of Essex. In the chorus of Act V. Shakespeare boldly bids his hearers behold

"How London doth pour out her citizens...
As, by a lower but loving likelihood,
Were now the general of our gracious empress
(As in good time he may) from Ireland coming
Bringing rebellion broached upon his sword,
How many would the peaceful city quit
To welcome him!"

Very probably both manager and poet would be rebuked for that.

his country through him with courage, self-denial, and prudence, with all the powers of his body and brain, heart and soul, purse and influence, was to be torn from him and publicly degraded! What could he make of it? What would be the effect of it upon the flagging spirits of the army, on his own power, on the rebels' audacity, on the success of his aim? He could not believe that the Queen could purpose such a thing. But the letter of the Privy Council of June 10th was clear[1]. The Queen had taken it as an offence that he should have made Southampton General of her Horse in Ireland, when she had expressly denied it. Therefore she bade Essex no longer continue him in that office, but dispose of it to another.

He took some time to consider, and, as Sir Charles Danvers had suggested to Southampton, he wrote to ask if such a course must be before he took it. On the 11th of July Essex sent a long report of things in Ireland to the Lords of the Council. The fourth paragraph runs:

To leave this, and to come to that, which I never looked should have come to me, I mean your Lordship's letter touching the displacing of the Earl of Southampton; your Lordships say that her Majestie thinketh it strange, and taketh it offensively that I should appoint him general of the horse, seeing that not only her Majestie denied it, when I moved it, but gave an express prohibition to any such choice. Surely my Lords it shall be far from me to contest with your Lordships, much less with her Majestie, howbeit God and mine own soul are my witnesses, that I had not in this nomination any disobedient or irreverent thought. That I ever moved her Majesty for the placing of any officer, my commission freely enabling me to make free choice of all officers and commanders of the army, I remember not. That her Majesty in the privy chamber at Richmond, I only being with her, shewed a dislike of him having any office, I do confess. But my answer was that if her Majesty would revoke my commission I would cast both myself and it at her Majesty's feet; but if it pleased her Majesty that I should execute it, I must work with mine own instruments. And from this profession and protestation I never varied. Wheras if I had held myself barred from giving my Lord of Southampton place and reputation some way answerable to his degree and expense, no man I think doth imagine that I loved him so ill as to have brought him over. Therefore if her Majestie punish me for this choice *poena dolenda venit.*

And now, my Lords, were it as then it was, that I were to choose, or were

[1] *Carew Papers*, 1599, CCCVI. p. 313; Birch's *Mem.* II. 421; *Irish State Papers*, CCV. 79.

there nothing in a new choice but my Lord of Southampton's disgrace and my discomfort, I should easily be induced to displace him, and to part with him. But when, in obeying this commandment, I must discourage all my friends, who now, seeing the days of my suffering draw near, follow me afar off, and are some of them tempted to renounce me, when I must dismay the army, which already looks sadly upon me, as pitying both me and itself in this comfortless action—when I must encourage the rebels, who doubtless will think it time to hew upon a withering tree, whose leaves they see beaten down, and the branches in part cut off—when the world now clearly perceiving that I either want reason to judge of merit, or freedom to right it (disgraces being there heaped where in my opinion rewards are due)—give just grief leave once to exclaim, "O miserable employment, and more miserable destiny of mine, that makes it impossible for me to please and serve her Majesty at once!" Was it treason in my Lord of Southampton to marry my poor kinswoman, that neither long imprisonment nor no punishment besides that hath been usual in like cases, can satisfy or appease? Or will no kind of punishment be fit for him, but that which punisheth not him, but me, this army, and poor country of Ireland? Shall I keep this country when the army breaks, or shall the army stand when all our voluntaries leave it? Or will my voluntaries stay when those whom they have will and cause to follow are thus handled? No, my Lords, they already ask passports, and that daily; yea, I protest before God, they that have best conditions here are as weary of them as prisoners of fetters. They know—this people know—yea the rebels know, my discomforts and disgraces. It is a common demand "How shall he long prosper, to whom they which have her Majesty's ear as much as any wish worse than to Tyrone and O'Donnell?...

I do prostrate myself at her Majesty's feet, I will humbly and contentedly suffer whatsoever her Majesty will lay upon me, I will take any disgraceful displacing of me or after punishing of me dutifully and patiently. But I dare not, whilst I am her Majesty's minister in this great action, do that which will overthrow both me and it. Deal with me therefore, as with one of yourselves whose faith and services you know. Deal with this action, as with that which will make you all joy or mourn. Deal with her Majesty according to her infinite favours and your oaths, that she do not one day resume the saying of Augustus, "Had Maecenas or Agrippa been alive, she should sooner have been put in mind of her own danger...."[1]

The appointment of Southampton as General of Horse, though made before the forces left London, did not seem to have aroused the Queen's wrath until fostered by spies and enemies and by the complaints of Lord Grey.

[1] *Irish State Papers*, CCV. 79, also *Salisb. Papers*, IX. 236.

H. Cuffe wrote to Edward Reynolds on July 18, 1599, from Dublin: "In the last part of the journal sent unto you by Francis Greene, in setting down the skirmish near Arkloughe there is mention of a very brave charge given on the rebels by our horse under the leading of my Lord of Southampton, where Captain Constable was hurt, and Mr Cox was slain. We set down the names of the gentlemen of quality engaged, and by some accident we have omitted Sir H. Carey, who is reported to have done very well. His Lordship was advertised of this and charged us with it, which I denied."[1]

It is evident that Sir Henry Danvers had been wounded severely, as in the same month his brother Charles wrote to the Earl of Southampton:

I humbly thank you for the pains you have taken in delivering the particularities of my brother's "*harting*" amendment, and freedom from danger, which, being now past, I hope will turn him to some good, for that wounds in the wars, being the mark of well deservers, cannot lose their reward in a grateful time.

I doubt not but by this time you have received the verdict which has passed against you here, wherein as you will find sufficient cause of discontentment in that it is a proof of your Prince's displeasure, so have you this cause of comfort, that your greatest enemies (by the proof you have given of yourself) are forced to confess you to be more worthy of the place you hold than any that can be named, and unto your deserts and government are not able to take the least exception. There is great expectation what course will be taken by my Lord of Essex and yourself, upon the receipt of your discharge. It is vulgarly conceived that the Council's letters, written in the Queen's name will be presently obeyed, and that your Lordship will presently dispose yourself to return, they looking no further than unto the ordinary course which men in this time do take in cases of such disfavour, and some friends of yours do persuade the like, both for the same cause, and judging it moreover, in their conceit not altogether so honourable for you to remain there, if you be sequestered from your command. But those who love you no less do wish that my Lord of Essex, retaining you in your place, would reply and expect the redoubling of the former commandment, so much being held, as the case stands very warrantable; or else that your Lordship would of yourself, at the first, without shew of esteeming it, resign your authority into my Lord's hands, where it might rest undisposed of to any other so long as you continued in the army, which should be even as long as otherwise you had determined. In the first place your friends do judge that such reasons and unanswerable arguments may be alleged by

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, IX. 236.

my Lord as may move her Majesty to alter her mind, and that, they assure themselves, would be much the more easily effected if you would be moved to use your own pen in such a style as is no less fit for this time than contrary to your disposition, it being apparent that her Majesty's ill conceit is as much grounded upon the sternness of your carriage, as upon the foundation of any other offence. And though this course take not such effect as is wished, yet your continuance there will shew that you embarked not yourself into the journey for the authority of such a place, but for higher and more worthy respects, esteeming not to have taken reputation from your office, but to have given very much thereunto. I know all this is needless, both for that I am acquainted with your mind in this case, and that you are of all other the wisest to give yourself advice, yet have I thought good to deliver you the conceits of others as matter for your own judgment to work upon. The Progress was first appointed to Wimbledon, to my Lord Keeper's at Parford, to my Lord Treasurer's at Horsley, to Otelands, and so to Windsor, but by reason of an intercepted letter, wherein the giving over of long voyages was noted to be a sign of age, it hath been resolved to extend the Progress to Basing, and so to Wilton."

After general news the letter concludes:

Your Lordship shall do me a favour to burn these letters July 1599.

P.S. Mrs Bess Russell, when I was last at the Court, desired me to remember her to your Lordship[1].

Another letter of uncertain date, from Lord Henry Howard to the Earl of Southampton, should, I think, come in here.

It grieves me very much to call to mind how just cause you shall have rather to increase your complaint of wrongs offered to you without cause or colour before this come to your hand, but against that supreme force that wieldeth actions by sovereign predominance, opposition availeth not. The civil law termeth enforcements of this kind *visu invincitibilem*, rather to be put into the hand of mediation than relieved by subordinate authority. The matter was disputed here, as forcibly and pithily as the very conscience and honour of the cause did require. They that wanted credit spake reason; some used both their credit and their reason to make the Queen behold the horror of the case, and yet I do persuade myself that some others, though invisible, were willing to strain all their faculties in riveting into the Queen's own resolution a moveless negative. Mr Secretary [Cecil] commanded the messenger to linger five days after the Queen's first severe injunction in hope that time would qualify the sharpness of her humour, but it fell out otherwise. I took the advantage of that interim to send Udall away to my Lord [Essex], which Expedition took small effect, for though my end were

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, IX. 245.

to have prepared him before the blow, yet as I perceive by Mr Bushell, Udall was not with my dear Lord at his setting out, which proves him to have been strangely crossed by the winds, and holden off with hard weather. What course my Lord will take is disputed here; the likeliest conjecture is that he will suspend the decree, till he have advertised the reasons that should stay proceeding in a matter of great moment without any reasonable cause against a person of your quality. I doubt not, if this course be taken, but her Majesty upon good consideration will rather relent in rigour than discourage her most faithful ministers. England is not so furnished at this day with forward hopes that those of the better sort should in this manner be dejected into forlorn destinies. But the truth is, howsoever flaws be coloured, the main blow is not stricken at yourself. The most worthy gentleman that lives is pierced through your side, and many here that hear, observe and understand, do likewise sympathize in their affections. This fury began first upon the speeches between my Lord Gray and your Lordship, which makes men more sorry that, since right was on your side, revenge should be the reward of good consideration. Be patient, noble Lord, and the rather because your worth doth shine more brightly by the confront of accidents. They are rather to be pitied than complained of, as a wise man says, that strive to please their humours with the prejudice of their own particular. To those that aim by appearances this charge hath *mali speciem*; but to the wiser sort, that look into your carriage and formally compare it with the cause of anger, it seemed to be *seges gloriae*. Upon our knowledge of the course your worthy General will take you may assure yourself, that as many heads and hands as have in them either discretion or diligence will endeavour, so far as they can, to keep the measure that his judgment sounds to them. The Queen hath not been so sharp in speeches since that order given as before, for showers lay great winds, and choler purged leaves the veins more temperate. Some look for stronger contradiction than your general's best friends in their discretion could wish, but they that are acquainted with his judgment in the matter, and your love to him, expect that he will plead according to the principles that are in request, and you will suffer much before you make him strain above his ability.

Haste in dispatching Udall away upon the first ejaculation withheld my hand from writing to you, as I had an infinite desire, because I love you much and would shew my love when matters are in greatest extremities. I hope that discouragement shall not untwine you from the service while that Lord commands, that loves you as himself, for rather than your absence should disarm him of so dear a friend, I could wish you out of your own judgment to take such a course, if this decree proceed, as might more improve your honour than abate your countenance. Men of your worth and haviour receive no glory from their places, but give honour to the place. That room is highest which contains the most worthy man, and therefore

the more you abase yourself in serving under some true friend of yours inferior in quality, to shew that duty to the public with affection to your best friend prevail against unkindness in your own particular, the more you grace your worth in making wrong a foil to constancy. I speak as one that loves you, and would speak thus to my nephew Thomas if he were in your state, for your wisdom in applying this occasion to the best advantage of your judgment will erect a trophy to your honour in the eyes of Christendom.

We live here in the same distrust of any great effect to be wrought by this year's service [in Ireland] that we have done ever since your arrival on the other side. Our faith is neither like a grain of mustard seed wherein the birds should build their nests, nor like the seeds of charity that increase by scattering. Every man enquires after effects, none judge by possibility. They never look into the means, but call for miracles against the doctrine of the time itself, which proves their date to be determined. I pray with my soul for your prosperous success; but howsoever that fall out, by want of seconding or discouragement of spirits, yet my knees shall bow thrice a day to God for the prospering of your safe return, with honour, to your native state, that once again my dear Lord may debate his own conclusions, and prove those things to have been disposed with great judgment that are now most unjustly imputed to strength of humour. I beseech your Lordship, as I trust in you, acquaint me before your departure from Dublin with your opinions concerning my Lord's purpose either to return this winter, or to tarry where he is, for I protest to God, the fear of it doth cramp me at the very heart, and secret speeches and advertisements from thence to that effect hath raised certain crests of men, that in his absence hunt after glory. We live still in expectation of credit yet reserved for some others of the company that hath reasonably sped; but the triumphant cars are not conveyed into the Capitol with so great haste as was looked for.[1]

The answer to Essex's appeal in favour of Southampton came on July 19th in a long fault-finding letter from the Queen herself In the last paragraph

For the matter of Southampton, it is strange to us that his continuance or displacing should work so great an alteration either in yourself (valuing our commandments as you ought) or in the disposition of our army, where all the Commanders cannot be ignorant that we not only not allowed of your desire for him, but did expressly forbid it, and being such a one whose counsel can be of little, and experience of less use; yea such a one as, were he not lately fastened to yourself by an accident, wherein for our usage of ours we deserve thanks, you would have used many of your old lively arguments against him for any such ability or commandment; it is therefore strange to us, *we* knowing his worth by your report, and your own disposition

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, IX. 340.

from ourself in that point, will dare thus to value your own pleasing in things unnecessary, and think by your private arguments to carry for your own glory a matter wherein our pleasure to the contrary is made notorious. And where you say further that divers or the most of the voluntary gentlemen are so discouraged thereby, as they begin to desire passports and prepare to return, we cannot as yet be persuaded that the love of our service, and the duty which they owe us, have not been as strong motives to these their travails and hazards as any affection to the Earl of Southampton or any other. If it prove otherwise (which we will not so much wrong ourselves as to suspect) we shall have the less cause either to acknowledge it or reward it.[1]

By the same post, though dated the day following, came the reply of the Lords of the Council[1], not an encouraging one. On this point it says:

Where your Lordship used many arguments to persuade the inconvenience the Earl of Southampton's disgracing would procure amongst the army; and where you urged one point of the disposition in voluntaries the rather in this respect to leave her service, we found it rather did increase than diminish her displeasure in that point, as taking it a diminution of her greatness that anybody's zeal should be the colder for any private man's disgrace.[2]

It was made a clear duty now; so Essex discharged his friend (it may be certain as kindly as he could), and told the Comptroller to take Southampton's name off the official list. He sent official notice to the Council of his obedience to this "second signification of her Majesty's pleasure for the despatching of my Lord Southampton from the government of the horse."

Fortunately for us, the impartial records in the Carew MSS shew how bravely Southampton had borne himself in Ireland and how fortunate individually he had been. He had saved the life of his brother-in-law and other gentlemen of note; he obeyed the Lieutenant-General without fear or hesitation; and he inspired others to do the same. He was a gallant soldier.

Painful as the position was to both of them, they bravely did their best to endure. Essex proudly held his right in his hand to be his own General of Horse; and Southampton, having followed his lord in hope, come fair come foul, adhered to him to the end, and did the work as a captain that he would have done as general.

There is no doubt that Lord Grey expected to be "the other" to

[1] *Irish State Papers*, ccv. 113. [2] *Ibid.* 115.

be appointed to that office. He had headed the list of the knights made, in spite of his breach of discipline, but he left the army about that time, and appeared in London, "discontented." It is certain that he gave his own version of the events in Ireland, and that not a friendly one.

Essex was ill when he returned to Dublin, but was absorbed in numerous consultations and plans, and in interminable reports. As he wrote to the Court, "I perform the uttermost of my body's, mind's, and fortune's ability, but it agrees not with my health." He sent home Southampton's private troop of horse, now that their master had taken the place of an ordinary captain; he summoned a council of war, and Southampton's was among the names of those who dissuaded him from going north. News of Tyrone's position and actions, however, decided him to go and attack him on 28th August —a fortunate move, for it brought Tyrone to a reconsideration of the opinions he had built on gossip. In a very few days he sent a message to Essex that he was willing to submit himself to the Queen's mercy, and appointed a meeting by the ford of Ballynahinch on the Lagan, between Monaghan and Louth. Essex agreed, and appointing Southampton with a body of horsemen to stand on the rising ground behind, to keep off eavesdroppers, he went down alone to the edge of the water, and Tyrone, saluting him with reverence, stood alone, *in* the ford, the water reaching to his saddle girths.

That was on the 6th of September. The next day there was another meeting, with six witnesses on either side. Southampton was there, of course, now by the side of Essex. On the 9th Essex accepted the terms, and gave his word to Tyrone; and both parties went to their own quarters. On the 17th of September he received a passionate letter from Elizabeth disavowing his agreements. He felt that it had become necessary for the sake of Ireland and himself, for the honour of his country and his Queen, to put matters fully and privately before her. No time was to be lost, and he returned to Dublin.

Sir Gelly Meyrick to Edward Reynolds, who as Essex's secretary was concerned with keeping the diary of events, wrote in August: "There was foul errors and great cowardice committed, light where it will. All things done here are but toys, but I would they that esteem it so were here and then they would find it other-

wise. To the north we will; and my Lord will disobey no commandments, but better, had been better....The scorns we receive from England hinder her Majesty's service more in a year than any money will repair. Let Rayleigh and Carey prate. They are infamous for their service here."[1]

Towards the end of their stay in Ireland William Udall wrote to the Queen, shedding light upon the methods employed in the transaction. "According to your Majesty's direction received by Sir John Stanhope, she shall understand the means used to discover the speeches which passed between the Earl of Essex and Tyrone. Three gentlemen went to the Waterside, where Essex was to meet Tyrone; my Lord of Southampton had charge to keep all men from hearing, but these gentlemen had opportunity by a hollow place to shroud themselves from sight, and so heard every word."[2] Thomas Blount, an esquire of good worth, of Astley in Worcestershire, was one of them. Udall told the Queen what "he thought he heard" and understood.

Such was the treachery that brought low the men who might have succeeded.

After making hasty arrangements for the safety of Ireland and the army, and appointing Chancellor Loftus and Sir George Carey as special justices *ad interim*, Essex started homeward on September 24th, had a calm and prosperous voyage, a breathless ride across England, and reached London on the 28th. "Coming to Westminster Bridge he took oars, and went to Lambeth, and took what horses he could. Sir Thomas Gerard overtook him, and understanding Lord Grey was a little in advance, overtook him also, and prayed him to let the Earl of Essex ride before and give news of his own coming, but he refused, saying 'I have business,' and pushed on, reaching Nonesuch a quarter of an hour before the Earl, which time he passed with Sir Robert Cecil. But the news had not yet gone upstairs. Essex lighted at the Court Gate in post, and made all haste up to the Queen's bedchamber, where he found the Queen newly up, the hair about her face. He kneeled to her, kissed her hands, and had some private speech with her, which seemed to give him great contentment, for coming from her majesty to goe shifte himself in his chamber, he was very pleasant and thancked God, though he had suffered much trouble and storms abroad, he found a sweet calm

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, IX. 343. [2] *Ibid.* 384.

at home. Tis much wondered at here, that he went so boldly to her Majesty's presence, she not being ready, and he so full of dirt and mire that his face was full of it. About 11 he was ready and went up again to the Queen, and conferred with her until half an hour after twelve. As yet all was well, and her usage very gratious towards him. He went to dinner and discoursed of his travels...and was visited of all sorts....Then he went up to the Queen, and found her much changed in that small time, for she began to call him in question for his return....She appointed the Lords to hear him"[1] and she never saw him again. Between 10 and 11 a command came to him to keep his chamber. On the 29th, Michaelmas day, he was summoned to answer the Lords, and sent as prisoner to York House in charge of Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper. On the 30th his wife had a daughter, and he was refused permission to see her or any of his friends. On the 1st of October William Wood entered "as his copie *The Welcome Home of the Earl of Essex by Thomas Churchyard*," which would doubtless lead both author and publisher into some trouble.

The gossip spread that Essex had brought over with him "many Lords and gentlemen." The following is an extract from the Earl of Essex's report of the captains he brought over with him: "The Earl of Southampton, a private Captain, came over to see if there would be a conclusion of the wars, which if it fell out, he purposed to sue for leave to seek some other war....Sir H. Dockwra, nominated to the government of Connaught, the last to be allowed or otherwise employed by her Majesty....Sir Henry Danvers for his private state, and a great wound in his head, comes back to seek remedy....Captain Thomas Lee, to speak about his own business with his brother, Sir Henry Lee, and two others."[2]

There is a group of most interesting domestic letters, which have not been brought into the history of this year by any one, and have not been dated correctly by the editors of either the manuscript or printed calendar. After very long cogitation, I have found an approximate date for the undated first one, and a sure date for the later ones, through Lady Rich's allusion to the great wound in Sir Henry Danvers' head. The letter I place first must have been written late in March or early in April, 1599. The Countess of Southampton had

[1] *Speede's Hist.* pp. 1205–1213. [2] *Irish State Papers*, ccv. 188.

left her husband, who was preparing to start with Essex for Ireland. She writes to him from an unnamed house, either on the way to Chartley or at the house itself. He must have been in London, as she gives him commissions to do there, one of them being to ask after the health of their baby, who seems to have been put out to nurse there, as she could not have been more than six months old. Essex was about to start from Beaumaris, and would be sure to take the route by his own home, in order to arrange matters with steward and tenants. Premising this, we can turn to the frank avowals of the young wife's love and appreciate the ingenuous simplicity of her character, the freedom of her style, and fine examples of phonetic spelling, illustrative at once of her times and her character.

My dear Lord and only joye of my life, being very wery comme to this howes with my long jurney I wase very quickly healyde of that paine with the reding your kinde letter I receved by Sir T. Egerton the nexte daye which hade the same force that all those dearly estimed ons to me I have already hade and which I most sartanly knoe wil worke the same effecte in me continually at the site of any hereafter I shall receve from you, that is to bring as much contentment to my minde as it can posably receave when I ame severd from you whom I do and ever wil most infinitly and truly love. I hope you wilnot faile to do as you say in your letter, to shorten your jurney that sone I may have you heare with me I pray you fale not to do so, for I most infinitly longe for you, and my dear and only joye I beciche you love forever most faithfully me that everlastingly will remain your fatheful and obedyent wife,

E. Southampton.

I pray you remember to send wane to your dafter before you come hether that I maye sartantly hear by you howe she dos whoe next yourselfe I will ever love most, and loke that your pickter be very finly done and brot hither so soon as may be, or else I wil do nothing but chide with you when you come to me.

Sweet my Lord let your man Foulke bye me a stringer of scarlet haulf a yeard brode and as long at least, lined with plush, to kepe my body warm a days which I must ride. I send you word I groe bigger and bigger every day.[1]

There are two monogram seals on silk (cut). The address is only "To my dearly Loved husband the Earl of Southampton."

Following this letter are those dated the days and months which could fit no other year than 1599. Some seem to have been lost—

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CIX. 31.

and no wonder; the wonder is that so many have been preserved by Southampton during the vicissitudes of the Irish campaign, for they must have fallen into Cecil's hands, when Southampton's papers were seized on his attainder.

10th May. Lady Rich to the Earl of Southampton:

Noble Sir,

I hope my first letter will excuse some parte of my faulte, and I assure you nothing shall make me neglect to yealde you all the ernest assurances I can of my affection and desires to be helde deare in your favour whose worthy kindness I will strive to merit by the faithfullest endeavours my love can perform towards you who shall ever finde me unremovedly, Your Lo. faithfull cosin and true friend,

PENELOPE RICHE.

Your Lordships daughter is exceeding faire and well, and I hope by your sonn to winne my wager. Chartley this 10th of May[1].

The Countess to the Earl of Southampton in the same month:

My deare Lord and only joye of my Life, this gentleman giving me notige of his coming to wher you are must not come from me without some lines to you that may be a mean to plase me into yor minde wher I wolde ever remain yet his haste is such as I have no time to saye more to you whom I love as my sole therfor excuis my cribbling whoe end praing to God to kepe you from all danger parfitly wel and fast and son to bring you to me that ever wil rest your faithful and obedient wife,

E. SOUTHAMPTON.

My Lady Rich that writ to you but very latly desirs you nowe to excuis her not writing being so il of a colde as she cannot nowe endure to write a word. Chartley the 30th May[2].

The Countess to the Earl of Southampton:

My deare Lorde and only joye of my life never came any of your letters to me in a better time for my comfort then that you sent me by this knite, for my longing to heare of you was never mor nor my desir infiniter to have from yourselfe sartain knolige that you weare parfitely wel in the jurney which I harde you wear gon and I protest unto you the assurance your letter guiefs me that you ar so is the nues that my harte only delites in, and which caries as muche contentment unto it as it can posably inioye whilst you ar from me whom I far dearer love then it is posabel with any wordes to expres the witness you give me in your letter that you ar not trobelt for my not being as I protest unto you I infinitly desirde to have bin is much to my content and though I be not now in that happye state yet I doute not but that in good time and for the infinit comforte of you

[1] *Cecil Papers*, XCIX. 167. [2] *Ibid.* C. 61.

and myselfe God wil bles me with bering you as many boayes as your owen hart desires to have and I bechiche him nowe and ever to presarve you from all dangers and son to bringe you parfitely wel to me and my only joye I praye ever let me inioye your love as I nowe assur myself I do to the infinit joye and contentment of my harte and from it nowe I sende you thousandes of thankes for your most kinde letter which brot to it infinit comfort and so end remaining endlessly, Your faithful and obedient wife,

E. SOUTHAMPTON.

Chartley this 11th of Juin.

Sir Francis Darsis staye at corte is very longe God send when he comes wher you ar his nues may be as pleasing as I wish it that is so bad it allwaies coms better from that place thence it springes as I have nede not to send it to you at any time, but feare it wil by others to sone come wheare you ar to ease discontented mindes.

I pray you send to me agane as son as is posabel for I do already mor than longe to heare from you whom I every oure wishe my selfe with and I can never live contented til I do enioye that happiness[1].

21st June. The Countess to the Earl of Southampton:

My deare Lord and only joye of my life this letter inclosed I purposed when I writ it Sir Francis darsi sholde have brote yowe, but nowe his staye is so longe as I begine to thinke he shale not move befoote to come wher you ar and therfor I do take and am very glade of it the opertunity this berer geuifs me of sending unto you that I love as my soul and everlastingly wel and I do bechich you to send to me assone as you maye posably for I extremely longe for suche like assurance as I have allready to my infinit comfort receafde from you of your parfit well being, which I wil never sease to praye to God for and that most sone I maye enioye the site of you and ever your most faithful love which wil make me knoe myselfe to be the hapiest woman of the world and in it ever be your faithful and obedient wife,

E. SOUTHAMPTON.

The date of this enclosed letter is so olde as I might wel forbeare to send it you but having wonst ment it to you canot alter from that porpos. Chartley the 21 of June.

Excuis what faltes be in this leter for I have very hastily writen it and my deare Lorde and only joye I praye you send unto mee quickly for I am far from any of weat with the long time we think it is senc you sent unto me whoe loves you and the thoughts of you above all thinges in this earthe. Your dafter Penelope who next you is my chefe joy is very wel I heare of hir buty and faire graye eyes in all my La: Riches letters thither and much ioye to hear of but I feare you do not to because I have many leters sent you word of it and I canot have a word of you agayne of her[2].

[1] *Cecil Papers*, c. 91. *Ibid.* 116.

8th July. The Countess to the Earl of Southampton:

My deare Lord and only joye of my life, I bechich you love me ever and be pleasd to knoe that my La: Riche wil nides have me send you word how importunat my Lo: Riche is with her to come to London fearing he shall lose most of his lande, which my Lo: Chamberlan hopes to recover but he thinkes if she wer neare London she wolde make means to have the swet not proved tel her brothers coming home which else he fears well goe on to his Lordships befor that time therefore goe to him nides she must.

She is, she teles me very loth to leave me heare alone, and most desirus I thanke hir to have me with hir in Essex, tel your retorne unto me and teles me she hath writen both to you and hir brother that it maye be so, for myself I protest unto you that your wil is either in this or any theng else shale be most plesing to me and my mind is alike to all plasis in this il time to me of your absence from me being at quiet in no plase I pray you resolve what you wil have me do, and sende me worde of it, if you wil have me goe with her she desirs that you wil write a letter to my Lord Riche that I maye do so and she hath sent to her brother to do the like, for she ses she knoes his houmer so wel as he wil not be pleasde unles that corse be taken she wil be gon befor bartolmy daye therfor before that time let me I praye you knoe your pleasur. What I shale do which no earthly power shal make me disobaye and what you dislike in this letter I bechiche you laye not to my charge for I protest unto you I was most unwilling to give you case of troble with thinking of any such matter for me in your absence but that she infinitly desireth me to do it and this lastly protesting unto you again that wher you like best i shold be that plas shal be most pleasing to me, and all others to be in most hatfull for me. I end never ending to praye to God to kepe you ever from all dangers parfitly wel and sone to bring you to me who wil endlissly be your faithfull and obedyent wife,

E. SOUTHAMPTON.

Chartley the 8th of July[1].

The address runs "To my dearely loved husband the Earl of Southampton." There are two seals, monograms and device.

A postscript written upside down on the last page of this letter is "All the nues I can send you that I thinke will make you mery is that I reade in a letter from London that Sir John Falstaf is by his Mistress Dame Pintpot made father of a goodly milers thumb, a boye thats all heade and veri litel body, but this is a secret."[2]

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CI. 16.

[2] This has been read by some as referring to Shakespeare. To my mind this is an impossible conjecture. It would rather seem to mean some person they had nicknamed Sir John Falstaff, or the actor of the character.

The Lady Rich to the Earl of Southampton:

The exseeding kindnes I reseve from your Lo: in hering often from you doth geve me infinit contentement bothe in reseving assurance of your health and that I remaine in your constant favour, which I will endevour to merit by my affection unto your Lo. My Lo: Riche doth so importune me dayly to retorne to my owne house, as I can not stay here longer then Candlemas, which I do against his wil, and the cause of his ernest desire to have me come up is his being persecuted for his lande as he is in feare to loose the greateste parte he hathe, this next time who would have me a soliseder to heare parte of his trobles, and is moche discontented with my staing so longe, wherfore I beseche your Lo. to speake with my brother since I am lothe to leve my La: here alone, and if you resolve she shall go with me into Essex which I very much desire, then you were best to write to me, that you would have her go with me which wil make my Lo: Riche the more willing though I knowe he wil be wel contented To whom I have writen that I wil come so sone as I knowe what my brother and yourselfe determine for my leding.

I am sorry for Sir Hary Davers hurte though I hope it is so littel as it wil not marr his good face and I go in hast and wish your Lo: all the honor and hapiness you desire. Your Lo: most affectionat cosin,

PENELOPE RICHE.

Chartley this 9th of July[1].

Addressed "To the most honorable The Earle of Southamton." There are two seals, different, one a sort of monogram, the other armorial.

These letters were written before the news reached his wife of the Earl's "degradation."

The relatively trifling things which concerned the Earl of Southampton during this year were few. The Stationers' Registers on 4th June, 1599, note, "Theis bookes were burnt in the Hall. Pymalion ... Davies Epigrammes. Theis were staied. Caltha Poetarum, Hall's Satires, Willobie's Adviso to be called in (licenced to John Windet 3rd Sept. 1594)."

Doubtless in relation to her third marriage settlement, Mary, Countess of Southampton, writes to Mr Secretary Cecil on August 19th:

I pray you take knowledge that Sir William Harvey hath spoken with her Majesty and given her full satisfaction in the business that concerns us. It resteth now in your favour soon to despatch us, whereof we

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CI. 25.

make little doubt. He sought you there and here yesterday, but durst no longer stay, my Lord Thomas appointing this day to depart; now myself is left to follow the despatch, which I pray further with your favour. If it pleases you to deliver it to Mr Luke, he will make it ready for the seal[1].

This particular Irish campaign had far-reaching effects on all concerned, which can only be followed by studying and comparing the correspondence and the State Papers. More than a volume could be written from these, but I dare only treat of those points which in some way concern directly the subject of this memoir.

It may be interesting here to enter a short letter by the Lady Elizabeth (whom Southampton refused to marry) to her cousin Sir Robert Cecil, as it is related to the history of the stage and of her husband, the Earl of Derby.

I am importuned by my Lord to intreat your favour that his man Browne, with his company, may not be barred from their accustomed "plaing" in maintenance whereof they have consumed the better part of their substance. I desire your furtherance to uphold them, for, my Lord taking delight in them, it will keep him from more prodigal courses, and make your credit prevail with him in a greater matter for my good[2].

This is undated, but I place it in 1599, because of two entries found by Mr Greenstreet in 1891. Two letters of secret news, of June 30th, 1599, record that the "Earl of Derby is busyed only in penning comedies for the common players,"[3] when he was expected to be in some Catholic mischief. Now, as he was plain William Stanley (W. S.) until 1594, this gives some ground to those who believe that the Earl of Derby wrote Shakespeare's plays.

[1] *Cecil Papers*, LXXII. 104.
[2] *Ibid.* CLXXXVI. 24.
[3] D.S.S.P. CCLXXI. 34, 35 (*Genealogist*, April, 1891).

CHAPTER XI

THE QUARREL BETWEEN LORD GREY OF WILTON AND THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON

1599–1604

THE story of the quarrel forced by the Lord Grey of Wilton upon the Earl of Southampton must be treated as a thing apart, as its details would break into the more important historical events of his life. It may be remembered that Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and patron of the poet Spenser, died in 1593, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, who was seventeen years and eleven months old at that date[1]. In 1597 he had gone with Essex on the Island Voyage without permission, and was sent to the Fleet on his return for a short imprisonment; in the spring of 1599 he had volunteered to follow Essex to Ireland, and had been permitted to do so. There the Earl of Southampton had been appointed General of Horse and was therefore Grey's military superior. At an action in the south of Ireland Grey had charged on his own initiative; and, though he had been successful, the Earl of Southampton, as a lesson in discipline to an undisciplined army, had sent Grey to the care of the Marshal (Sir Christopher Blount) for one night. Little was thought of it at the time. Sir Robert Cecil, writing to Sir Henry Neville on the 9th of June, said, "If you chance to heare any flying tale that my Lord Gray should be committed in Ireland, the accident was only this, that he being only a Colonell of Horse, and my Lord of Southampton Generall, he did charge without directions, and so, for order's sake, was only committed to the Marshall one night."[2] Lord Grey never forgave what he thought an unjustifiable indignity, reproached Southampton openly, complained of him privately, and finally sent him a challenge. His complaints intensified the Queen's indignation against Essex for appointing Southampton, and then came the thunderous order to discharge his chief officer at once. Essex

[1] Inq. P. M. 140/92. [2] Winwood, *Memorials*, I. 47.

expostulated and then yielded. Southampton bore the affront with dignified manliness, sympathising most with his friend Essex. It seems to me that an undated letter of Grey's to Lord Cobham should come in this year: "Of late my Lord of Essex, doubting whereuppon I should be so well favoured at Court and especially by her Majesty, has forced me to declare myself either his only, or friend to Mr Secretary and his enemy, protesting there could be no nutrality. I answered that no base dependency should ever fashion my love or hate to his Lordship passions; as for Mr Secretary, I had sincerely tasted of his favour, I would never be dishonest or ungrateful."[1] July 21st.

Though he headed the list of the knights made by Essex in Ireland, it is evident that he must have left Essex's army on its march to the north, shortly after that date; for Whyte, writing on 4th August, says, "My Lord Grey is newly come to court, some say discontented. He is named to be captain of a company of horse."[2]

He would be able to give his own version of Irish affairs before Essex returned. No information is given as to whether Grey stayed at Court or went back to Ireland, and again returned in front of Essex. The next notice of him was on the day before Michaelmas at Westminster, when Essex was racing home to surprise his enemies and see the Queen for himself.

By November, 1599, Lord Mountjoy was appointed to be the new Lord Deputy in Ireland. Whyte said on 5th January, 1599–1600, that reinforcements were to be sent, and that Lord Grey desired to command them. "Lord Mountjoy opposes this as a thing dishonourable to him, so some unkindness grows between them."[3] On the 24th January Whyte tells us: "My Lord Southampton goes over to Ireland, having only charge of 200 foot and 100 horse. My Lord Grey hath sent him a challenge which I heare he answered thus: That he accepted it, but for the weapon and the place, being by the laws of honour to be chosen by hym, he would not prefer that combat in England, knowing that danger of the laws, and the little grace and mercy he was to expect, if he ran into the danger of them. He therefore would let him know ere yt were long, what

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, IX. 269.

[2] See my articles on Southampton and Grey, *Athenæum*, Nov. 12th and 19th, 1904, pp. 658, 695.

[3] *Sidney Papers*, II. 156.

tyme, what weapon and what place he would choose."[1] Whyte seems to have been pretty well informed of the matter in its early stages, but his notes do not clear up the whole affair as well as their letters do. Unfortunately the challenge itself has disappeared. The letters which have been preserved are in two groups among the Cecil Papers, undated, but with conjectural dates affixed, which rarely can be correct. The fourth letter of the second group (suggested to have been written in August) I would place first, with a conjectural date before 20th January, 1599–1600, based upon Whyte's reference. This runs

If you ask why I have so long deferred to seek right of the wrong you did me in Ireland, I answer my Lord of Essex's restraint hath been the cause, for I seek not advantage, not to brave mine enemy in misfortune. Now your return [to Ireland], likely to prevent [precede] his delivery, I cannot longer defer to call you to perform what you there promised, and to right me in the field, referring unto you your due elections, you are too honourable by denial or distinction to seek evasion, for thereby the wrong will be more unworthy and the end less noble. My Lodging in King Street London[2].

The fifth of the second group gives the reply alluded to by Whyte on the 24th of January.

I have received your letter and am resolved to satisfy you in the answer you desire, not as to right any wrong I have done you, for I acknowledge none, neither am I ignorant that in this case, the question between us arising about a command of mine when I had a place in the army above you, I might with my reputation refuse your challenge, though I never meant to claim that privilege, being determined from the beginning to bring myself to some such place to answer you (if you should call me) as there you might fully discharge your heart of the spleen you bear me. But you well know that I have reason to proceed in this with much caution, you having now so great advantage of the time, by reason of the Queen's disfavour to me. You know also that the laws of England are severe to those that in this fashion compound their controversies. Wherefore if I now go into Ireland, I shall hold that the fittest place to end this matter, which, in respect of the friendship of the Deputy shall be no ways advantageous to me, for I will bind myself by my promise to meet you in any port town of Ireland, assuring myself you may make choice of such a one where you need not fear any partiality to me. If I go not thither I will, at any time, agree to put myself in a bark with you, and go into what part of France you will choose where we may soon, and with much safety, bring this business to a conclusion.

[1] *Sidney Papers*, II. 164. [2] *Salisb. Papers*, X. 263.

Whatsoever you determine, keep your counsel, and I will assure you by my means it shall not be spoken of[1].

The evident reply to this has strayed to the first group of letters, undated, but entered as *circa* Feb. 10th 1599–1600, possibly on January 23rd. Lord Grey says:

Your right in nomination of place extends not to my disadvantage, but you propounding divers, I must elect one. To which end you have offered me two Ireland, France. In the former, how unlikely for us ever to draw sword the general notice of our question, the respect of our qualities, the danger to those in whose government we must dispute it concludeth; how disadvantageous to me the partiality of the Deputy, the command and adherents you possess demonstrate. I therefore conclude of the latter, most indifferent, least distant, and expect to hear from you the day you will arrive at Dover; the sooner, the more will be your honour, the less your impediment to Irish affairs. I seek not disputation, but a speedy and honourable conclusion. GREY[2].

The Earl of Southampton to Lord Grey of Wilton, *circa* Feb. 10th (probably January 26th):

Though I love disputation in this kind as ill as any, yet understand I so well how to maintain my right, as I shall not lose the least part of it. What offer I made you in my first letter I will be ready to perform, which, if you read again, you will find France not spoken of, unless I go not into Ireland; for how little leisure I can have to make other journeys before my departure you may easily imagine, since my Lord Mountjoy, to whom I am engaged for that design, is appointed to take his leave on Sunday next. If I stay any time, it is likely I am detained by some occasion of that importance as will tie me to this place, and not yield me further liberty. Ireland therefore is the fittest and only place I can now appoint to meet you in; the country you know is large, and there are in it many port towns, far off from either deputy or governor, to any of which I will not fail to come, according to our agreement. As to any doubt you have to receive bad measure by means of some friends or dependents of mine, you may banish the thought of it, for I assure you I hate to think of any unjust proceeding, and therefore will engage myself so far as to undertake you shall have no wrong offered there by any that is tied to me in friendship or otherwise. (A copy in Southampton's own hand.)[3]

Lord Mountjoy having gone to Ireland, Lord Grey next wrote:

As the chief impediment why you refused France, you alleadged the deputies speedy departure. Hee is gon, you are heer, and yet I hear not of

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, x. 263. [2] *Ibid.* 34. [3] *Ibid.* 34.

you. But to conclude all wordy disputations (worthy rather of women than of men of war). If I made it clear to you by my third letter, I expect the performance of your first, that you, going not presently into Ireland wee may into France, but if by the Queen's leave you hast for Ireland, I may now receive from you, the English port (on the way by this passadge) and day wee shale meet in thence to imbark together and with equall number, for sum such indifferent place in Ireland, as by the liberty of your first I am to chuse? If you accept not this what can I offer? Only my cleering must be the divulging of your slack proceeding. GREY[1].

Southampton answers:

I wonder you can so rightly censure verbal disputations in matters of this nature, and yet yourself wade so deeply into the error. For my part, I have given no cause to multiply words, but do assure myself you might have been satisfied by my first letter, wherein you know I offered more than I was bound to, making no doubt but that a reasonable answer would satisfy a reasonable creature, which, if you be, I have said enough; if not, I will cease to think further of this business, referring to your choice the publishing of what hath past, which I am sure is not such as I shall ever blush to hear repeated[2].

Lord Mountjoy left London; Southampton delayed, still hoping to be allowed to kiss the Queen's hand before his departure. On March 30th Lord Buckhurst wrote to Sir Robert Cecil that the Earl of Southampton had asked him to "move her Majesty on his behalf for her favour to kiss her hand, and yf that may not be for licence to go again into Ireland." But he was too ill to do this himself, and prayed Sir Robert Cecil to do it for him, "though the first may be denied, yet that her Majesty will be pleased to grant the last, whereby he shall the better redeem his fault, and do his country some service."

On the 3rd of May Whyte wrote, "My Lord Southampton, upon his going away, sent my Lord Grey word that what in his first letter he promised, he was now ready in Ireland to perform, and if he would send him word of his being in any Port Town, he would not faile to come unto him, and so it rests."[3]

Sir Charles Danvers on the 5th told Southampton, "You are not like so far as I can hear to see my Lord Gray in Ireland, but of that Sir R. Drury will yield you an account."[4]

[1] *Cecil Papers.*
[2] *Salisb. Papers*, X. 34.
[3] *Sidney Papers*, II. 192.
[4] *Salisb. Papers*, X. 139.

On May 13th Whyte told Sidney that Lord Grey "is resolved to follow the wars in the Low Countries in hope to have the command that Sir Francis Vere had."

On May 28th Chamberlain wrote

The Lord Gray and Sir Robert Drury are gon over with 12 or 14 horse to serve the States, but it is geven out underhand that the Lord [Grey] means to make a start into Ireland to meet with the Earl of Southampton in Mounster, whither he called him, but methinks it is very far set and might be dere bought to take such a compas[1].

The present writer has fortunately found a letter from Sir Robert Drury himself to Southampton:

Noble Lord, ye small power I have leaves me only power to observe your commandments to give you advertisements of what worthy matter of action was to be looked for in this place. All that I can by any meanes of intelligence receave at this tyme, is that order is nowe giuven for ye army presently to drawe to a head and in all mens expectations is to goe into Flanders. If one may beleve ye greatest, they pretend great actions to be proiected this somer. If your Lordship lose contentment in Ireland, he hath such as that this place may give you expectation of better, in any particular. I shold have great cause to be gladd to see you here, And in our general envy to be revenged of my Lord Graye who overtopps us with a baronny, we should be very gladd that you were here, to shadowe him with your. earledom. Now whether it happen or otherwyse, I shall desyer in all places to do your Lordship any service. R. DRURY[2].

The letter is addressed "To the Rt. Hon. Earl Southampton in Ireland" and is slightly damaged.

Grey was fortunate in the Low Countries, and the praises of his valour were sounded in the Queen's ears and were reported in Ireland in July. Shortly afterwards, hopeless of doing any good there, the Earl of Southampton left the Irish army and went to Flanders.

There are two copies of a letter written to him by Grey apparently about the end of July:

Your cominge hether shews your repentance of your former coole answers, now neither disadvantage of times, perille, or your promise can be pretended. I call on you to right me and your former letters. GREY[3].

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXXIV. 438.
[2] Lansdowne MS. CVII. 84.
[3] D.S.S.P. CCLXXV. 58, 59. *Cecil Papers*, XCVIII. 1083.

But the Privy Council had directed special letters to both the adversaries and sent them by Sir Robert Drury to stop the combat. These were dated 3rd of August, and would not reach their destinations until some days later. Southampton seems to have received his copy at Middleburg, earlier than Grey received his in Brabant.

Southampton replied to the above:

I perceive you will ever mistake me, and as you have misunderstood my former letters, so you will not rightly conceive of my coming hither, which, assure yourself was not caused by any repentance, for I know too well what hath passed between us I need not wish undone; though it shall little trouble me if you still please yourself in your error. But you are acquainted with the commandment I have received which forbids me to answer you, which howsoever you respect not, I must obey, and therefore do directly refuse your challenge. But because you shall not think I dare not walk alone for fear of you, I will tomorrow in the morning ride an English mile out of the ports, accompanied by none but this bearer, and a lacquey to hold my horses who shall bear no weapons.

I will wear this sword which I now send you, and a dagger, which you shall see before my going, when you shall know the way I intend to go, where I will attend you 2 hours. If in the meantime I meet you, you may do your pleasure, for I will give no ground, but defend myself with the arms I carry against whatsoever you shall offer[1].

The royal order to Southampton was as follows:

Her Majesty, understanding that your Lordship hath withdrawn yourself out of Ireland into the Low Countries, where the Lord Grey is also at this present, because it is publicly known there is unkindness and heartburn between you and him, and that you are noblemen of valour who are fit to reserve yourselves for her Majesty's services, and not to hazard them upon private quarrels, it has pleased her Majesty, from her own mouth to give express directions unto us to command your Lordship in her name (upon your allegiance) in no sort to offer, accept, or hearken to any challenge or meeting with the Lord Grey. Wherein as your Lordship is a nobleman, and knoweth more than a common person, with what respective care you ought to obey the express commandment of your Sovereign, so it is expected that you carry that heedful regard to her Majesty's commandment hereby delivered unto your Lordship, as her Highness may have no cause to note any contempt in your Lordship, by anything that may happen between you, for she neither can nor will suffer the breach of any of these notorious and wilful disobediences to remain unpunished, according to the quality of so great an offence. And because you shall pretend no note of disgrace to be

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, x. 262.

offered unto you in imposing this upon you, the like commandment is given by like letters and directions to the Lord Gray, whereof we send you a copy. From the Court at Nonsuch 3rd August 1600[1].

The letter to Lord Grey is also preserved. The question is, then, did Lord Grey, knowing that the Privy Council had sent to stay the combat, though he had not yet received his dispatch, take Lord Southampton at his word, meet him, and attack him? It is probable that he did meet and attack his opponent, and that he was worsted in the first encounter.

His own letter to the Lords of the Council, dated August 12th, runs:

> You either are, or shortly will be, informed of my disobedience. My letter was at Middleburgh, and there failing, was here delivered, though after I received that from your Lordships, yet before I could make stay of it. How, if in time delivered, your letter would have swayed, my future conformity to your pleasure shall best demonstrate. BERGES[2].

Lord Grey wrote to Cecil, probably some time in September, "I cannot think myself at home until you know of my return by whose command I expect my direction. I have a message of ceremony, but would willingly rest two or three days if you so think good."[3]

About the same time, Southampton wrote to Cecil that it was not his fault that he had not seen Cecil since his arrival, but he was assured by Lord Cobham that the Secretary purposed not to be in London last week. Otherwise he had resolved to attend his coming, as Lord Cobham and Lord Thomas Howard can bear witness[4].

Whyte says on 3rd October, "The Earl of Southampton and Lord Grey are both in London, little speech of their quarrel."

On the 10th Chamberlain tells Carleton that they had both "come out of the Low Countries unhurt, though it were constantly reported they had fought and spoiled each other."

Early in the new year, 9th January, Lord Grey with a party of attendants attacked Southampton in the streets of London near Duresme House, when he was quietly riding alone with only a boy to hold his horse. Southampton defended himself till help came, but the boy lost his hand in helping his master. Sir Henry Neville told

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, x. 262.
[2] *Ibid.* 273.
[3] *Ibid.* 333.
[4] *Ibid.* 333.

this to Winwood on 29th January, 1600–1. "My Lord Gray, upon some new conceived discontent, assaulted my Lord Southampton on horseback in the street, for which contempt against her Majesty's commandment given to them both he was committed to the Fleet."[1]

Grey was soon released, and lost no favour by his "contempt" and breach of the peace. The malcontent Earls renewed their scheming, and before they knew what they were about, they were branded as traitors to the Queen. Within three weeks of his breach of the peace and "contempt" of the Queen's orders, Grey was put in charge of the little army sent out to take them.

[1] Winwood, *Mem.* I. 292.

CHAPTER XII

THE PERILS OF "CONTEMPT"

1599–1600

THE Earl of Essex on October 2nd, 1599, was committed as prisoner to the charge of a friendly jailor, Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper at York House. It was a large and rambling old building, where Essex was allowed to take his choice of rooms and where such comforts as could be given him were provided. But, as Sir Thomas said, "I have always found the air and accidents of this place noisome and unwholesome to my weak body. I wish it may be good for his."[1] In this undesired residence, separated from his wife and new-born child, from his relatives and friends, Essex was examined and re-examined on his actions and the causes of his actions during the preceding six months. Whyte said, "Never any one answered with more temper, more gravity, more discretion to the matters laid to his charge." On October 6th he said, "Essex is ill, no one goes to see him. Old Lady Walsingham begged the Queen to let him write to his wife, but it has not been allowed as yet." The main charges against him were: that he did not march northwards against Tyrone immediately on his arrival in Ireland, as had been arranged; that he had made the Earl of Southampton General of the Horse against the Queen's will; that he had made too many knights; that he had made a treaty with Tyrone dishonourable to England; and that he came home against orders[2]. He might have appealed to his Commission, as all these points were allowed him therein; but in detail he said that he had planned to go north at once, it was true, but when he saw the state of the country and the supplies, he yielded to the advice of the Irish Council and settled the southern provinces first. To the second charge he acknowledged that the Queen had objected to his nomination of Southampton in December, 1598, as being too soon after that youth's "contempt" in his marriage, but he had answered that he was willing to cast his Commission and himself at her

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, IX. 412.
[2] See Licence *Carew Papers*, p. 295. Lingard, *History*, VI. 597.

Majesty's feet; yet if he were to do any good, he must be allowed to choose his own instruments, and it was some months later that he had appointed Southampton, after his "contempt" had been purged by the punishment usually inflicted in such cases. The making of knights was of those who had deserved well for their service under great difficulties and without other reward. He did go north against Tyrone, but he made no overtures of peace; Tyrone had come and humbly begged an armistice, which he felt would work out better for the conclusion of his enterprise than anything else which could be done; and when the Queen wrote severely, he felt it was necessary that he should see her at once, face to face, that he might explain the position. "All the Lords that were his friends would have released him; but the Queen angrily told them, such a contempt should be publicly punished."[1]

Southampton's wife and Essex's sister had evidently been staying with the Countess of Essex in her anxious time, and to Essex House Southampton himself would naturally go on his return from Ireland, there to rest, and await his friend, who, to the anxiety of them all, did not come home. We may be sure he would do what he could for him and his. "A house is kept at Essex House for the Lord and Lady Southampton and the family," wrote Whyte on the 3rd of October. The press of people who came to visit them annoyed the Queen, or at least the Court, and, being prudent for their friends' sakes, the Ladies Southampton and Rich went out of town, evidently not far off. Whyte wrote on the 11th, "The Ladies Southampton and Rich were at Essex House but have gone to the Country to shunne the Company that daily were wont to visit them in towne because yt gave offence at Court. Essex's very servants are afraid to meet in any place to make merry, lest it might be ill taken. At the Court, my Lady Scrope is only noted to stand firm unto him. My Lord Southampton and Lord Rutland come not to the court, the one doth, but very seldom, they pass the time in London *merely* in going to plaies every day."[2] Southampton probably went to stay with Rutland at the time, his own house being leased out. Rutland's town house was in Holywell, a stone's throw from the site of the Theatre and the house of the Curtain. But the materials of the Theatre by this time had been

[1] *Sidney Papers*, 25th October, 1599, II. 135. [2] *Ibid.* 132.

carried away by the Burbages to the Surrey side of the water, and had reared their heads high on Bankside under the new name of "The Globe." Interested in the drama, the players, and the poets, these two would find some rest and relaxation in witnessing even daily performances, some strength and consolation in the philosophy of human life as sketched by Shakespeare. We know that *Henry V* was on the boards that year; it would probably be forbidden when troubles grew great in Ireland. We are not sure of the other performances, but there is reason to believe that *Hamlet* was even then soliloquizing.

Before the 16th of October "My Lady Essex's daughter was christened by the Earl of Southampton, the Lady Cumberland and Lady Rutland, without much ceremony." So the Earl was for the second time at least a godfather to a girl.

By November the speeches in the Star Chamber[1] shewed the laboured efforts of the Council to please the Queen by finding Essex guilty of something serious. He said himself that he might have been in error, but there was no contempt in him, only an effort to serve the Queen, and to seek the greatest good for England. But he grew very weary of the wrangles.

The speeches in the Star Chamber against Essex were eagerly followed. The general feeling in this country found expression in a letter of John Petit from Antwerp in December. "We hear that the Earl of Essex is still deprived of Liberty, and that his enemies, wanting substantial matter to charge him, make mountains of molehills. The Council of England's repute for wisdom and discretion is much lost, men say that they are either carried away with passion, or yield too much to the passions of others. All wonder that for an imputed *contempt*, one who has so well deserved of her Majesty and the Commonwealth should be so deeply disgraced. His troubles are imputed to proceed from the malice of his adversaries, and the Queen's inconstancy, suffering herself to be carried away by the false information of his known enemies."[2]

About that time Essex wrote his memorable letter to his friend and cousin, the Earl of Southampton: "I have ceased to be a Martha caring about many things, and believe with Mary.... I wish you the comfort of unfeigned conversion. I was only called by Divines,

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXXIII. 35, 36, 37, 38. [2] *Ibid.* 45.

but your Lordship now has the call of one who knows the end of all this world's contentment. I have explained the way of salvation, and will never go to sleep or awake without prayer for you."[1]

His sister Penelope begged to be allowed to visit her brother; both of his sisters implored the Queen to let him be removed to a more healthful place; reproachful criticisms regarding his treatment were hung up in the Court. For the overspent and weakly body finally succumbed to the wear and tear, the anxiety of mind, the aching of heart, the hopelessness of his prospects, combined with confinement in unwholesome air, and he had fallen very seriously ill. He was prayed for in the churches. He was said to be at the point of death—it was even reported that he was dead[2]. The Queen at last sent eight physicians. He managed to survive them all, and by the new year he was able to get up and be dressed. There was no improvement in his position, but his wife was allowed to come during the day and nurse him.

The Queen did not like to leave Ireland ungoverned, and wanted to send Lord Mountjoy. At first he refused, hoping to induce the Queen to send Essex back. Many in Ireland as well as England hoped he would return and solve their difficulties. Elizabeth was determined he should not. By 1st December Lord Mountjoy's patent was signed, and he was ordered to make himself ready. Seeing that he could do no good to his friend Essex, Southampton agreed to return with Mountjoy.

He had many things to arrange before then. There is one curious letter to Julius Caesar, Master of Requests.

A certain Francis Marr has brought a case against Bullock, the bearer, a late servant of Mr Heneage and mine, concerning a pretended title unto the Bailiwick of the Strond. Her Majestie referred the case to you, but she evidently does not know that it has already been heard thrice in Mr Heneage's time, once in the open court before the complainant, when Mr Secretary was Chancellor, and he saw no reason to rippe up a suit decided by his predecessor, which were a bad example....

From the Savoy this 16th of December, 1599. Your very frynd,

H. SOUTHAMPTON.

He prays Caesar's careful consideration to this.

Whyte's letters to Sir Robert Sidney are very full of the "young

[1] D.S.S.P. Add. XXXIV. 17. [2] Add. MS. 12,507.

Lord Herbert," Sidney's nephew. His ague was keeping him at Ramsbury, "to his own greatest griefe who desires to be here at this time." A little later he notes that Lord Southampton, my Lord Effingham, and Sir Charles Danvers were at Ramsbury; that Lord Herbert was better and hopes to come to town; and that "Mrs Fitton is sick and gone from court to her fathers." "My Lady Pembroke desires some of your excellent tobacco." This was for the use of Lord Herbert, whose frequent headaches it eased.

In 1599 the Countess of Southampton also had a dedication. Anthony Gibson, who either wrote, translated, or edited a little volume called *A woman's woorth, defended against all the men in the world*, dedicated it "to the Right Honourable Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Southampton."

> The Love (most honoured Lady) that I owe
> To your high vertues, cannot be confin'd
> In words or phrases; nor can paper show
> The obiect-lesse endevours of my mind.
> How then shall any (though the purest spirit
> That sucks the seau'n-fold flower of art) expresse
> The genuine glories of your Angell-merit,
> Which shine the more, in that you make them lesse?
> Now could I wish I had a plenteous braine,
> That thence (as from Invention's clearest floud)
> Those forms might flow, compos'd in a rich Vaine:
> That crowne your noblesse, and enrich your bloud.
> Then would my zeale breake forth like morning's fier
> That now lyes spent in sparkes of my desier[1].

Whyte wrote on the 15th of March, "My Lord of Southampton is in very good hope to kiss the Queen's hand before his going to Ireland. Mr Secretary is his good friend, and he attends it. His horses and stuffe are gone thither." On the 16th he wrote again to Sidney, "The time draws near her Majestie should send to Embden to discuss the controversy with the King of Denmark's Commissioners. The Earl of Southampton was named, and yourself also, as fittest for that employment." By the 22nd of March Southampton had not kissed the Queen's hand.

The Dutch Commissioners had come to court. On March 8th

[1] Printed by John Wolfe, 1599. Three sonnets follow the dedication, the first to Mistress Anne Russell, the second to Mistress Margaret Radcliffe, the third to Mistress Mary Fitton.

Whyte wrote to Sidney, "All this week the Lords have been in London and passed away the time in feasting and plays....Upon Thursday my Lord Chamberlain feasted Vereiken, and made him a very great and delicate dinner, and there in the afternoon his plaiers acted before Vereiken, "Sir John Oldcastle" to his great contentment."[1] (This suggests a literary puzzle.)

On the 29th of March Whyte said, "My Lady Rich and Lady Southampton are gone to Lies in Essex."

Southampton's cousin, Lord Montague, had got into some trouble, probably about his religion. On the 13th of April, relying on the support of his father-in-law, the Lord Treasurer Sackville, he wrote from Sackville House to Cecil, "I am emboldened to make my suit unto you that whereas I am by her Majesty's favour now shortly to appear before you and the Council for my further enlargement I may by your favour be graced with such equal and upright conditions as may be offered to a Subject; who giveth place to no man living in obedience to his Prince, nor holdeth any other religion than by which I am taught to prefer her Majesty to all other Potentates"—a letter suggestive of many things[2]. Whyte on 19th April said, "My Lord of Southampton deferred his departure for one week longer, hoping to have access to Her Majesties presence but it cannot be obtained. Yet she very graciously wished him safe going and returning."[3]

On 26th May, 1600, he notes, "This morning my Lord Herbert and Sir Charles Danvers have taken water and gone to see my Lady Rich and Lady Southampton almost as far as Gravesend, it will be Thursday ere they return."[4]

Lord Mountjoy was to go to Ireland after the holidays; reinforcements were to be sent over to strengthen his army. Whyte said on the 5th of January, 1599–1600, "Lord Gray desires the command of the forces....Lord Mountjoy opposes this as a thing dishonourable to him, so some unkindness grows between them."[5] This was but a reflection of the "unkindness" grown between Lord Grey and the Lords Essex and Southampton. Already Lord Grey had sent the challenge to the latter.

In February they stopped the proceedings in the Star Chamber

[1] *Sidney Papers*, II. 175.
[2] *Salisb. Papers*, X. 109.
[3] *Sidney Papers*, II. 189.
[4] *Ibid.* 197.
[5] *Ibid.* 156.

because they could prove no offence against Essex, and this made the Queen furious again. She also was very angry when she heard that his mother, Southampton, and some of his friends had gone to a house next door to York House and from a window saluted the captive as he was walking in the garden. Lady Rich was commanded to keep her own house. The Queen made up her mind to send Essex to his own house, as Egerton was weary of his responsibility; but that was delayed, it was said, because some of his friends had gone thither to welcome him. Whyte says on 11th March, "By command Lady Leicester, Lord and Lady Southampton, Mr Greville and Mr Bacon are all removed from Essex House. My Lord is expected to remain with 2 keepers, Sir Drue Drury and Sir Richard Barkley."[1] He was removed thither on 19th March, and things seemed to mend.

Southampton was to follow Mountjoy, delaying only to take his leave of the Queen, if he could find sufficient grace. Lord Buckhurst wrote to Sir Robert Cecil on March 30, 1600, "I had forgotten to write you of the earnest desire which my Lord of Southampton yesterday did make unto me, that I would move her Majesty on his behalf for her favour to kiss her hand, and yf that may not be for licence to go again into Ireland. Since my indisposition will not permit me to accomplish his desire myself I pray that you will in my behalf, and though the first part may be denied, yet that her Majesty may be pleased to grant the last, whereby he shall the better redeem his fault, and do his country some service."[2]

It seems to have been April before he actually started. Whyte, writing on the 26th, said, "My Lord of Southampton went away on Monday last, Sir Charles Danvers brought him as far as Coventry, and returned yesterday night. He is a very fine gentleman and loves you well." It is a little dubious which of the two Whyte means to praise, but I believe that in this case the last sentence refers to Southampton rather than to Danvers. In his following letter he says that on his going away Southampton wrote to Lord Grey, to say that he was now ready to perform what he had promised him.

Sir Charles Danvers wrote to Southampton on the 5th of May: "I will not let any messenger pass without a letter to the end,

[1] *Sidney Papers*, II. 179. [2] *Salisb. Papers*, X. 86.

though I can write you nothing, you may at the least, know there is nothing to be written. I have not heard from you yet from the sea-side, but the wind having served you so well all this week I make no doubt you have been in Ireland three or four days and that, at the first turning of the wind, your friends here shall hear from you. My Lord of Essex is still where he was, and as he was, with no more hope of better than when you left him. All other things stand likewise in the same state. You are not like so far as I can hear to see my Lord Gray in Ireland, but of that Sir R. Druery will yield you an account. P S. I have just received your letter from Lerpoole" [Liverpool][1].

The next day Danvers wrote again: "Three letters of mine to yourself, my Lord Deputy, and my brother went away this morning, whereby your Lordship may guess that I have little to write. Only this news, that Doctor Herbert shall on Sunday be sworn a Councillor and Secretary."[2]

On 2nd June the Lord Deputy writes that in some skirmishes by the way the rebel was beaten back, and that my Lord Southampton with a few horse, finding some of our foot engaged, "made a valiant charge and brought them off to his reputation here."

On Saturday 7th June Whyte wrote: "On Thursday the matter passed with my Lord of Essex....His speech was very discreet. My Lord Keeper said that the Contempts deserved imprisonment in the Tower, to be fined, and to have all his offices taken from him. My Lord Treasurer left out the Tower, my Lord Admiral the fine. Mr Secretary made a wise grave speache of these contempts of his towards her Majestie....It was concluded he should return to the place whence he came till her Majestie's further pleasure were known. The poor Earle then besought their Honours to be a means to her Majestie for grace and mercy, seeing there appeared in his offences no disloyalty to her Majestie, but ignorance and indiscretion in himself. I heare it was a most pitiful and lamentable sight to see him that was the mingnon of Fortune, now unworthy the least honour he had: many that were present burst out in tears at his fall to such misery."[3]

Sir Gelly Meyrick wrote to Southampton more fully on the 11th

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, X. 139.
[2] *Ibid.* 140.
[3] *Sidney Papers*, II. 200.

(Sir Charles Danvers had been present): "The first charge was the making of your Lordship General of the Horse, being clouded with her Majesties' displeasure. It was bitterly urged by the Attorney, and very worthily answered by my Lord....Many invectives were urged by the attorney, with letters shewed from Ormond, Bowcher, and Warren Saintleger. My Lord in answering that said God knew the truth of things, and has rewarded two of them for their perfidiousness. Then his Lordship was interrupted, and wished to continue as he had begun, which was to submit to her Majesty's gracious favour. In the end the Lords did deliver their opinions, and in that council did sentence that my Lord should forbear the execution of his Councillor's place, and the Marshall's place, and the Master of the Ordnance' Place until it were her Majesty's further pleasure to restore him....To all my Lord spake with a reference to his ends. The Lords and the rest freed his Lordship from any disloyalty. All delivered their opinion concerning the sequestration of the offices saving my Lord of Worcester. My Lord of Cumberland dealt very nobly. The rest all had one counsel, which was fitting to clear the Queen's Honour, with which, God be thanked, I hear she is well satisfied, and yet a part is tomorrow to be handled in the Star Chamber, and a Sunday *Liberty*. Then will we all thank God."[1]

One can imagine how interested Southampton was in his home despatches just then. A strange project of his own, however, seemed to have taken shape, either suggested by some friend, or elaborated by himself. He wished to be made Governor of Connaught in these stormy times. I gather that the two following letters refer to this.

Sir Henry Danvers, who was in Ireland, but not serving near him, wrote his friend on June 14th:

I have imparted to my Lord Deputy your desire, which he seems most desirous to satisfy, as you shall find more at large by his own letters....I have sent you hereinclosed all such letters as here I find for you, with a particular English relation of their good fortune in the Low Countries, to increase our misfortune here, that can never have the like occasion, but, buried in obscurity, die like dogs. The news that I know will best please you is the liberty of my Lord of Essex, yet at Walsingham House, and preparing to lie at Grafton, rather advised than commanded to retain few followers, and to let little company come unto him. My Lord hath not yet received the

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, x. 178.

packet that brings the resolution concerning yourself, yet particular letters shew that the 2000 foot and 200 horse are granted. The famous Earls of Rutland and Northumberland moved with the Low Country Honour, are embarked thither, where the report goes my Lord Gray received a hurt in the face, and had lost his life if Sir Robert Drurye had not rescued him.... My Lord will be within twoo days at the Nanau, and Sir Oliver Lambert goes out of Leace into the County of Washfourd with those forces....Your horses are arrived[1].

The letter is endorsed in error "Ch. Davers."

On June 9th Southampton wrote to Cecil from Dublin:

My Lord Deputy having at this time written unto you to move the Queen in my behalf concerning the government of Connaught, I must of necessity be so far troublesome unto you as to let you know how I affect it and then to leave it to your discretion whether you think fit to farther it or no. It is a place I protest unto you I am nothing greedy of, neither would I at all desire it, but in hope by that means to effect somewhat whereby to recover her Majesty's good conceit, which is my only end, and all the happiness I aspire unto. If she hold me fit to do her service in it, I shall gladly employ my time and hazard my life, to perform what can be in reason expected; if not, I shall without grudging receive her denial. My only suit to you is to procure an answer with as much expedition as may be: and however it prove I assure you I shall account myself exceedingly bound unto you[2].

A letter of the Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, to the Earl of Southampton, which has been entered as of 1599, evidently should come in here:

Your first letter I received a fortnight since by Sir Francis Rush, but could do nothing in Sir Edward Herbert's absence. Now he is come I will assist his relief the best I may. Another letter I received yesterday from your Lordship, which signifies a purpose of the Deputy to employ you in Connaught, of which charge, and a much greater, I know you to be very worthy, and the first sight I get of Mr Secretary, I will labour to make for you a speedy, and I hope a good answer, knowing no cause but that the State should be glad to be sufficiently served by a nobleman of your quality in those places of trust, and in these barren times that afford so few so willing as yourself. But my fear is that a former despatch before the arrival of Mr Fenton doth appoint Sir Arthur Savadge to that place to hold it as he did before, may give impediment to my Lord Deputy's purpose, for so much I heard Mr Secretary say he had written by command. I will not fail to assist these captains you have named with my best help for their employment. By the next despatch I will give you an honest account of my devotion to

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, x. 182.

[2] *Irish State Papers*, vol. CCVII. pt. 3, no. 101, *Calendar*, 231.

do you service in these things you have committed to me....Howard House 19th June[1].

Nothing followed. For the third time Southampton's valiant services went without royal recognition, and for the second time the Queen's representative in Ireland thought him suited for a command, and the royal grant was refused because of his "contempt" in marrying the woman of his choice.

The next letter from Sir Charles Danvers on the 29th June was a disappointing one[2]. All things stood still. Essex's delivery from his keeper had been expected; but delay after delay had taken place "lest he should think mercy to be showed without discretion." The Queen would hear of no motion for his release until plans were made for the degrading of the knights that he had made. Many had represented to her the inconvenience of doing this. "You will hear of the success of our great battle in Flanders from Deputy." Danvers would have delayed writing until he could give Southampton clearer information, but his messenger could wait no longer. Essex really remained a prisoner in his own house through July. The Carew Papers give much information regarding Irish affairs, which cannot here be followed—but it is worth noting that on 1st July, Lord Deputy Mountjoy told Sir George Carew "one day in the morning Tyrone did think to have taken a great advantage over the Earl of Southampton and the Sergeant Major in their passage, but by the valour of them two especially, and by my drawing out the forces at the same time to meet them, he departed with loss."[3] Probably this is the year of a letter dated July 14th from Mountjoy to Southampton, saying that he had given Fitzgarret a protection against his will, not fitting the course he held with the knave Udall[4].

Southampton wrote to Sir Robert Cecil on July 22nd from Dublin:

I wrote unto you not long since by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, about a request which my Lord Deputy made in my behalf for the government of Connaught, of which he hath of late received no answer, wherewith he hath acquainted me. The trouble you put yourself to in moving it is an addition to the many favours you have been pleased to shew me, wherefore for that with

[1] *Salisb. Papers MS.* 93, 144.
[2] *Salisb. Papers*, x. 208.
[3] Carew MSS.
[4] *Cecil Papers*, CVI. 1.

the rest, I must and will acknowledge myself bound unto you, though for the bad success you found (more than I am sorry her Majesty thinks me so little able to do her service) it grieves me nothing, the place being such that I protest unto you I think any that doth understand it aright will not greatly desire it. How far and why I did affect it, I made you know in my last letter, my hope being by that means to cancel her Majesty's ill conceit of me, and to be settled in her good opinion, which if I have already recovered by any punishment I have endured, or service I have done her, I am much more happy than if I were put there to seek it with so great pain and hazard as must of necessity belong to him that undertakes that work. And now since I have here nothing to do, but as a private man, which condition cannot afford me means to performe aught worth the thinking of, and that I do desire to spend my time so as I may best be enabled to serve her Majesty, I doe intend, God willing to go hence into the Low Countries, to live the rest of this summer in the States' army, where perhaps I may see somewhat worth my pains, and I hope her Majesty will not be offended with it, seeing both now and ever I will study nothing more than to direct my course to do her service. Sir, I have still found you kind and friendly unto me, and therefore I beseech you in this which concerns me nearest, which is the recovery of her favour, yield me all the furtherance you may, and assure yourself I will never be ungrateful but ready to deserve it any way I may, and remain always willing to obey your commandments[1]. [Endorsed "1600."]

Sir Arthur Chichester, asking Cecil for some promotion in Ireland on August 23rd, said, "My Lord of Southampton's horse are, as I hear, already given."[2]

On the 2nd August Cecil wrote to Carew; the last paragraph runs: "I pray you, commend me affectionately to the Earl of Thomond, of whom the Queen is infinitely satisfied. For the feare he had to be commanded by any other, named to Connaught, let him be assured he shold never have come under him, but that is dissolved, for the Earl of Southampton is come away, and goes into the Low Country."[3]

It is evident that promotion of any kind was to be denied Southampton in Ireland.

Whyte by the 8th of August had heard that Southampton was in the Low Countries, and that Sir Robert Drury had letters to stay the combat between him and Lord Grey. Royal orders were sent to both, forbidding a duel[4]. Apparently, however, Southampton,

[1] *Irish State Papers*, 1600, vol. CCVII, part 4, 42, *Calendar*, p. 328.
[2] *Salisb. Papers*, X. 285.
[3] Camden Series, 82, p. 14.
[4] *Salisb. Papers*, X. 285.

though outwardly obedient, put himself in a position of peril, and Lord Grey, not having received as yet his official instructions, attacked him, but no wounds seem to have been received on either side.

By August 23rd Cecil heard from Middleburg, "My Lords of Northumberland and Southampton are here. My Lord of Rutland is in Hollan, and my Lord Gray in service with the horse troops in Brabant."[1]

The Earl of Essex was still a prisoner in his own house on July 24th[2], so the Earl of Southampton may have seen him in passing.

Chamberlain wrote on the 10th October, that Essex was at Barne Elms. "His frends make great means that he may run on Queen's Day (November 17th) and are very confident to see him shortly in favour, beleve as much as you list, I nere a whit."[3]

Essex made one last pitiful appeal to be received back into the ranks of the Queen's loyal servants, and his letter remained unanswered. He was, however, allowed to go to his own properties, to visit his friends and relatives in the country, and his health was doubtless benefited much by his freedom, rest, and change of air.

An undated letter to him is placed in the *Calendar* as about this period, but must have really been written in 1589[4]. It is from the Countess of Essex (his mother), announcing that her marriage to Sir Christopher Blount was "to come a Tuesday sennight," and regretting that her son could not be present. This was an unfortunate marriage; Sir Christopher had but little money of his own, and got through his wife's with amazing rapidity. He was devoted to his stepson, who made him one of the trustees of his property, with the Earl of Southampton. There is no clear record of Southampton's doings through the last three months of the year, but one dedication.

"To the most Noble and aboundant president both of Honor and vertue, Henry Earle of Southampton.

"*The Historie of the Uniting of Portugall to Castill.*"

Right honorable and most woorthy Earle,

It is not my fortune to be so infortunately read, as to begin (after the common stampe of dedication) with a grai-headed apophthegme, or some straied sentence out of *Tully*, but in such proper and plaine language,

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, x. 291.
[2] *Ibid.* 243.
[3] D.S.S.P. CCLXXV. 89.
[4] *Cecil Papers*, CLXXIX. 164.

as a most humble and affectionate dutie can speake, I do heere offer up on the altar of my hart, the first fruits of my long-growing endevors; which (with much constancie and confidence) I have cherisht, onely waiting this happie opportunitie to make them manifest to your Lordship: where nowe if (in respect of the knowne distance, betwixt the height of your Honorable spirit, and the flatnesse of my poore abilities) they turne into smoake and vanish ere they can reach a degree of your merite, vouchsafe (yet most excellent Earle) to remember it was a fire that kindled them, and gave them life at least, if not lasting. Your Honors patronage is the onely object I aime at; and were the worthinesse of this Historie I present such as might warrant me an election out of a worlde of Nobilitie, I woulde still pursue the happines of my first choise; which has since beene confirmed to me by my respected friend the translator, a Gentleman most sincerely devoted to your Honor: For the subject it selfe I dare say nothing; since it is out of my element to judge. But I have heard others report it (and some of them also judicious) to be a thing first and excellently written in Italian; then translated into French, and generally received in both these toongs through all christendome for a faithfull, elegant, sinewie, and well digested historie: what the beauties of it are now in this English habite, I make your Honorable Lordship the first and most competent Censor; wishing that before you begin to read farther, you could but reade my silence,

By him that wants much to expresse
his dueties to your Honor
EDW. BLOUNT[1].

[1] The printer of the book.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONSPIRACY

1600–1

THE Earl of Essex returned to London after Christmas, still hoping against hope for access to the Queen's presence. His friends became all the more eager to help him to attain his desire. The blow that struck the knell of peace was Lord Grey's attack upon the Earl of Southampton[1] in the streets of London on the 9th of January, in contempt of the Queen's definite order to both of them to keep the peace. It is true that Grey was shortly after sent to the Fleet prison, where, according to Chamberlain[2], he remained only until the 2nd of February, when he was released and restored to the Queen's favour.

This incident deeply affected the Earl of Essex, and made him feel that some action had become necessary. To his soldier's mind a forlorn hope might even yet succeed, if it were but brave enough. He and his friends were busy with plans. To limit the number of his visitors and avert suspicion from some of them, he arranged that those who meant business should meet at Sir Charles Danvers' lodging in Drury House in Wych Street (now removed for the widening of the Strand). He never went there himself; Southampton took his place. The subject of discussion was always the same, "How can we best help the Earl to remove his enemies from the Queen's ear, and leave him free to plead his own cause with her?" Every answer was hedged with difficulty

The Earl of Southampton must have been sometimes absent from these meetings. On January 26th, 1600–1, Sir Gelly Meyrick wrote to Captain John Jephson, then at Carrickfergus, "I was the other day at Itchin at my Lord of Southampton's, where I saw your noble brother."[3] ("Itchin," or Itchell, was one of Southampton's places in Hampshire, the house in which his father died.) This

[1] Sir Henry Neville to Winwood, *Winwood Papers*, I. 292.
[2] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 27. [3] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 20.

remark must be remembered, and one or two contemporary facts must also be noted.

William, Lord Herbert[1], on the 5th of January desired to stay at Wilton with his sick father. On January 18th he said, "I doubt he will not live 48 hours. There have been many false and scandalous reports forged of me."[2] The Countess of Pembroke had written for herself and her lord to thank the Queen for her kindness to their son[3]. On the 19th Henry, second Earl of Pembroke, died[4], bequeathing his title, his property, and as much of his possessions as he could to his elder son William, and leaving as little as possible to his wife. Whyte's letters to Sir Robert Sidney follow the young lord's career closely.

In Chamberlain's letter of 3rd February[5] he foreshadows trouble for him through his amour with Mistress Mary Fitton. On the 5th Cecil wrote to Carew, "We have no news but that there is a misfortune befallen Mistress Fitton...the Earl of Pembroke being examined confesseth a fact, but utterly renounceth all marriage. I feare they will both dwell in the Tower awhile, for the Queen hath vowed to send them thither."[6]

The contrast of Pembroke's with the Earl of Southampton's dealings with a Queen's maid of honour, and the consequences to each, are worthy of close consideration.

In discussing grievances, plans for amendment, methods of action, the time passed until the 1st of February, which was a Sunday. Essex had been filling his house with friends, sympathisers, preachers, and advisers—a sort of exoteric court; but whenever he became sure of his men, or thought he might be so, he sent them to the esoteric teaching at Drury House. Friends were being collected from a distance. One such friend was Sir Charles Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, of whom we know one interesting fact. He had married a Miss Cocks, and through her had become Lord of the Manor of Dumbleton in Gloucestershire. He found the society and intellectual atmosphere there very dull, and he heartily endorsed Shakespeare's view of the inhabitants. Then, on the 27th day of an uncertain December, queried in State

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 3.
[2] *Ibid.* 13.
[3] *Cecil Papers*, XC. 147.
[4] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 14.
[5] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII.
[6] Camden Series, R. Ac. 8113/82, p. 64.

Papers as 1600?, he wrote to his friend Carleton, "I am so pestered with Country business that I cannot come to London. If I stay here long, you will find me so dull, that I shall be taken as a Justice Silence or a Justice Shallow, therefore take pity of me, and send me news from time to time, the knowledge of which, though perhaps it will not exempt me from the opinion of a justice Shallow in London, yet will make me pass for a very sufficient gentleman in Gloucestershire. If I do not always answer, pray do not desist from your charitable office, that place being so fruitful and here so barren, that it will make my head ache for invention. P.S. You need not forbear sending news hither in respect of their staleness, for I assure you they will be very new here."[1]

It is possible that this letter belongs to the end of the previous year, but that Essex's need was sufficient to bring him to London, the place where news were manufactured. At any rate, we find him among the Drury House band in February. It was on his suggestion that *Richard II* was played. It is a possibility the first part of *Henry IV* was played, in the rendering which included the killing of Richard II; that he had not seen *Richard II* performed; and that quite innocently he wished to do so, in order to relate it to the *Henry IV Pt. I*, which in 1597 included old Blunts and Vernons and Percys among its characters, and to *Henry IV Pt. II*, which in 1598[2] had introduced Justices Shallow and Silence to the gorgeous humours of Falstaff. Also, he wanted to know what the joke was which made the assembled gallants at Plymouth so wonderfully merry in 1597[3] over Sir Robert Cecil's "conceipt of Richard II" according to Sir Walter Raleigh. It is quite possible that all the "evil intent" of the play had been conceived and inserted by unwise friends and interested enemies of the fated Earl. It was one of their methods of attack.

So we can picture the party who went over the water to the Globe, possibly to listen to Shakespeare's company playing Shakespeare's tragedy in the poet's words, some of them, perhaps, from his own mouth, on February the 7th, the eve of the fatal day[4]. True, it is quite possible that it was a play by some other dramatist; for the subject was very much discussed at the time.

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXXV. 146.
[2] Supposed date of play.
[3] D.S.S.P. CCLXIV. 10. See *ante*, p. 106.
[4] Feb. 8th, 1600–1.

Essex did not go out of doors that day. In the morning he had been warned that there was a plot among the Jesuits to kill him; in the afternoon he had been cautioned by a friend in Court that on no excuse was he to leave the house, for there was a confederacy to kill him either as he went or returned. In the evening he was summoned by Secretary Herbert to come before the Lords at Whitehall. He had been freed from such subordination when he had been allowed to go to the country, and no charge had been laid against him since, so he refused to go. Many men slept in Essex House that night who had not intended to do so. For things had come to a crisis: Essex was in a worse case than when he was a prisoner, for then his life at least was protected. The morrow was fixed for the adventure, but even then few knew on what lines it was intended that it should move; he trusted few with the whole of his schemes; one examinate incidentally said that they could not trust Rutland for more than two hours before anything was to be done.

It is necessary to realise their actual position at the time, and not read into it all the weighty matters which have been since imported into it. Essex felt himself deeply wronged. He attributed all his troubles to the ill-will of those courtiers to whom the Queen listened, and who had made up their mind that the only safe course for them was to prevent her from seeing the Earl and "hearing the other side." He knew that too, and it was in order to circumvent them that he desired to force a way into her presence, and with humble reverence pour forth his passionate pleadings at her feet. He knew that he could move her. There was no thought of treason, as we understand it, in any of their hearts. Rather was it, if I may draw a simple parallel, like the boys of a great public school, where troubles had arisen through some of the bigger boys turning tell-tales on their enemies to such an extent that the head-master refused to hear the other side, or to see them, or indeed even to listen to witnesses for them. And the ostracised boys, feeling hot and injured, agreed to force their way into their master's study, and when they had caught his eye, and he had realised there were so many of them discontented, he would be sure to hear them, and with fair play all would be well. The worst that could happen to them would be expulsion. So they would plan how to prevent

janitors, butlers, and tutors from interfering in what they thought their righteous plan of self-defence.

In some such way Essex sketched his little plan of surprising the Court, a very similar one to that which he had tried on September 28th, 1599. But he was taking followers now. Sir Christopher Blount was to guard the outer gate, Sir John Davies the hall, Sir Charles Danvers the presence chamber, and the Earls of Essex and Southampton alone were to enter the privy chamber.

They were stirring early on the 8th if, indeed, any had slept at all. Evidently Essex had originally intended to make his attempt on the Court before divine service began. But some friends, apparently Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Sir Charles Danvers, brought back the news from Court that alarm had been taken and that they had doubled their forces. Sir Christopher Blount advised Essex first to secure his friends in London; Sir Charles Danvers advised him to fly to the sea-coast. Hesitation ensued. An interesting MS.[1] rendering of the story of that 8th of February says that the Queen, having, of course, heard of the preparations, sent about 9 o'clock to Essex House Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper, the Earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys, and the Lord Chief Justice, with a message that Essex should dissolve his company and himself speedily come to the Court, and promising that his griefs should be graciously heard. The house was buzzing as if it were a hive of angry bees when they knocked at the gate. They were suffered to enter, but none of their followers. The Earl met them in the court, which was filled with men, took them through two rooms well guarded; then they asked him to speak with them privately. He led the way to his study, which they unsuspiciously entered; whereupon he told them he had business in the city and would come back in half an hour. He turned the key in the door, put them in charge of Sir John Davies and Sir Gelly Meyrick, bidding that faithful adherent, if he loved him, not to let them go before his return. He himself, with the Earls of Rutland, Bedford, and Southampton, and about 60 followers, went out and turned eastward towards Ludgate, calling out that he would have been murdered by the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh. The gates were shut; but they opened for them, and they went into Cheapside to Sheriff Smith's house, then

[1] Lent me by Dr Smedley. 10 o'clock is the time usually given.

to Gracechurch Street, where they had some parley with the mayor. Their numbers had now risen to 300, and thereupon Lord Burleigh was sent with the King of Heralds to proclaim them traitors, with the promise of £1000 reward to any one who should take Essex's person, and of pardon to all who should forsake him. Lord Burleigh's horse was hurt under him—"at which time the Earl of Bedford and the Lord Cromwell left him and many others." Seeing his company lessened, Essex turned to Ludgate again, intending to pass to his house[1]. But the Bishop of London and Sir John Leveson had put up the chain there, under St Paul's, and there was a body of pikemen drawn up to withstand them. There Sir Christopher Blount (the unlucky) was sorely wounded in the head and Essex's page slain, so he turned and went to the water and took boats to Essex House. "It was about 4 of the clocke when the Earl came to Essex House. The Lords whom he had left there prisoners were by a happie accident delivered by Sir Ferdinando Gorges who, as it seemeth, in policie to save his owne life came with a feigned message from the Erle to Sir Gillie Meyricke and Sir John Davies for the setting of them at libertie, upon which they were suffered to go to court by water, taking Sir Ferdinando Gorges with them." They must by this time have been badly in need of food, if the Countess and Lady Rich did not provide for them when Sir John Davies went and brought them down, "to pass the time more quickly." Half an hour afterwards Essex returned, foiled in his secondary scheme, to go with the Lords to the Court.

The postscript to Sir Robert Cecil's letter of the 10th to Carew says, "The Commanders of our little army were the Lord Admiral, Lord General; Earl of Cumberland, Lord Lieutenant; Lord Thomas, Marshall; Lord Gray, General of the Horse; Lord Burghley, Colonel General of the foot."[2] These were sent to Essex House, the Lord Burleigh on the street side, and the Lord Admiral and Sir Robert Sidney on the water side, who soon had taken the garden; Lord Burleigh had broken the gate and entered the court, in which only two common soldiers were slain[3]. The Earl with four or

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 3.
[2] Camden Series, 82, p. 67.
[3] Egerton MS. 2606. Sir Egerton Brydges' *Life of Sir Thomas Egerton*, p. 29.

five others shewed themselves on the leads, flourishing their swords, and went in again. They had fortified the doors of the house and set books in the windows, which made shot of little effect. About 9 o'clock the Admiral sent Sir Robert Sidney to summon them to yield, a parley sounded, and the Earl of Southampton came upon the leads and replied, "Dear Cosen Sidney to whom would you have us to yield, to our enemies?" "Noe," said Sir Robert, "You must yeald yourselves to her Majestie." "That would wee willinglie," answered Southampton, "but that thereby we should confess ourselves gyltie, before we had offended, yet if my Lord Admirall will yeald us honorable hostages for a safe returne to this place, wee will goe, and present ourselves before her Majestie, to whom God knows wee never intended the least harme and whose royall disposition we know to be such that if wee might but freely declare our mindes before her, she would pardonne us, and blame them that are most blameworthy, those Atheists and Caterpillers, I meane, that laid plottes to bereave us of our lives, for safeguard whereof as the lawe of nature willeth us, wee have taken up these armes though wee both doe and will acknowledge our dutie and obedience to her Majestie to our lives' end, for is it likelie that wee who have so often ventured our lives in defence of her Majestie and this Realme should now prove traitors to the Queen and state? Noe, Noe, Cosen we detest that name, and all traitorous actions." "My Lord, you must not capitulate with your prince, and knowe that my Lord Admirall will not yeald to any such conditions of hostages." "Good cosen, I doe not capitulate with my prince, I doe but expostulate with you. You are a man of armes and knowe well what belongs thereto, you know we are bound by nature to defend ourselves against our equals, much more against our inferiors. And cosen, you cannot but knowe, or at least wiselie conjecture, that if wee shall yeald ourselves, we shall willinglie put ourselves into the wolves' mouthe, I meane these hands who will keepe us farre enough from coming to her Majestie to speak for ourselves, or if that were admitted us, yett coming before her as captives, theire lyes through the greatnes of her favor towards them overballance our truthes. Then good cosen Sidney what would you doe if you were in our case?" "Good my Lord, put noe such questions. I hold you are best to yeald, for you knowe this house is of no such force as yt can longe

preserve you and my Lorde Admirall hath already sent for powder and ordnance for battery, and if that will not prevaile he is purposed to blowe it up, and then there is but one waie with you." "Let his Lordship doe his pleasure, wee purpose not to yield without hostages, for will rather make choice to dye like men with our swords in our hands, then goe ten days hence to end our lives upon a scaffold." "By standing out there is noe hope, but by yealding there is some hope offered you." "Well Cosen, that hope is so little that without hostages, we will rather make choice of this noe hope then of that hope." And at these words came the Earl of Essex to Southampton and said to Sir Robert and the people, "Good brother Sidney, and you my loving countrymen, nothing doth so much grieve me as that you who my conscience tells me doe all love me, and for whose safetie I have so often exposed myself to perill, that you, my friends whose least drop of blood would greatlie perplex me, should be made agents in this quarrell against mee, who would rather flinge myselfe headlonge from hence then you should be endangered, and that those Atheists my enemies keepe aloofe off from perill and dare not once aproache me, in fighting against whom, if I might but end my life, I would thinke my death most honorable yf by my death I might lykewyse end their lives, and that I had done God, my prince, and my contry good service by rooting out such Atheists and Caterpillers from the earth."

Sidney. "I hope my Lord you doe not mean my Lord Admirall?"

Essex. "Noe, God knowes I have ever taken him to be as honorable in minde as he is by birthe, though there hath bene some publique jarres amongst us, which I knowe, on his parte came by others' provocations, rather than anie waie by his own disposition; but I mean men of more base condition, though in greater favour with her Majestie, who have laid secret plotts and damnable devyces to bereave me of my liffe, from which purpose my conscience tells me my Lord is free. Yet good brother, excuse me if I yeald not, for I will stand to my Lord of Southampton's resolution. As for my liffe, I hate it, I have lothed to live anie tyme this twelvemonth and more, and I have thought it one of the greatest punishments that ever God laid uppon me to scape that sickness which then attacked me, for judge you, brother, whether it be a griefe or noe

for a man discended as I am to have lived in accord and of estimacion that I have done, to be pinned up for long together, to be trodden underfoote by so base upstarts, yea, and more, that to have my liffe so nearlie sought by them? Would it not trouble you? Yes I know it would. Well it is no matter, deathe will end all, and sithe I must die and they enioye their wishes, I will dye so honorablie as I maie, and soe good brother enforme my Lord Admiral."

"Well, my Lord, I will returne your answere to his Lordship."

The Lord Admiral would not hear of hostages to rebels, but sent Sir Robert again, who told Southampton that the Lord Admiral understood that the ladies and gentlewomen were in the house, and that he would delay in order that they should be sent forth, and they should be safely and honorably conveyed to any place they pleased. Southampton thanked the Lord Admiral, "but we desire him to pardon us if we prefer our safetie before their freedom. We have now fortified our doors, which stood us in a good whiles work; if we should unfortifye them to sett our ladies forth, we shall make an open passage for your forces to enter. Yet if the Lord Admiral would grant us an hour's space to open the passage for our ladies, and another hour when they are gone to make it good againe, we will willinglie suffer our ladies to depart." To this the Admiral agreed, and it was about 9 o'clock. Great store of powder, shot, and ordnance had come from the Tower. This made them prefer to take some of their time in consultation; they would then realise that they were not determining a death glorious for themselves, but preparing one for many followers who were willing to fight, but not willing to die for them in that manner. Doubtless Lady Rich had a word of common-sense to say, and Lady Essex would tearfully wish them to seize the little hope, rather than accept the "no hope" terms. So "they came forthe again upon the leads and the Earl tould Sir Robert they would yeald upon these conditions, first that they might be used as honorable prisoners; secondlie that the Lord Admirall should make faithfull relation to her Majestie of what they should say for themselves in their own defence; thirdly that they should have an honorable trial; and lastly during their imprisonment they should have divines to instruct them in matters of religion." To this the Lord Admiral agreed, whereupon they went down, opened their doors, and each

of them upon their knees delivered up his sword. The Earl of Essex desired the Admiral to request her Majesty to inflict all her punishments upon him, and that the punishment of the rest might be diminished, who had entered into that accord with him some for friendship, some for kindness, some for affection, and some as servants to their lord. "And the Earl of Southampton requested that things doubtfully said or donne might be construed to the best, which the Lord Admirall said should be done. Soe they went to their several places of imprisonment."

I could not omit much from this narrative; the tragical picture haunts the imagination. The Strand, St Clement Danes, Essex House lit up by the lurid light of smoky torches—for it was the dark night of a gloomy February day; a seething flood of men around, silent and spell-bound, and the slight figures of the doomed men, against the smoky light, first standing on the leads, then coming down to yield all that life holds dear; and the group of tear-stained ladies in the hall seeing them depart. Perhaps after all the ladies did not leave the house that night. If they did, it would probably be to go to Walsingham House, where Lady Essex's loving mother tearfully waited. One part of the Lord Admiral's promise was not kept. Lady Rich was not allowed to go whither she would; she was taken prisoner and sent to the care of Mr Sackford. She had been helping her brother all day.

There is no record of either Countess of Southampton. The elder one was still at the Savoy, and I believe that Elizabeth Vernon had been purposely taken down by her husband to Itchell and left there with her child, to keep her out of the way, while he did a little bit of business in town, which completed, he expected he would return to his family.

The so-called "Rebellion" was crushed, the Queen slept[1], and probably far away from London Elizabeth Vernon also slept, unwitting of the disturbances in which her husband was engaged. The undated and unaddressed letter that he wrote to her would seem to have been written that night by him, trying, in order to comfort her, to minimise his danger. This, written under such tragic conditions, is the only one of his love-letters which has come down to us (though undelivered then), through Cecil.

[1] She had said she would not go to sleep till they were secured.

Sweetheart, I doubt not but you shall hear ere my letter come to you of the misfortune of your friends. Be not too apprehensive of it, for God's will must be done, and what is allotted to us by destiny cannot be avoided. Believe that in this time there is nothing that can so much comfort me, as to think that you are well, and take patiently what hath happened, and contrariwise I shall live in torment if I find you vexed for my cause. Doubt not but that I shall do well, and please yourself with the assurance that I shall ever remain your affectionate husband[1].

The letter is addressed only "To my Bess," and is endorsed "My Lord of Southampton to his Lady."

Sometime within the next few days that poor lady wrote to Cecil:

Fear to have my doings misconstrued hath hitherto made me forbear to shew the duty of a wife in this miserable distress of my unfortunate husband. Longer I could not, and live, suffer the sorrow sustained in the place where I was, in not shewing some effects of my infinite and faithful love unto him, therefore have I adventured hither, having no other meaning but prayers to God, and umble petitions to His holy anointed, prostrate at her feet if it might be to beg some favour, and by unfolding this my simple intention to obtain your good opinion of allowance that my doing be not mistaken; but may move you to pity me, the most miserable woman in the world, by my Lord's miserable state.

And in that, through the heavy disfavour of her sacred majesty unto myself, I am utterly barred from all means to perform those duties and good to him I ought to do, this being of all others my cross the most heavy, easily in your wisdom can you look into my woeful condition, which, if you be pleased to do I doubt not but you will pity me, and allow of this I do[2].

"In twelve hours' time was this commotion suppressed" says Camden. The great leader who had hitherto always led his followers to victory was at last defeated by fate. Unwillingly he yielded, to save the lives of others, and to let her Majesty go to sleep. The two chief prisoners were taken by the Admiral to the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth, because the night was dark and the river not passable under the bridge. Thence, by the Queen's command, they were shortly afterwards carried to the Tower[3] by water; some of

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CLXXXIII. 21.

[2] *Ibid.* LXXXIV. 12, also *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 70, dated *c.* 19th February but it must have been earlier.

[3] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 31, 34, 35, 38, 39, 43, 44. Their rooms were not comfortably furnished till two days later. *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 39. *Belvoir Papers*, XIV. Feb. 9th.

the others followed—"The Earl of Rutland, Lord Sandys, Lord Cromwell, Lord Mounteagle, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Charles Danvers." "The Earl of Sussex was committed on suspicion to Sir John Stanhope's house; the Earl of Bedford committed on suspicion to the Alderman Holliday of London. He was afterwards taken to Sir John Stanhope's; and Lady Rich to Mr Sackford's."

Another list gives 28 in the Compter, Poultry, the chief of whom are "Sir Francis Smith, John Arden, Thomas Cundell, Francis Manners, Sir William Constable, John Vernon, Gregory Sheffield. In Wood Street Sir Thomas West and others. In the Lord Mayor's house Sir Henry Carew, Sir Henry Parker, Sir Charles Percy, Sir Joscelyne Percy, Sir Ferdinando Gorges. In Sheriff Camble's house Sir Robert Catesby, Sir John Littleton. In the house of one Holland, at Paul's Chain, Sir Christopher Blunt."

Many others follow: Edward Bushell, Sir Gelly Meyrick, Sir Christopher Heydon, Sir John Heydon, Sir John Davies, Sir Henry Linley, Sir Robert Vernon, Sir Edward Bainham, Henry Cuffe, Charles Ogle, etc.

Another list appears among the Conway papers.

Another list of 100 includes "Lady Rich at Mr Sackford's, the Earl of Bedford at Sir John Stanhope's." "Dr Fletcher, committed to Alderman Lowine, Dr Hawkins committed to Alderman Lee."[1]

Captain Owen Salisbury, an enthusiastic follower of Essex, when he saw that hope was fled had courted death by standing as a mark in a window. He is said to have been killed by a shot from the steeple of St Clement Danes Church. An entry can still be seen in the Register of the church: "Owin Salisbury, Captain, slain within Essex Gallery, and James —— footman to the Earl of Southampton, who both were buryed at night the 10th February 1600."

The proclamation of the earls as traitors was suspiciously prompt. It was read on Sunday, printed on Monday, published on Tuesday.

Cecil had already made up his mind. He immediately empowered the Deputy Lieutenants to instruct the people to arm in defence, Essex and his confederates having taken up arms against the Queen.

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 34.

His letter to Sir George Carew with the Proclamation on the 10th of February, from Whitehall, runs: "Because I am not ignorant that greatest accidents are most liable to be misreported...I have thought it very fit to acquaint you with a most dangerous attempt which hath happened on Sunday last, wherein both her Majesty's own person and the usurpation of this kingdom was openly shot at[1]. By this Proclamation the proceedings of the Earl of Essex will appear, and therefore I shall onely need say this unto you, that I thinke by that tyme my letters shall come unto you, both he and the Erle of Southampton, with some others of the principals, shall have lost their heads....If the Queen had not put herself in strength that morning and barricaded Charing Cross, and the other back parts of Westminster, their resolution was to have been in court at noon."[2] Official letters were likewise sent to all ambassadors. "The long Proclamation" mentioned could hardly have been exactly the same as that read to the people on Sunday morning, copies of which are preserved in the British Museum.

There was a busy week of examinations and depositions, during which all other legal business came to a standstill.

A curious little side-light is thrown on the case by a paper among Stratford-on-Avon Records. The town had a suit against Sir Edward Greville, who claimed certain rights as Lord of the Manor. John Shakespeare was mentioned among those who helped to draw up the case (the last public duty he did); Richard Queeney and Thomas Greene went up to London to take counsel on it. Among the town expenses for January and February 1600–1 appears: "Given to one of Mr Cooke hys clerkes, and his door-keeper, that we might have accesse to their master for his councill, upon whom the said Clerk, Mr Green and myself did often attend, and Mr Morgan, Mr Greene and myself 3 dayes together, but could not have him at leisure, *because of these troubles.*

For privy seale, and other expenses together 38*s.* 4*d.*"[3]

The indictments were sent out on Saturday the 14th.

Besides the general charges, printed in every history of the period, the examinations yielded many little biographical details. Edward Whitelock called for the Earl of Rutland about 9 o'clock on 8th

[1] Camden Series, 82, p. 65. [2] *Ibid.* p. 66
[3] *Strat. Misc. Doc.* v. 148.

February to go to Court, but found that he had gone out at 6 to the Earl of Southampton's lodgings; he followed him, but found that Rutland had gone thence to Essex House, where Whitelock sought him, and went out with the Earl and other gentlemen[1].

William Reynolds (probably brother of Essex's secretary, Edward Reynolds) on February 13th "marvelled what had become of Piers Edmonds, the Earl of Essex's man, born in the Strand near me, who had many preferments by the Earl. His villainy I have often complained of. He was Corporal General of the Horse in Ireland under the Earl of Southampton. He ate and drank at his table and lay in his tent. The Earl of Southampton caressed him, and gave him privileges[2]."

Piers Edmonds wrote to Mr Wade in February 1600–1. He had spent 20 years in the Queen's service. For his old hurts received in that service bursting out afresh, he was enforced to come to London for remedy but "two days before that dismal day," by which mischance, being among his Lordship's people innocently, he stands in the like danger they do. He asks Mr Wade's advice whether he should give himself up, or wait for the general pardon[3].

John Bird speaks of John Barlow, "an Esquire of a thousand pounds in land, a noted recusant, near Milford Haven," whose power was sufficient to prevent the serving of indictments[4]. His son and heir, George Barlow, had married one of the Vernons, a cousin to the Earl of Essex and sister to the Countess of Southampton.

"Sir George Devereux, uncle to the Earl of Essex, came and stayed with him at Christmas and lives with his father all in one house."

Sir John Davies (Surveyor of the Ordnance in the Tower) wrote to Robert Cecil on March 2nd:

I know that it is the course of men in misery to make protestations of their affections. But if you will consider from whom this cometh, it will work no doubt better effect, in your noble heart. If I knew of the least hurt intended to her Majesty, let me be made an example to all ages. If I were true to him whom I once served, and from whom I received all my advancement,

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 40.
[2] *Ibid.* XI. 48, 93. *Cecil Papers*, LXXXIII. 62.
[3] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 99. *Cecil Papers*, XC. 76.
[4] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 92. *Cecil Papers*, LXXXIII. 54.

it is a good consequent that I will ever be true to you....I pray that either my Lord Harry Howard, my Lord Gray or Mr Fulke Greville may hear my overtures. I humbly beseech your Honour to command my bolts to be taken off, which have almost lamed me already[1].

On the same date there is another letter, entreating that he should not be brought to trial. He will give up his wardship or anything; let them consider "how much any further disgrace will disable and deject a spirit of a modest carriage and never before tempted."

The Earl of Bedford on February 14th[2] said that he had only spoken once with the Earl of Essex since he had his liberty. He was preparing to serve God about 10 o'clock on the 8th when Lady Rich came to his house and desired to speak with him. She said her brother had need of him, and he went to Essex House in her coach about 11. The Earl of Essex went to a secret conference to which he (Bedford) was not invited. When the Lords went out he followed them, but escaped at the earliest opportunity.

Captain Thomas Lea said that since Christmas "there had been many secret meetings in Lord Mountjoy's house in Holborn,"[3] but, however he might sympathise, his Lordship was safely away in the bogs of Ireland, carrying out the policy that Essex had planned to pacify it. The prosecutors did not want him to stop his work, and they turned their blind eye in his direction. Cuffe[4] said that he had seen Lord Essex destroy a book of his own writing, being the story of his troubles, and wished he had not done so. (This was the real book that was imitated by other people and misnamed his *Apology*, which his enemies used against him.)

Sir William Constable dined at Gunter's and went to the Globe. He said "Owen Salisbury, espying Mr Bacon passing by, said 'There is one of them; let us pull him in, to be doing withall.'"[5]

Bushell said "There supped at Essex House on the 7th Lord Southampton, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Charles Danvers, Lady Rich, Robert Vernon."[6]

Lord Sandys of Sherburn (Cowdray, Co. Southampton), held out till the last, but confessed that he saw Essex burn papers, "to tell no tales to hurt his private friends."[7]

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 101. *Cecil Papers*, LXXVII, 21.
[2] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 50. [3] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 61.
[4] *Ibid.* 70. [5] *Ibid.* 72. [6] *Ibid.* 69. [7] *Ibid.* 75.

Christopher Blount[1] does not contribute much that others did not tell to the story of the action on February 8th; but he mentions one fact which no one else knew—that in Dublin, when he lay wounded in the Castle in a chamber that had once been the Earl of Southampton's, the Earl of Essex came to him (no one else being present but the Earl of Southampton), and asked their advice whether he should take over with him on his return 2000 or 3000 soldiers to secure his access to the Queen the more easily. They both advised him against that plan, and therefore he came but poorly attended at Michaelmas 1599.

Sir Gelly Meyrick on Saturday dined with the others at Gunter's, and a party of them, on Sir Charles Percy's motion, afterwards went all together to the Globe, where the Lord Chamberlain's men used to play, and were there somewhat before the play began, Percy telling them that the play would be of Henry IV, and the killing of Richard II. He could not tell who procured the play, but thinks it was Percy. He himself did not arrive until after the play began[2].

Sir John Leveson declared how he defended St Paul's Chain[3].

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, on the Tuesday before the rising, was summoned to Drury House, and was told their plans. He could not see how they meant to work it. Sir John Davies took ink and paper, and began to make a plan as to how they meant to dispose of their men. When he saw what they led to, he went back and released the Lords. Gorges said he utterly misliked it, because of the horror as well as the impossibility of the thing. At Drury House he would not agree to that course, whereupon Southampton in a rise of passion demanded, "Shall we resolve upon nothing then?" Davies said, "Let him have his friends well placed in the city," but they resolved upon nothing, and left all to Lord Essex[4].

Augustine Phillipps on February 18th on his oath said: "On Friday last was a sennight Sir Charles and Sir Joscelyn Percy, Lord Monteagle and others spoke to some of the players in his presence, to have the play of the deposing and killing of Richard II on Saturday. They thought it too old a play to fetch an audience,

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 77. [2] *Ibid.* 78.
[3] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 59.
[4] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 84. *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 69.

but Sir Charles Percy offered them 40*s.* beyond their profits, so they agreed to play it, and had their forty shillings."[1] (It may be noted that this deposition is signed with a very good signature.)

Sir Christopher Blount further remembered that on 20th January, when sending letters of compliment to his wife, the Earl of Essex asked him to come up to town soon to settle affairs[2]. (Blount's wife, it may be remembered, was the Countess of Essex, the mother of the present Earl, and afterwards Countess of Leicester; she married Blount in July 1589.) He did not advise the surprising of the Court, because Gorges had assured him the guard was doubled. He did not like to put the Queen in fear, though Essex was a man not disposed to shed blood. He acknowledged that the Earl had said to him that if he came to authority he should have toleration, for he liked not that any man should be troubled for his religion. Blount also reminded his examiners that he had served the Queen for many years, and that he had laid open the way of the Earl of Leicester and Mr Secretary Walsingham to discover the practices of the Queen of Scots. If the Queen knew his clear heart towards her, she would never take his life.

Sir Charles Danvers was the last to yield and confess. But when they shewed him the signed depositions of the others he disburdened himself[3]. When he came back from the Court on Saturday morning, finding there would be resistance, he advised Essex to give up the notion and fly to Wales. He came to London about a month after Essex had been put in the Lord Keeper's care. Southampton and Mountjoy, to whom Essex had committed the care of his fortunes, advised him then to go to the continent, and they would go with him. Ireland was forced on Mountjoy; Harry Lea was sent to the Scotch King, to say that they looked to him as successor. Southampton and he were willing to risk their lives for Essex, but not Mountjoy.

Sir Henry Neville had prepared to return to France as ambassador, but was arrested on the way for complicity with Essex and taken to the Tower. He had been somewhat unwillingly made

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 85.
[2] *Cecil Papers*, LXXXIII. 32, printed Camden Series, 78, Appendix.
[3] Birch's *Mem.* II. 470. D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 89.

cognizant of the designs of the discontented ones, and in his examination[1] said that he had not seen Lord Essex, but had seen Cuffe, who desired him to come and consult with the Earl of Southampton and Sir Charles Danvers at Drury House. On Monday, Candlemas Day, at four of the clock, on coming out of Sergeant's Inn he saw a coach pass by, containing the Earls of Essex and Southampton, Sir Christopher Blount, and Sir Charles Danvers. As they had seen him, he thought it wise to pay his long promised visit, so he shortly afterwards went to Drury House, where he found the Earl of Southampton and Sir Charles Danvers. "There, after some ordinary salutations, because I had never spoken with my Lord of Southampton since he was a child in my old Lord Treasurer's House, my Lord began to break to me their plans." He misliked them, and had had no further communication. He saw now that he should have given information.

It is interesting to note here what the Venetian ambassador said two years afterwards: "It has now been discovered that the whole action of the Earl of Essex was based on a document signed by six conspirators. This contained only two points, first that there was to be a rising in which Secretary Cecil and Councillor Raleigh were to be killed, as the cause of the Earl of Essex's disgrace, and second that they were immediately to cry 'Long live the Queen and after her long live King James of Scotland, the sole and rightful heir to the English Crown'...a declaration which the Queen had always refused to make."[2] (Indeed any discussion of the succession she had threatened to proclaim an act of treason.)

Among the speeches at the Star Chamber on the 13th February, Sir Robert Cecil stated that for five or six years before the Earl had been working to become King of England.

Lord Dudley[3] said to Sir Robert Cecil that it was vulgarly reported last summer that Mr John Littleton was in the Low Countries and that (as his followers gave it out) by commandment of the Privy Council, to stay the quarrel between the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Grey. He was sure Littleton was in the Essex plot.

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 76, 88, 103. D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 598.
[2] *Venetian Papers*. Ambassador's letter 15th May, 1603.
[3] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 85.

The Bishop of Winchester told Cecil that Mr Richard Gifford of Somborne, near Winchester, was known to have cleaned his armour on the 8th. "He is a great follower of the Earl of Southampton, and his two cousins now at home with him, as also some of his brethren, served in Ireland under the said Earl of Southampton and were very kindly used by him. It would be well to examine them." He had written to the mayor and justices of Winchester about the ammunition[1].

Winwood, the junior ambassador at Paris, waiting for the return of his chief, Sir Henry Neville, wrote to him on 17th February:

Yesterday, being at the Louvre, the King took me aside and asked me what news I had from England. I told him I had not lately received any. He then told me of a strange commotion which should lately be in London (which he compared to the Barricades at Paris), intended he said by the Earls of Essex and Southampton, followed by divers Knights and other Quality, to the number of 2000. I asked him if he had received this news from his Ambassador. He said no, but by M. de Rohan, who freshly came out of England, and arrived this morning in post. He told me many other particulars, which I take no pleasure to recite. Your Lordship may judge of the affliction I feel of that I know and the fear I conceive of that I know not. I attend hourly to hear from your Lordship so far to be informed as in your Discretion you shall think the knowledge of the truth to be available to her Majesty's service. These men here sollace the remembrance of their late miseries with the hopes of their neighbours' calamities, and speak that which my heart doth break to think of, and my hand trembles to put down[2].

This letter never reached Sir Henry Neville, and Winwood had no reply, except the formal announcement, until Sir Robert Cecil wrote to him on 7th March, "A late unhappy accident hath thrown a cloud over my cousin Sir Henry Neville's fortunes."[3]

A letter of Sir Walter Raleigh printed among the Cecil Papers and dated 1600?, printed also on the last page but one of Murdin's State Papers, evidently should be entered here. It must have been written between the 9th and the 23rd of February that year, or it would tell even more against the writer's character.

I am not wise enough to give you advice, but if you take it for a good counsel to relent towards this tyrant, you will repent it when it shall be

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 89.
[2] Winwood, *Mem.* I. 294.
[3] *Ibid.* 299.

too late. His malice is fixed, and will not evaporate by any your mild courses, for he will ascribe the alteration to her Majesty's pusillanimity and not to your good nature, knowing that you work but upon her humour, and not out of any love towards him. The less you make him, the less he shall be able to harm you and yours, and if her Majesty's favour fail him, he will again decline to a common person. For after revenges, fear them not; for your own father that was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin, yet his son followeth your father's son and loveth him. Humours of men succeed not, but grow by occasions and accidents of time and power. Somerset made no revenge on the Duke of Northumberland's heirs. Northumberland that now is thinks not of Hatton's issue. Kelleway lives that murdered the brother of Horsey, and Horsey let him go by all his lifetime. I could name you a thousand of those, and therefore after fears are but prophecies, or rather conjectures, from causes remote. Look to the present and you do wisely. His son shall be the youngest Earl of England but one, and if his father be now kept down, Will Cecil shall be able to keep as many men at his heels as he, and more too. He may also match in a better house than his, and so that fear is not worth the fearing. But if the father continue, he will be able to break the branches and pull up the tree, root and all. Lose not your advantage. If you do, I read your destiny.

Yours to the end, W. R.

[P.S.] Let the Queen hold Bothwell[1] while she hath him. He will ever be the canker of her estate and safety. Princes are lost by security and preserved by prevention. I have seen the last of her good days and all ours after his liberty. W. R. [Endorsed "Sir Walter Raleigh."][2]

Anything more unknightly to the man who had been his chief and his benefactor, anything more contemptible than the methods by which Raleigh here tempts the Prime Minister, I have not met in the chronicles of English history. It is true that we must weigh each word, that we must read between the lines and study the examples given; but the meaning is clear. The advice is *Death to Essex means a life of prosperity to Cecil.* How else could "the son of Essex" become the youngest Earl in England but one?

[1] A name given here to Essex.

[2] *Salisb. Papers*, x. 439.

CHAPTER XIV

JUDGMENTS

THE degree of success that attends political actions determines the phrases by which they are known. What would have been remembered as a *coup d'état*, as a new method of turning out an old government, was entered in history as a "*rebellion*," because it failed.

An independent attempt of Captain Thomas Lea[1] to force the Queen to send a pardon to the imprisoned Earls, and an order to have them brought before herself to be heard and judged fairly, hastened and embittered proceedings. When apprehended in the court and reproached with his intended coercion of his sovereign, Lea said with some insight into her character and her future that he "would have made her angry for one half hour, to have lived the merrier all the rest of her life." He loved his general Essex more than his own life, and was willing to risk it to bless his Queen and country by trying to get him set free. Short work was made with him; examined on the 13th, to ensure consternation, he had a hasty form of trial on the 16th and was executed on the 17th of February.

Eleven days after their apprehension, Essex and his main supporter, Southampton, were brought before their judges "in Westminster Hall in a court made of purpose, square and spacious.... At the lower end of the Hall sat the Queen's Counsell, and at their backs, a space railed in for the Earls."[2]

In a bill of the Queen's charges[3], rendered on 28th September, after all the domestic decorations and the Robes of the Garter for the French King, the last item runs, "For Brodecloth, Saye, canvas nailes and workmanship employed and used in Westminster Hall at the arraignment of the two late Earls of Essex and Southampton." Everyone knows the pitiful story, every historian and letter writer

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 61, 62. Vincent Hussey, 94. Cecil to Carew, March 4th.

[2] *Ibid. et seq.*

[3] Add. MS. 5751.

of the period record it more or less fully, and it need not here be repeated *in extenso*. I have made transcripts at the Record Office of over 200 closely written pages concerning the whole matter, but they cannot be utilised here. Some of the special incidents and sayings which bear on the main question must, however, be pointed out. The prisoners did not seem to notice the names of their judges or jury, as read out to them, until the name of Lord Grey was called. Then Essex jogged Southampton on the elbow and laughed a scornful laugh. He knew no good was intended then, when a chief enemy was set in power of place over them. Essex asked if they might challenge any of their peers for known inimical feeling, as meaner persons might. This right of English jury custom was denied them.

Chamberlain's account becomes interesting because of his evident impartiality, and it shews how the list of charges, like a ball of snow, gathered as it rolled. On February 24th, 1600–1, he wrote to Carleton: "The 19th hereof the Erles of Essex and Southampton were arraigned at Westminster before the Lord Treasurer, the Lord High Steward of England for that day, and 25 of their peeres, of whom were 9 Erles and 16 barons. The only matters objected were his practice to surprise the court, his comming into London to raise rebellion, and the defending his house against the Queen's forces. To the two later he answered that he was driven for safety of his life, to the former that it was a matter only in consultation, and not resolved upon, and if it had taken effect, it was only to prostrate himselfe at her Majestie's feet, and there manifest such matters against his enemies as should make them odious, remove them from about her person, and recal him to her former favour. This was the summe of his answer, but delivered with such bravery, and so many wordes that a man might easilie perceve that, as he had ever lived popularly, so his chiefe care was to leave a good opinion in the people's minds now at parting. But the worst of all was his many and lowd protestations of his faith and loyaltie to the Quene and state, which no doubt caught and carried away a great part of the hearers; but I cannot be so easilie led to beleve protestations (though never so deep) against manifest proofe, yet I must needes say that one thing stickes much in many men's mindes, that, whereas divers preachers were commanded the Sunday before

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well (but methought somewhat
and as a man that would faine live,
himself, but all in vaine, for it could not
to entreatie, and moved great com-
though he were generally well liked, yet methought
and submisse, and semed too loth to die
ennemie." In most accounts, together with the
Essex was charged with the "seeking to deprive her
life and government, to sett the crowne upon his own
head."

CHAPT

THE degree of succes
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Dr Smedley kindly allowed me to see his manuscripts belonging to this period, among which is an account of the proceedings. It does not vary much from other accounts, but has been written by a more friendly auditor than most. "The chief points were the rebelling at Essex House, the seeking to deprive her Majesty of life and government, to set the Crowne upon his owne head," etc.

Mr Attorney Coke declared Essex guilty of treason upon each count—and taunted him with ingratitude for the favours he had received from her Majesty! "My hope is that you shall be Robert the last Earl of your house, that would have been Robert the first King of this land." "Also the Earle of Southampton hath received divers favours from her Majestie, though for his misdemeanour, it hath pleased her to thinke worse of him."

Essex in his reply said: "That which I speak is more in justification of this noble man that stands by me, and the rest that are ingaged with me, whose hartes are purely affected and whose bodies are able to serve their Sovereign and Country." He saw, indeed, that "the commandment of allegiance could not protect the Erle of Southampton from the late injury done unto him by the Lord Gray," and therefore he resolved to stand upon his guard, "having certen

ements that his private enemies were up in armes against
have had verie unjust courses used against me, papists
o accuse me, scriveners to counterfeit my hand....
d Gray stood up and protested he did not now malise
Southampton, for he delighted not to presse men of an
tune, and that which he offered to him in the street was
pect of an injurye (which quoth the Earl of Southampton,
never meant you). The Lord Steward commanded an end of
private expostulation."

Depositions were read. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of Plymouth, had been written to that he should come up and meet Essex on 2nd February. He came up without leave, "which being known to Sir Walter Rawley his kinsman and friend, he asked him to meet him on the water, and advised him to depart instantly." Then were urged their consultations at Drury House, and "the Earl of Southampton replied with protestations of all loyalty in his hart towards her Majestie. And in that he offended her, he was hartilie sorie and did in all humbleness beseech her pardon, but touching the consultation at Drury House manie things were propounded but nothing resolved upon (all being left in the end to the Erle of Essex himself). 'But' (quoth he) 'put the case as you would have it, it was advised both to attempt the Court and the Tower at once; neither of the two was done, how then can it be treason? It is true that we did consult at Drury House about the securing my Lord of Essex his accesse, free from impediments, and that for no other end than to prostrate ourselves at her Majesty's feet, humbly submitting ourselves to her mercie, and laying forth our grievances to herself, whereof we thought she had not soe true information from others. This was the end of our meeting, and with no treasonable thought....When I was in London I heard not the Proclamation...I never drew my sword all day. I am charged to have carried a pistol. I had none when I went out, but (being in the street) I saw one having a pistol. I desired it of him and had it, but it had no stone, nor could it have hurt a fly. At my return to Essex House I did what I could to hinder the shooting. For that I was too far carried away with love to my Lord of Essex I confess to have offended, that being the only scope of all my purposes in this business....Good Mr Attorney' (quoth he) 'let me ask you what

you think in your conscience we would have done to the Queene, if we had gained the Court?' 'I protest upon my soule and conscience' (quoth Mr Attorney) 'I doe beleeve she should not have long lived after she had been in your power. Note but the precedents of former ages, how long lived Richard the Second after he was surprised in the same manner? The pretence was alike for the removing of certain counsellors, but yet shortly after it cost him his life.'...The judges were required to deliver their several opinions for the question before propounded by the Earl of Southampton, and they said it was treason."

Then was read the deposition of Sir Charles Danvers, that before Christmas Essex had deliberated to secure his access to the Queen by surprising the Captain of the Guard. He had rather wished the Earl to fly with a few friends; but he had agreed to the consultations at Drury House, from the love he bore to the Earl of Southampton, to whom he owed his life. Then the deposition of Sir Christopher Blount was read. Essex answered: "These men are in the same case as we are, and speak as men that would fain live. I was drawne into this by those which have the Queen's ear and do abuse it, informing unto her many untruths of me....Being demanded who were the persons at whom he principally aimed, he answered Mr Secretary, My Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh. The Lord Cobham rose up to excuse himself, but the Lord Steward cut him short. Then Bacon spoke against the Earls."

Essex resumed at the close: "'I was informed by those of good credit that an honourable, grave and wise councillor did with tears lament the courses which they were taking with us....When I spake in London about the Infanta it was because it had been told me that Mr Secretary should say to one of his fellow councillors that the Infanta's title comparatively was as good as any other in the succession. Besides, I saw so many oppressions in the State that I was desirous to sacrifice myself in the redress thereof by doing anything that a loyal subject could do for the prevention of these imminent evils.' Herewith Mr Secretary on his knees asked leave to answer the Earl: 'I stand here in the person of an honest man, and you there in the place of a traitor, wherefore I do challenge you, if you dare, to name the Councillor.'"

Essex naturally refused, but said that Southampton had heard it too; on which Cecil turned to Southampton: "Then, my Lord, I conjure you by all the love and friendship that hath been betwixt us...to name the Councillor." Southampton asked the opinion of the court as to whether he should. "I protest (quoth Mr Secretarie) before God and heaven that you shall do your prince and country a most acceptable service, for I were a very unworthie man to hold that place I do in the state if I were touched in that sort." Southampton named Sir William Knollys, and Cecil begged he should be sent for, which was done, and Sir William Knollys cleared him by saying it was only in the discussion of the seditious book by Doleman the Jesuit (which had been dedicated to the Earl of Essex in 1595). Cecil had thought it strange that Doleman should give equal right to the Infanta in succession.

I pause over this incident to consider Cecil's terror and excitement at Essex's reference to himself, so out of all proportion to the statement, even if it had been true. The laws of inheritance in this country formed one bar, the determinations of Henry VIII's will formed another, which would prevent any legal mind accepting the Infanta's title, though she had descended from the blood royal of England. But it may be remembered that Essex, calling to the people in London on the 8th, had said not only that his adversaries "would give the Kingdom to the Infanta!" but also that "the crown of England is sold to the Spaniard!"[1]

It is more than likely that, through some of the many spies who had sought the liberality of Essex, some hint had been given that Cecil was among the English pensioners of the King of Spain. Unable to charge him without producing authority which might have injured others, Essex found himself in the position of Hamlet, when, unsure of his ghost, he made up his mind to test its utterances by a personal method and said

> The play's the thing
> Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the King (II. 2).

Thus Essex hazarded the remark about the Infanta as possible heiress to the Crown—a statement which could more easily be

[1] Comp. note to Cecil's Letter to Carew. Camden Series, 82, p. 68, also Add. MS. 5482, f. 20*b*.

discussed. Cecil's consternation would prove to his satisfaction (though he was either generous enough or prudent enough to say no more then) that there was something in the charge. As we now know certainly that Cecil received not only secret presents from Spain during his whole life under James I, but also a regular pension, it is much more than likely he had begun to do so even towards the close of Elizabeth's reign. This was a much more fitting period for the Spanish King to begin to tempt the English courtiers than the commencement of the reign of her legitimate and approved heir. One phrase among the letters of Sir John Digby, ambassador at Madrid, who discovered this weighty secret, suggests the idea that the pension was "continued."[1] No wonder that Cecil was excited. It was bad enough to discuss the Succession at all, to discuss a Spanish Succession worse, but to be charged as guilty of taking Spanish gold! That would soon make him change places with the "traitors" (prisoners at the bar).

Meanwhile "the Queen's Council objected to the Earl of Essex his hypocrisy in having in his house continual preachers, yet he was content to promise toleration in religion."

The Earl of Southampton said he was ignorant of the law; that he had stirred only because of his love to the Earl. He saw his friend's case very desperate for favour, and so he consulted with him and others to clear the passage to her Majesty for him. He craved pardon if he had transgressed. "Her Majestie being God's Lieutenant upon earth, I hope she will imitate Him in looking into the heart." The deposition of Sir John Davies was then read. The judges agreed that to make a passage to the Queen was treason. Then they read the examinations of the Earl of Rutland, Lord Cromwell, and Lord Sandys. The Earl of Essex interrupted and said: "Make me as wicked as any of your harts would, but do not make me so absurd as to go into the city after such a fashion, if I apprehended any imminent danger." Mr Attorney objected to the Earl of Southampton that he was a papist and had conversation with priests. He answered that he knew no priests but only Wright, and he had had no conversation with him. The Attorney next

[1] Letters of Sir John Digby. in S. R. Gardiner's *History of England*, 1863, vol. II. app. p. 356; also note p. 68.

charged Lord Essex with directing Captain Lea to attempt the Queen, which he denied. Mr Attorney then stated that the Earl of Essex had said he must go home for a black bag, that it should tell no tales how he had been betrayed in London. "You were confident the city was with you, and in your pride and overweening of your heart, you contemned the Queen's Royal authoritie, and the Herald would not be hearkened unto." The Earl said that he did not believe the herald had authority to read a Proclamation, being a man of noted dishonesty[1]. "I never attempted anything but to serve my Queen and country by making her understand us." Mr Attorney told him, "It was impossible but your purpose must be to sett the Crown upon your head for you had brought so many Earls, Barons, and gentlemen of great houses into this business with you. How could it be thought you could have rewarded them out of such a broken estate as yours?" Then Bacon remarked that "the variety of matters hath severed the judgments of the Lords," and pointed out the legal bearings of each step.

The Lord Steward bade the Lieutenant of the Tower remove the prisoners from the bar, and asked each Lord singly if they were guilty of treason. And all held them guilty. They were recalled to hear their sentence. Essex said that he would not contemn the Queen's mercy, but he would not desire it.

The Earl of Southampton desired her Majesty's mercy according to the innocency of his heart. He never had a disloyal thought in his life. He desired the Lord Steward and the Peers to be intercessors for him.

The Commission for the trial was dissolved at 6 o'clock in the evening, having sat since 9 o'clock in the morning. The axe turned towards them, the prisoners were led away back to their cells in the Tower that Thursday night—Essex to come forth no more until the last scene at the block.

It may be noted in this account, as well as in that of Chamberlain, that, except in the words of the Proclamation charge and the vituperations of Attorney-General Coke, there was no allusion to Essex having intended usurpation of the crown, no evidence brought forward, no judgment made upon such a charge. The advisers of

[1] There is a case against Dethick in the uncalendared Court of Requests Papers.

the Crown evidently thought it a sufficient, as it certainly was an easier and more logical, process, to try to secure against him a particular rather than a universal affirmative conclusion. If they convicted him, that was all that they wanted.

It seems almost necessary to cite a third report of the proceedings, partly because it records some facts not mentioned in any other account, and partly because it shewed Englishmen at that crisis 'as others saw them.' It was preserved among the papers of Winwood, the ambassador in Paris, being a copy in his own handwriting of a letter purporting to have been written by the French ambassador in London, M. de Boisisse, to the Duc de Rohan.

Doubts have been thrown upon the letter by some, because the ambassador afterwards denied having written it; but, if the details are carefully examined, one can find no reason to doubt that either M. de Boisisse was present at the trial and made a report of it, or that some one representing him did so. An official denial might have been based on policy, on its being only a copy, on its having been improperly secured, on many things.

Apart from natural errors in proper names, even in dates, the facts seem to be fairly accurate, though stated in a partisan spirit.

Copy of a letter from Monsieur de Boisisse (the French ambassador then residing in England) to Monsieur de Rohan[1].

De Londres 4 mars 1600. O.S.

Monsieur,

Je croy que le malheur qui est arrivé au Conte d'Essex quand vous esties en Angleterre, vous a fait juger soudainement quelle seroit l'issue de ceste tragedie. Laquelle ayant esté accompagnée à son commencement de beaucoup d'infortuns et de disgrace, il s'en est ensuivi la fin, telle qu'un chacun la redoubtoit, pleine de cruaute et de tristesse; qui a esté un Jugement de mort, contre le Conte d'Essex, et le Conte de Southampton. Auquel ayant assisté, par un desir de veoir une chose si nouvelle, et aussi de remarquer la contenance de ses Ennemis, qui l'avoyent petit à petit poussé à ceste ruine; j'ay pensé que ce feroit trop oublier mon devoir, si je ne vous escrivois particulièrement, tout ce qui c'est passé en ce Jugement.

Le 17me de Fevrier, le Conte d'Essex s'estant rendu entre les mains de l'Admiraut sur les onze heures de la nuict, avec promesses d'infinies curtoisies, fut mené le lendemain à la Tour; et peu apres les Contes de Southampton et de Rutland, le Chevalier Christophe Blond beaupere dudit Conte, Ferdinando Gorge Gouverneur de [Plymouth] Charles Davers, et quelques

[1] Winwood, *Mem.* I. 296.

autres Gentilshommes, qui furent imprisonnés autre part. Où ayant esté quelque temps, il arriva qu'un Capitain nommé Lee, estimé un de plus braves d'Angleterre, fort serviteur dudit Conte, se hazarda de dire à un sien amy, n'y a-t-il point moyens, que sept ou huit bons compagnons commes nous sommes, puissent se jetter aux pieds de sa Majesté, en despit de ces Milords et de ce petit Bossu, pour luy remonstrer l'injure qu'on fait à tant de brave noblesse, qui est du tout innocente de ce qu'on luy impose, et qui pourroit quelque jour luy rendre quelque bon service. L'autre luy respondit froidement, qu'il ne trouvoit point de moyen. Or bien dit il, je luy en parlera quant je devrois mourir; aussi bien, j'ay une requeste à luy presenter pour mes affayres, et par mesme moyen, je pourray aisement executer mon desseign. Ce que l'autre ayant entendu, il ne fallit (comme c'est la coustume des Anglois de se trahir l'un l'autre), d'en advertir le Secretaire Cecille. Lequel prenant l'occasion par les cheveux, se servoit de ce que ce Capitaine avoit dit, et le changeant tout au rebours, fait acroire à la Royne avec ceux de son party, qu'un tel avoit esté trouvé par le Chancelier en sa Chambre, ou elle a accoustumé de manger, avec un pistolet pour cest effect.

La Royne tout epouvantée, et craignant fort la mort, commandait qu'il soit cruellement puni: Ce qui ne fut pas differé car il fut plus tost executé, qu'il ne sceut l'occasion pourquoi on le faisoit mourir. La peine fut telle, on luy arracha la nature, puis on la jetta au feu; apres, on luy ouvroit le ventre, luy arrachant le cœur et les entrailles, ce qu'estant consumé par le feu, on fait plusieurs quartiers de son corps, lesqueles ils meirent en parade sur les Tours de la Ville (Ilz ont accoustumé de punir ainsi, ceux qu'ilz appellent Traistres).

Or l'execution de ce Gentilhome estant fait, les ennemis du Conte d'Essex ayant beau jeu, ne manquent point de belles raisons pour retenir ceste princesse en sa premiere craincte, et luy persuader, que cela venoit de la part du Conte d'Essex, qu'il y en avoit bien d'autres qui trainoient un mesme desseing. Surquoy, elle commande à ceux de son Conseil d'examiner le Conte d'Essex et le Conte de Southampton, et d'en faire brieve Justice. Lesquelz ne voulantz respondre, demandent d'estre jugés devant leurs payrs. Ce qu'estant accordé (plutost pour forme de Justice, et pour faire mieux acroire au peuple qu'ilz estoyent Traistres, que par desir qu'ilz y eussent), ilz sont conduictz en la grande Salle de Westminster le premier jour de Mars, pour respondre aux accusations qu'on leur mettoit dessus.

Leur juges, estoyent neuf Contes et Seize Barons. Le Grand Seneschal, qu'ilz appellent Stuuard, estoit le Grand Tresorier, fort mal propre pour ceste charge. Il y avoit aussy huict Conselliers de leur Parlement, lesquelz estoyent assis un peu bas que les Pairs. Les Noms de Contes estoyent, le Conte de Oxford, Parent fort proche du Secretaire, le Conte Shreusbery, grand Ennemi du Conte d'Essex, le Conte Derby, le Conte Sussex, le Conte d'Erford, le Conte Oustre, le Conte Nottingham qui est l'Admiral, le Conte Cumberland, le Conte de Lyncolne. Les Noms de Barons, Chandos, Darcey,

Thomas Havart, Cobham, Gray, Bourgley, frere du Secretaire, Riche, beaufrere de Conte d'Essex, Compton, Lumley, Hunsdund, qui est le Chambellan, De la Warre, Morlay; il y avait aussy un Viconte que s'appelle Byndon. Les Accusateurs estoyent un sergent en Loy, et Advocat de la Royne qu'ilz appellent le Atturnay Bacon.

Les Accusations estoyent en General, qu'il n'estoit Sorty de sa Maison que pour esmouvoir le peuple à le suivre; qu'il avoit empesché l'Heraut de faire sa Proclamation, qu'il avoit fait resistence en une rue, ou son escuyer fut tué, son beaupere fort blessé, et luy mis en grand danger de sa vie ayant eu le chapeau percé de deux harquebuzades; qu'il avoit retenu le Chancellier, le Chef de Justice, le Conte de Oustre, et Knolles son oncle, prisonniers en sa Maison; qu'il estoit papiste; qu'il retenoit les Jesuits en sa Maison; qu'il vouloit usurper la Couronne; qu'il avoit de grands Intelligences en Escosse, et en Irelande avec le Conte de Tyrone. Bref, qu'il avoit vendu la Ville de Londres à l'Infante, et qu'il en avoit reçeu quelque Argent. Voila ce que generallement ilz luy objecterent. Les Accusations principalles, et dont ils faisoyent plus de bruit, sont celles cy: D'avoir retenu le Chancellier, le Chef de Justice, le Conte de Oustre, et Knolles, prisoniers; d'estre sorty de sa Maison; et d'avoir escrit une lettre, par laquelle ilz se forcoyent de le rendre coulpable. Les autres n'estoyent que pour le charger d'avantage, et pour le rendre plus odieux. Ayant fait que bien peu d'instance devant que respondre à toutes ses Accusations, il pria ses Juges de luy permettre une chose, que n'est point refusée aux personnes les plus Viles; c'estoit, de n'estre point jugé par ses ennemis propres, et de reprocher ceux qu'il voudroit. Il luy fut respondu par les huict Conseilliers fort malicieusment, qu'il n'estoit pas possible, que ses ennemis, Gens de grand qualité, quand ils avoyent fait le serment *On mi honour*, comme ilz disent (qui vaut autant que sur mon honeur), qu'ilz voulussent rompre un serment, qui leur doit estre plus cher cent fois que la vie.

Cette demande luy estant deniée avec beaucoup d'iniquité, il respondit à tout mot à mot avec une telle asseurance et contenance, qu'il rendoit ses ennemis si estonnés, que voulant parler contre luy ilz demeuroyent muetz; ou s'ilz parloyent, c'estoit avec un begayement qui tesmoignoit assez leur crainte, accompagnée d'une mauvaise volonté. Il disoit soventes fois, qu'il n'estoit pas venu là pour sauver sa vie, mais pour deffendre son honneur; qu'il y avoit long temps que ses ennemis le desiroyent là pour avec leur chiquanries et leur tortues inventions luy faire perdre la teste, ce que certainement n'estoit point si caché qu'il ne le fut connu à un chacun. En outre, cecy doit bien tenir le premier lieu de la plus grand mechanceté qu'il se puisse commettre, c'est, que les loix d'Angleterre veulent, que les tesmoigns soient examinés devant les juges, et devant le criminel; au contraire, bouleversant les loix, et les servant à leur poste, meirent en avant quelques fausses examinations du Conte de Rutland et du Chevalier Christophle Blond et Charles Davers, lesquelz devoyent estre oüys, et non pas le papier, qui

estoit rempli de tout ce qui pouvoit nuire audit Conte d'Essex. Et pour mieux joüer leur role, ils feirent venir Ferdinand Gorge, le plus grand Amy qui eust le Conte d'Essex, et le premier qui sortit avec luy; lequel, corrumpu par ses ennemis avec promesses de ne mourir point, accusa le Conte d'Essex, mais depuis, vaincu par sa Conscience, et des demandes du Conte qui le pressoyent fort, il confessa que le dit Conte ne luy avoit jamais parlé qu'il eust desseing de sayser la Royne, comme ses ennemis luy reprochoyent.

Or ne se contentant pas de ceste fausseté, et d'autres petites Galanteries de leur bon esprit, ilz font venir le Secretaire, comme personne interposée en leur tragedie. Lequel ayant plus de deux ans passés, bien songé à ce qu'il avoit à dire, tonna une quantité de paroles contre le Conte d'Essex. Lequel n'eut faute de responce de moyens pour maintenir au Secretaire, qu'il avoit eu Intelligence avec le feu Roy d'Espagne l'année de la Grande Flotte. Ce que picqua si fort le Secretaire (pour en estre paraventure quelque chose) qu'il se prit à crier tout hault, qu'il ne feroit jamais service a sa Majesté, si on ne luy ostoit la teste comme à un Traistre. Et continuant son discours, il se mit à genoux, protestant devant Dieu de sa Fidellité (il n'avoit pas oublié ce jour la petite boiste, car en ma vie je ne le veis plus beau). Aussitost les Pairs se leveront de leur places, et le chapeau au poing, le prierent se relever; disant, qu'ilz croyoyent fermement, que sa Majesté n'avoit point de mellieur Serviteur que luy, et que sa Fidellité leur estoit assez connue (à leur contenance ilz redoubtoyent plus ce petit homme, que leur conscience et que leur Royne). Le Secretaire ayant donc relasché à ses injures, un peu apres les Advocatz meirent fin à leur Accusation, et Messieurs les Pairs à leur confitures, et à la biere; car ce pendant que le Conte et les Advocatz playdoyent, Messieurs bauffroyent comme s'ilz n'eussent mangé de 15 jours, prenant aussi force Tabac, entre autres le Conte Cumberland; puis, s'en allerent en une Salle pour donner leur voix; ou, bien saouls et bien yvres de Tabac, condemnerent les deux Contes au mesme supplice que le Capitaine Lee, les appellans Traistres et Rebelles.

Le Conte d'Essex oyant prononcer son Arrest, fut aussy content et asseuré comme si on l'eust mené dancer avec la Royne. Le Jugement dura depuis huict heurs de matin jusques à sept du soir, auquel une quantité de Gentilzhomes et de Dames se trouverent; lesquelz ayant lasché la boucle de leur yeux, verserent tant de larmes, que si les Juges n'eussent eu un courage de Tygre (que ne cherche que le sang) ils eussent sans doute revoque leur Sentence. Depuis peu il a couru un bruit, que le Conte Southampton avoit sa grace, et que le Conte Rutland, qui n'est pas encore jugé, seroit quité pour d'Argent. Il m'a esté dit aussi de bonne part, que le Conte d'Essex le petit Cecile ayant celebre la Cene ensemble, est qu'ilz estoyent reconciliés.

Voyla tout ce que j'ay peu veoir et recognoistre de ce malheur; lequel pour estre arrivé à la personne d'Angleterre qui a plus de vertus, et qui cherit plus la France, ne peut qu'il n'apporte un extreme regret à un chacun,

principalement à vous, qui pour estre extremement vertueux et scavant en la valeur de ses galands, la recognoissies mieu que personne cette perte inestimable. C'est pourquoy je mettray fin à ce triste discours me contentant seulement du jugement que vous en ferez, et de l'honneur que j'auray, si j'ay tant de faveur en vostre endroit, d'estre tenu

Monsieur, pour
Vostre tres humble & tres obeissant serviteur,
DE THUMERT.

De Londres 4 Mars
1600, S.N.

Winwood wrote to Cecil on 20th April that M. de Rohan, or one of his people, divulged this French libellous letter. A copy came to the States agent, as written by Boisisse, from whom he received it. The signature seemed to avow the same and many other circumstances, as well as the date. The day afterwards the ambassador despatched La Motte with letters to the King. M. de Messe said that his brother-in-law Boisisse was too wise to write such a letter, but his son might do it, and their signatures were alike. "M. de Fontaine will return soon and may clear it, he has seen the original letter, and thinks it by the son." He had been told that one jealous of the good reputation of M. de Boisisse had written it. Boisisse is willing to deny it[1].

Southampton's wife and mother, probably present at the trial among the ladies mentioned, certainly, if they had courage to be present, among those who had shed tears, wrote to Cecil at once. The first is dated by the writer's words.

The woeful news to me of my Lord's condemnation passed this day makes me in this my most amazed distress address myself unto you and your virtues as being the only likely means to yield me comfort. Therefore I do beseech you and conjure you by whatsoever is dearest unto you that you will vouchsafe so much commiseration unto a most afflicted woman as to be my means unto her sacred Majesty that I may by her divine self be permitted to come to prostrate myself at her feet, to beg for mercy for my Lord. Oh! let me I beseech you in this my great distress move you to have this compassion of me I sue for, and in doing so you shall oblige me to acknowledge myself most bound unto you, to pray for your honour and prosperity. So kept alive only with hope to obtain mercy I restlessly remain the most unhappy and miserable

ELIZABETH SOUTHAMPTON[2].

[1] Winwood, *Mem.* I. 315.

[2] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 70.

About the same date the mother pleaded:

God of heaven knows I can scarce hold my hand steady to write and less hold steady in my heart how to write, only for what I know, which is to pray mercy to my miserable son. Good Mr Secretary, let the bitter passion of a perplexed mother move you to plead for her only son for whom, if he had led the dance of this disloyalty, I protest to God I would never sue, but being first surprised by an alliance, seduced and circumvented by that wicked acquaintance and conversation, good Sir give me leave and believe that with duty nature may speak and my continual tears may plead for mercy.

It appeared to me many times his earnest desire to secure her Majesty's favour, his doleful discontented behaviour when he could not obtain it, how apt despair made him at length to receive evil counsel and follow such company. I rather fear it than know certainly what bewitched him that he should not know of practice and conspiracy before the execution of it, this induceth much upon my duty. I have examined and do believe will be found true, he had not forty shillings about him nor in his store, yet, upon sale of land lately before, he might have received a far greater sum, which he refused, and willed it to be paid to his creditors, a thing I think no man would have done that had such a business in hand and at hand. O Good Mr Secretary, as God hath placed you near a Prince, so help to move her Majesty to do like a God whose mercy is infinite, which I hope may be with her safety, when the head of this confusion is taken away. Nothing is fitter than her safety, nor any virtue can better become her place and power than mercy, which let my prayer move you to beg for me and God move her Majesty to grant the most sorrowful and afflicted mother. M.S.[1]

Failure seems to change the characters of men who have experienced nothing but success. Hardly had Essex been condemned than a radical change came over him in thought, speech, and behaviour. There is an often repeated romantic story regarding him at that period, which has been doubted of late; but several other incidents tend to corroborate it, and it is very much in harmony with the romantic nature of the relations between Elizabeth and her favourites. In the palmy days of his fortunes it was said that the Queen gave Essex a ring by which he could appeal to her favour when he should come into dire straits. He is said to have remembered this, to have relied on her word, and to have sent the ring to her by the Countess of Nottingham, who shewed it to Cecil, and he advised her to refrain from interfering

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 71–72.

with the course of events. It is no argument against this story that no official record has come down of it; such state secrets were "controlled," at least, at that time[1]. The story survives under various embellishments and variations.

Another account finds the cause of the change in Essex in the ultra-Puritanism of his attendant chaplain. Something definite at least had changed the feelings of the unfortunate man. Feeling that he was doomed to die, he gave up all further concern with the affairs of this world. The imaginative nature of his deep-seated religious feelings magnified his faults, even to himself, into crimes, and, with exaggerated humility, he begged pardon of all those whom he had rightly called his enemies. In his utterances there is a pathetic relevance to those of his father in his closing days, when he is said to have written and sung the lines which appear in the 1596 edition of the *Paradise of Dainty Devices*[2]. His other-worldliness did not desert him at the block on Ash Wednesday, February 25th, though he would fain have cleared himself, even then, of any disloyalty in intention to the Queen. The reports of his closing hours appeared in every record of the time; Camden's ends as follows: "Thus most piously and truly Christianly died Robert Devereux Earle of Essex in the 34th year of his age.... No man was more ambitious of glory by virtue, no man more careless of all things else."[3]

A long breath was drawn in the nation at large when the news spread—by the adversaries of Essex with a sense of relief; by the bulk of the people with a feeling of awed repulsion; by the condemned men in the Tower with a new terror. It is one thing to meet death bravely in a field of battle, with dreams of patriotism, love, and glory; it is another thing to meet it in the shambles of an attainder, with loss and shame and execration. Many confessed what they were told to confess, even though they did not all escape.

Bacon, as charged with part of the prosecution, wrote *The Declaration of the Treasons of the Earl of Essex* to justify the

[1] Strickland's *Elizabeth*, p. 772.

[2] "The Complaint of a Sinner" sung by the Earl of Essex, on his death-bed in Ireland. It is not in early editions of the collection.

[3] Camden, *Elizabeth*, ed. 1630, book IV. pp. 179–188.

Queen and the Council in the eyes of the people (Robert Barker, 1601).

It would be interesting to know how much of it he believed. The people responded by singing "Well-a-day" and other ballads in honour of the departed hero, who had carried the fame of England so far[1]. Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, was on the hunt for this ballad, as if it had contained a pernicious heresy. "A fellow goeth about the streets selling the Ballads whereof here is a copy enclosed. He giveth it out that the Countess of Essex made it, which induced many to buy. I am told the ballad was ready half a year ago, upon some other occasion. I have sent for the Wardens of the Stationers. These villainous printers trouble me more than I write of."[2] (27th Feb. 1600–1.)

Essex had urged James of Scotland to send up ambassadors by the 1st of February[3]—they did not start till the middle of the month or reach London until the 6th of March. Too late. Their instructions were delayed by "that unfortunate accident." In James' first letter to Cecil under cipher numbers 30 to 10 he says, "30 doth protest upon his conscience and honour that Essex had never any dealing with him which was not most honourable and avowable. As for his misbehaviour there, it belongs not to 30 to judge of it, for though 30 loved him for his virtues, 30 was in no ways obliged to embrace his quarrels."[4] Camden himself said of this "conspiracy": "This commotion which some call a fear and mistrust, others an oversight; others who censured it more hardly termed it an obstinate impatience, and seeking of revenge; and such as spoke worst of it called it an unadvised and indiscreet rashness, and to this day there are few that ever thought it a capital crime."[5]

A later comparison was drawn between Essex and the Duc de Biron. "After Biron had been condemned to death, it was found that he had not been guilty of any of these conspiracies for which he was arraigned; but only had offended the King by writing a discontented letter, and had given the charge of the army to one

[1] *Roxburgh Ballads*, I. nos. 402, 563, 571.
[2] *Cecil Papers*, LXXXVII.
[3] *Secret Correspondence of James* (Lord Hailes).
[4] Camden Series, LXXVIII. 73, no. 1.
[5] Camden, *Elizabeth*, ed. 1630, bk. IV. p. 178.

whom the King did not like....Though Biron had offended in Law he might have been pardoned."[1] The tragedy filled the hearts of foreigners with horror, especially in the States and in France.

It is not likely that Elizabeth ever heard what people abroad thought of her action. It is impossible to dwell on it here, but there is one letter which I should like to quote. It is written at some place in Flanders, not far from Liège, on the 23rd of March (N.S.), 1601.

Good Mr Halynes....Your last I take the date to be about the end of February, or the first inst with you. All newes here have been of the late Essexical Stirres in England. The States of Holland do take that Earles death grievously, some have written from thence that England is more bloody than all the world besydes. I am unwilling to wryte what else they wryte and speake as it soundeth so il and reprochful to that country and nation. This fal of the Earle of Essex, with the late great arrest and confiscating of Hollanders ships and goods by Spaine, together with the peace of Savoy are three things that concurring at once, can make the States wel able to keep their countenance from laughing....Many are of opinion and great presumption they have thereof that som few of the States of most secret counsell were privy to the Earl of Essex's designe, and should have concurred to his assistance, some of them have said since his death that their very patron and father was now taken away by the bloody axe of England, who, if he had prevailed, would never have abandoned them.

Yours, J. SAUF:[2]

The Venetian ambassador in Rome wrote to the Doge on April 28th (N.S.): "I am informed from a very sure quarter that the tumults in England, which have cost the Earl of Essex his head, are of Spanish intrigues."[3]

In his chapter on "Impresses" Camden says, referring to an earlier occasion: "Excellent was that device of the late Lord Essex, who, when he was cast down by sorrow, and yet to be employed in arms, wore a black mourning shield without any figure inscribed 'Par nulla figura Dolor'."[4]

[1] *Cecil Papers*, XCVII. 13.
[2] *Foreign Correspondence, Flanders*, I.
[3] *Venetian Papers*, IX.
[4] Camden's *Remains*, 1605.

CHAPTER XV

CLEARING UP

THE chief offender having paid the extreme penalty of his audacity, the Privy Council turned to minor matters and smaller men. On February 26th was drawn up a list[1] of the prisoners and what course to be taken with them: "Persons already indicted and fit to be arraigned, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Gelly Mericke, Sir John Davies....Not yet indicted, but fit to be indicted, five. Already indicted, but to be forborne to be arraigned, but to be fined, 16," among whom are "Sir Henry Carew, Sir Robert Vernon, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Charles Percy, Sir Joscelin Percy, Robert Catesby. Attainted, and fit to be executed" (a blank, probably intended to have been filled with the name of Southampton). "Fit to be forborne from being indicted but yet to be fined, 16," among whom are Francis and George Manners, John Vernon, Sir Edward Littleton. "To be discharged without bonds, without indictment, arraignment, or fines, 32," among whom were Edward Throgmorton, John Vaughan, John Arden, Francis Kinnersley. "Such as were in the action, and not yet taken, seven," among whom was Sir Christopher Heydon. "Fit to be kept in prison without indictment or any other prosecution against them, Francis Smith," etc.

On the 2nd of March Sir John Davies wrote to Cecil that he had not had the help he expected from others, but to him he owed everything, "at what tyme you gave order unto Sir W. Rawley that if I were endited, that it should be stayed, if otherwise that it should go no further."[2] He thanks Cecil warmly and offers his faithful service.

On the same day Cecil wrote to Mountjoy, "The man that grieveth me to think what may become of him is the poor young Earl of Southampton."[3] Then he uses the same phrases as he does in the following letter.

[1] *Cecil Papers*, LXXXIII. 92. [2] Add. MS. 6177/73.
[3] *Irish State Papers*, CVII. p. 198, also D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 125.

In Cecil's historical letter in March to Sir George Carew, explaining fully the course of events, he says that on March the 5th Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir John Davies, Sir Gelly Meyrick, and Henry Cuffe were all arraigned and condemned. "It remayneth now that I lett you know what is lyke to become of the poore young Earle of Southampton, who, meerely for the love of the Earle hath been drawen into this action, who, in respect that most of the conspiracies were at Drury House, where he was always cheefe, and where Sir Charles Davers laye, those that would deale for him (of which number I protest to God I am one, as far as I dare) are much disadvantaged of arguments to save him, and yet, when I consider how penitent he is, and how merciful the Queen is, and never in thought or deed, but in this conspiracy he offended, as I cannot write in despaire, so I dare not flatter myself with hope."[1] He helps to date this by saying, "three or four days since arrived the Earl of Mar, ambassador to the King of Scots." Writing to Winwood on March 7th, he says, "yesterday here arrived Earl of Mar."[2]

On the 13th of March Meyrick and Cuffe suffered at Tyburn, and two days afterwards Sir Christopher Blount and Sir Charles Danvers were beheaded in the Tower[3]. "Danvers had offered £10,000 to redeem his life, yet with a most quiet mind and countenance took his death most Christianly." It is quite possible that he was comforted by thinking that if he died for the Drury House conspiracy, it would give his friend Southampton a better chance of escaping (as it certainly did).

On March the 22nd the Council indited a letter to Sir John Peyton, Lieutenant of the Tower:

> Whereas we do understand that the Earl of Southampton, by reason of the continuance of his quartern ague, hath a swelling in his legges and other parts, you may admytt Doctor Paddy, who is acquainted with the state of his bodie, in your presence to have accesse unto him, and to conferre with him for those things that shall be fitt for his health[4].

It seems probable that "the continuance" of Southampton's illness had finally crushed his pride, and led him to those effusive

[1] Camden Series, 82. D.S.S.P. Cecil seems to forget the Queen's wrath about Southampton's marriage in 1598.

[2] Winwood, *Mem.* I. 299.

[3] Camden's *Elizabeth*, bk. IV. p. 178

[4] Reg. Privy Council.

petitions and confessions which are entered among the Salisbury Papers as "after Feb. 19th 1600–1." By them may have been spread among the Lords of the Council the opinion of his "penitence," expressed openly by Cecil in his correspondence, which encouraged them to grant him this degree of consideration—not much in itself, it is true, but it marks the beginning of the turn of the tide[1].

Though these effusions are printed *in extenso* already, they seem important enough to be repeated here, as his contribution to the story of the previous year of his life[2]. The fourth paper, which appears among the Salisbury Papers as his "Statement." I shall contract, as the facts are noted elsewhere.

At an uncertain date, but entered in the Salisbury Papers, vol. XI. p. 72, as "after Feb. 19th 1600–1," occurs the following:

Henry Earl of Southampton to the Council

My Lordes,

I beseech your Lordships bee pleased to receaue the petition of a poore condemned man, who doth, with a lowly and penitent hart, confess his fautes and acknoledge his offences to her Maiestie. Remember, I pray your Lordships, that the longest lyuer amongest men hath but a short time of continewance, and that there is none so iust vppon earth but hath a greater account to make to our creator for his sinnes then any offender can haue in this world. Beleeue that God is better pleased with those that are the instrumentes of mercy then with such as are the persuaders of severe iustice, and forgett not that hee hath promised mercy to the mercifull.

What my fawte hath been your Lordships know to the vttermost, wherein, howsoeuer I have offended in the letter of the law, your Lordships I thinke cannot but find, by the proceedings att my triall, that my harte was free from any premeditate treason against my souerayne, though my reason was corrupted by affection to my friend (whom I thought honest) and I by that caried headlonge to my ruine, without power to preuent it, who otherwise could neuer haue been induced for any cawse of mine owne to haue hazarded her Maiesties displeasure but in a trifle: yet can I not dispayre of her fauor, nether will it enter into my thought that shee who hath been euer so renowned for her uertues, and especially for clemency, will not extend it to mee, that doe with so humble and greeued a spirit prostrate my self att her royall feete and craue her pardon. O lett her neuer sufer to bee spiled the bloud of him that desiers to live but to doe her seruice, nor loose the glory shee shall gaine in the world by pardoninge one whose harte is without

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, XI.

[2] Camden Series, 73, app. 93–100.

spott, though his cursed destiny hath made his actes to bee condemned, and whose life, if it please her to graunte it, shallbe eternally redy to bee sacrifised to accomplish her least comandement.

My lords, there are diuers amongest you to whom I owe particular obligation for your fauors past, and to all I haue euer performed that respect which was fitt, which makes me bould in this manner to importune you, and lett not my faultes now make me seem more vnworthy then I haue been, but rather lett the misery of my distressed estate moue you to bee a mean to her Maiestie, to turne away her heauy indignation from mee. O lett not her anger continew towardes an humble and sorrowfull man, for that alone hath more power to dead my spirites then any iron hath to kill my flesh. My sowle is heauy and trobled for my offences, and I shall soon grow to detest my self if her Maiestie refuse to haue compassion of mee. The law hath hetherto had his proceedinge, wherby her iustice and my shame is sufficiently published; now is the time that mercy is to be shewed. O pray her then, I beseech your lordships, in my behalf to stay her hand, and stopp the rigorus course of the law, and remember, as I know shee will neuer forgett, that it is more honor to a prince to pardon one penitent offender, then with severity to punish mayny.

To conclude, I doe humbly entreate your Lordships to sound mercy in her eares, that therby her harte, which I know is apt to receaue any impression of good, may be moued to pity mee, that I may liue to loose my life (as I have been euer willing and forward to venture it) in her service, as your lordships herein shall effect a worke of charity, which is pleasinge to God; preserue an honest-harted man (howsoeuer now his fautes haue made him seem otherwise) to his contry; winn honor to yourselues, by fauoringe the distressed; and saue the bloud of one who will liue and dy her Maiesties faythfull and loyall subiect.

Thus, recommendinge my self and my sute to your Lordships' honorable considerations; beseechinge God to moue you to deale effectually for mee, and to inspire her Maiesties royall harte with the spirite of mercy and compassion towardes mee, I end, remayninge,

Your Lordships most humbly, of late Southampton, but now of all men most vnhappy,

H. WRIOTHESLEY.

At an uncertain date, but entered in the Salisbury Papers, vol. XI. p. 72, as "after Feb. 19th 1600–1" occurs the "Confession of Henry, Earl of Southampton."[1]

Att my first comminge out of Ireland and vppon the committment of my Lord of Essex, my Lord Mountioy came to my lodginge to Essex howse, where he tould mee that hee had before his cominge foreseen his ruine, and

[1] *Correspondence of James VI of Scotland*, ed. Bruce, p. 96.

desieringe to saue him if it mought bee, had sent a messenger to the King of Skottes to wish him to bethinke him self, and not suffer, if hee could hinder it, the gouerment of this state to bee wholy in the handes of his ennimies; and if hee would resolue of any thinge that was fitt, he should find him forward to doe him right, as farr as he mought with a safe conscience and his duty reserued to her Maiestie; that hee expected, within a while after, to receaue answer, which when he did I should know it. Not long after hee towld mee hee had heard from him, and shewed mee a lettre which hee sent him, wherin was nothinge but complimentes, allowinge of his reseruations, and referringe him for the matter to the bearer, who deliuered unto him that the King would think of it, and putt himself in a rediness to take any good occation; whereuppon hee sent him againe with this proiect, that hee should prepare an army att a conuenient time, declare his intent, that hee would bee redy to assist him with the army in Ireland, whether hee was goinge, and mought for the healfe of those doe that which was fitt in establishinge such a course as should bee best for our contry; houldinge euer his former reseruations. Att this time I lykewise wrote a lettre to the Kyng professinge my self to be willinge to doe him seruice, as farr as I mought with my alleageance to her Majestie, and by the messengers sent him woord that in this course I would assist him with my endeauors and my person.

To this dispach wee receaued no answer duringe the time of his aboade heare; but within a while after, the messenger returned, and brought for answer that he lyked the course well, and would prepare him self for it; but the yeare growinge on, and it beeinge thought by Sir Charles Danvers that the army of Ireland would suffice alone, I made my Lord of Essex acquainted by lettres, hee beeinge then att Essex howse, what had been doon, and that opinion hee allowed of, and it was resolued that I should breake the matter to my Lord Mountioy att my cominge into Ireland, which I did, and hee vtterly reiected it as a thinge which hee could no way thinke honest, and diswaded mee from thinkinge of any more such courses, which resolution I toke and wrote ouer to Sir Charles Danvers heere what I fownd, and that I had geeuen ouer thinkinge of such matters; wheruppon, willinge to spend my time in her Majesties seruice, to redeem the fault I had made in thinkinge that which mought bee offensiue to her, I was desierus to seat my self in Ireland, so that the Deputy makinge a motion to mee to stand for the gouerment of Conagh, I desiered that hee would moue it, meaninge, if I could obtayne it, to settle there; which beeinge denied mee, and I vnable to lyue att so great a charge as I could not chuse but bee att there, I resolued presently to go into [the] Low Countries, leauinge him, and parttinge my self without any imagination (as I protest before God) to thinke any more of any matters of that nature, but resoluinge to take my fortune as it should fall out, and as by my meritt hir Majestie should hould me worthy; or, if the woorst happined, that her Majestie should continew her

displeasure against mee, which I hoped would not [be], to retire my self into the contry, and liue quietly and pray for her. I doe protest also before God, I left the Deputy, as I thought and so I assure my self, resolued to doe her Majestie the best seruice hee could, and repentinge that hee had euer thought that which mought offend her.

I went into the Low Contries with that mind, and so continewed vntill, a few dayes before my comminge thence, Mr Littleton came to mee, as he sayed from my Lord of Essex, and towld mee that hee was resolued on the course which is confessed for his coming to the courte; att the hearinge of which I protest before the Majestie of God I was much trobled in my harte, yet because hee protested in it all sincerely and loyally to her Majestie, I sent him woord that I would att any time venture both my fortune and life for him, with any thinge that was honest. Vppon my first seeinge him hee confirmed as much, and what passed afterward concerninge that I nead not speak of, it beeinge so well knowen.

Mr Littleton lykewise towld mee that Sir Charles Danvers was sent into Ireland by my Lord of Essex to perswade my Lord Mountjoy to write a lettre to him wherin hee should complaine of the ill gouerment of the state, and to wishe that some course mought be taken to remooue from about her Majesties person those which weare bad instrumentes, protesting that it should neuer bee knowen till hee had been with her Majestie and satisfied her of his intent, and then hee would shew it her, that shee mought see that not only him self, who perhappes shee would thinke desiered it by reason of his discontentmentes and priuate offences, but also those that weare in good estat and in her fauor, wished to. I then towld him that I did not thinke my Lord Deputy would doe it, for I lett him know how I left him, and that I did not thinke there was any spiritt in him to such a course. Within a while after I camé into England, Sir Charles Danvers returned, and towld me that hee fownd my Lord Deputy much against any such course, and that hee had sett his hart only vppon followinge of the Queen's seruice, and thought not of any such matters; but if he would neades runn that course (which hee did not lyke and gaue him [for] lost in) hee should send him woord, and hee would write to him; this hee towld mee hee yealded to very vnwillingly, and withall towld him, that if any there of his followers would goe ouer, hee would not hinder them.

For that which was proiected for my Lord of Essex eskape out of my Lord Kepers house, I protest before God I alwayes diswaded from it; and the same eueninge before, not three howers before it should have been attempted, I protested against it vnder my hand, and so brake it, incurringe much imputation amongest them for want of affection to my Lord, and slackness to doe him good.

This haue I sett down all trewly as I can remember it, without ether wronging any or fauoringe my self; and will only conclud with this, that I protest before the Almighty God I neuer sett any of these thinges on foote,

or beeinge proiected did instigate any to folow them, nor neuer bare disloyall or vnreuerent hart to her Majestie, but was drawen into them meerly by my affection to my Lord of Essex, whom I thought honest to her and to her state; and, had I not been inuited when I was in the Low Contries to this last woorke, for which I was directly sent by my Lord of Essex, the world should haue wittnessed with me the duty I had borne to her Majestie, and I did not then doute but with my honest endeuors in her seruice in few yeares to haue deserued forgiueness of my former offensiue thoughtes, which I am now by my accursed fortune cutt off from. I doe therfore now prostrate my self att her Majesties princely feete, with a trew penitent sowle for my fautes past, with horror in my conscience for my offences, and detestation of mine owne life if it bee displeasinge vnto her. I doe with all humility craue her pardon. The shedinge of my bloud can no way auayle her; my life, if it please her to graunt, shall euer bee redy to be lost in her seruice, and, lett my sowle haue no place in Heauen, if euer I harbour thought in my harte which I shall thinke may bee any way offensiue vnto her, but remayne to the end of my dayes as honest and faythfull a subiect vnto her as is in the world; and I doe on the knees of my hart beseech her Majestie not to imagen that these are the wordes of a condemned man, who, fearinge death, would promise any thinge, and afterward, beeinge free, would as soon forgett it. O, no! The world will wittness with mee, that in her seruice I haue geuen sufficient testemony, more then once, that I feare nether death nor danger, but they are protestations that proceed from the honest harte of a penitent offender. O, the Kinge of Heauen hath promised forgiueness of their sinnes that with sorrow and fayth aske pardon, and I that doe know her Majestie to be gratius, and doe with soe greiued a mind begg forgiueness, cannot dispayre but hope that the God of Mercy, who doth neuer shutt his eares to the afflicted that cry unto him, howsoeuer they haue offended, nor is euer weary of beeinge compassionate to those which vnfaynedly repent and call to him for grace, and hath promised forgiueness of sinnes to those that forgeeue in this world, will moue her Majestie to pyty mee, that I may lyve to make the world know her great merritt and serue her; for whom I will euer pray and lyue and dy her humble loyall and faythfull vassall.

[Unsigned]

There bee two thinges which I haue forgotten to sett in their right places, your Lordship must bee therfore pleased to take them in this post-script. One is, that not longe before the day of our misfortune my Lord of Essex towld mee that Sir Henry Neuill, that was to goe embassador into Fraunce, was a man wholy att his deuotion, and desiered to runn the same fortune with him, and therfore hee towld mee that hee would appoint him to come to my lodginge in Drury House, and I should make him acquainted with his porpose of goinge to the Courte, which I did ackordingly, after this manner; I towld him that I vnderstood by Cuff (who had lykewise made

mee know his disposition) that hee had deuoted him selfe to my Lord of Essex, and that hee desiered to engadge him self in any thinge wherby his fortune mought bee re-established. If it weare so, I had somewhat to say to him from my Lord of Essex, and therfore wished him to lett mee know his mind. Hee answered mee, that what Mr Cuff had sayed hee would performe, therfore desiered mee to say on. So I deliuered vnto him what my Lord of Essex intended, which hee allowed of, and concluded that when hee should bee appointed, hee would bee att the Courte before, to gyue him fartherance with himself and his people. The other is: that not longe agoe my Lord of Essex wrote to the King of Skottes which hee shewed mee, of three sides of paper and more, the effect of which as I remember was, to discredite the faction (as he termed it) contrary vnto him, and to entreate him to send hether the Earle of Marr with commandement to folow those directions which hee should geeue, and with all in what woordes hee should geeue him notice if hee would performe it, which he receaued, and that was it he ware in the blak purse about his necke. He drew also, as he towld mee, instructions for him against his cominge, but I neuer saw them. This haue you, I protest before God, all that I remember, or doe know, wherin I once again beseech your Lordship to marke, that I haue neuer been mouer nor instigator of any of these thinges, but drawen into them by my best frendes.

At an uncertain date, but entered in the Salisbury Papers, vol. XI, p. 72, as "after Feb. 19th 1600–1" occurs the following:

Henry, Earl of Southampton to Sir Robert Cecil.

Sir, because I receaued a charge from you and the rest of the Lords, when I last spake with you, that I should conceale the matter which was in hand, I thought fitt to acquaynt you with what I fownd this morninge by the Lieuetenant, who, talkinge with mee, made me see that he knew as much as I could tell him. From whence hee had it I know not, but I protest before God I haue trewly obayed your commandement, and haue not opened my mouth of it to any, nor say this to bring blame vppon any, but only to free my self from imputation.

But now, seeinge my cheef hope is in your desier to effect my good, next vnto the fauor of God and the mercy of her Majestie, I cannot but remember you of thease particulers, which before I had forgotten. First that the owld matter, as soon as I could acquaynt my Lord of Essex with it, I did, lettinge him know that it was only thought of in respect of him, and how that without his approbation it should bee desisted, in which he was so farr from diswadinge that he gaue mee the directions I haue made knowen. Then, the thought of that beeinge abandoned, hee sent directly for mee into the Low Countries, lettinge me know, before my opinion was asked, that hee had resolued it. Lastly, to make you see that I was neuer willing

to stirr in these thinges, thise same morninge the matter happned between my Lord Grey and mee, I telling him that I thought, in respect the thinge was so notorius, the counsell would take notice of it, and send for mee aboute it, he answered me that it was lyke enough, but if they did without question it was but a collor to lay handes of mee, and therfore wished me not to goe; to which I replied, that he should not enter into any violent course for mee, for I knew I had made no fawte, and I would trust in the iustice of the state; so, beeinge sent for, I only tooke two with mee and went. Now, out of thease circumstances, I beseech you make your coniecture, whether I was likely to bee an instigator in these businesses. For this that I haue sett down, I protest before God is trew, and I doe rely so much vppon your fauor that I doute not but you will make vse of them for my aduantage, and I shall continew bound vnto you, as I protest I doe account my self alredy, more then to any man lyuinge, which whether I liue or dy I make the world know to your honor. I beseech you pardon the bad writinge of this, for I write in hast[1].

The statement, "according to commandment," tells the story of the incident in Dublin Castle[2], when Essex took him to the room where Sir Christopher Blount, his stepfather, lay wounded. He there proposed to take a part of the army back with him, but both Blount and Southampton advised him against this, and he gave it up. But he was determined to come over, so both of them advised him "to go well attended to secure himself from private enemies... if his life were in danger he knew there was none of us but would adventure ours to save him." Southampton had been within sight, but not within hearing, of the conference with Tyrone; but Essex told him afterwards some of the points discussed. Tyrone had tempted him to leave the Queen's service, but Essex rejected the notion. Essex knew nothing of Tom Lea's going to Tyrone before. "Of some part of this Sir Christopher Blunt was a witness, who though the world knows he never loved me, yet do I beseech your honour and Mr H. [?] that he may be asked of it, and I doubt not but for the truth's sake he will confirm and make you see how much I did detest it. For the rest, I can produce no testimony, only God knows my heart that I lie not. I had resolved that whatsoever concerned her Majestie I would have revealed, and he [Blount] had only the start of me by reason

[1] *Correspondence of James VI of Scotland*, ed. Bruce, Camd. Soc. p. 95.
[2] *Cecil Papers*, LXXXIV. 10.

he spake first with you." He says that if he had only been allowed to live in her Majesty's presence this evil would never have come to him. His heart had never been cankered with a disloyal thought and he hopes she will forgive him.

The allusion to Sir Christopher Blount shews that he was still alive; therefore the "statement" must have been made before the 15th of March—probably, indeed, after the 5th of March—when Blount was tried. It is evident that the most important part of his information concerned Lord Mountjoy. This was probably the secret part that he was told not to speak of. For the Councillors were in a difficulty. Here was a man definitely concerned with Essex's *discontent*, yet who was acting as his successor and was actually the representative of her Majesty in Ireland! They could not recal him without damaging English prestige; it was evident that he had repented when he was put in trust, and they wisely determined to ignore the past, being sure that he would be doubly dutiful, to save the risks of examination and recal. Hence the Earl of Nottingham was able to write to him encouragingly about the prospects of Southampton, as both he and Sir Robert Cecil were earnestly working in his favour—"we use all our power and wits for it."[1]

The arrest of Sir Henry Neville, as he was returning to France[2], was a great distress to his assistant and coadjutor, Mr Ralph Winwood, who wrote to him on February 17th that the French King had told him of the rising of Essex and Southampton, but he added that he would wait to believe it until Neville himself gave him information. Neville was silent. Cecil told Winwood the bare official truth, and on 17th March Winwood again wrote to his chief a sympathetic and trustful letter, saying that he knew his loyalty to the Queen and country. There are many more letters of Winwood in a volume of Foreign Correspondence at the Record Office[3]. Sir Robert Cecil put all his strength forth to save his cousin Neville.

It was not to be expected that the Privy Council would neglect to seize the available property of the chief conspirators. On

[1] Spedding's *Bacon*, I. 411.
[2] State Papers, Foreign News Letters, France, IX.
[3] Foreign Correspondence, 45.

February 13th they entered "The property to be seized Bever Castle of the Earl of Rutland, Chartley of the Earl of Essex, the houses of the Earl of Southampton, the one called *The Vine*, the other [?] "[1]. Some mistake lay here—"The Vine" never belonged to Southampton. A seizure was made of his horses, for some of which an innkeeper made a heavy charge for feeding[2]. His trustees were closely examined as to his financial affairs[3]; and an enquiry was made whether the Earls of Essex, Southampton, or Rutland had held any lands in the Cinque Ports, March 13th[4]. The Earl of Essex's family were left in destitution.

As soon as the Privy Council felt safe by the apprehension of the chief offenders, they turned their attention towards possible mercy, in order to ingratiate themselves with the people. This rarely meant politic mercy, as in the case of Mountjoy, who was needed where he was; or even compassionate mercy, as in the case of the Earl of Southampton. It in general expressed itself as mercantile mercy, measured in proportion, not to the degree of the offender's guilt, but of his capacity to pay.

As early as February 23rd Thomas Scriven, the family steward[5], conveyed to Mr John Manners (the uncle of the Earl of Rutland) his hope for his master's life. He knew that a fine was certain, rated at that date at £30,000, but he hoped that amount might be reduced.

On the 27th May, 1601, John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton:

Sir Harry Neville is in the Tower, which at first made many men think he should come to his answer, but this whole term having past without any arraignment, makes me think there shall be no more blood drawn in this cause. The rather for there is a commission to certain of the counsaile to ransome and fine the Lords and Gentlemen that were in the action, and have already rated Rutland at £30,000, Bedford at £20,000, Sands at £10,000, Mounteagle at £8000, and Cromwell at £6000, Catesby at 4000 marks, Tresham at 3000 marks, Percies and Manners at £500 and 500 marks, the rest at other summes....Our two new Knights of the Garter, the Erle of Darbie and the Lord Burghley were installed yesterday at Windsor. Anthony

[1] Reg. Privy Council.
[2] Accounts Exchequer, K. R., Bdle 522, no. 11.
[3] D.S.S.P. CCLXXIX. 91.
[4] MSS. of the Corporation of Rye. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* XIII. app. IV. p. 123.
[5] *Belvoir Papers*, XIV. 366.

Bacon has died so deep in debt that his brother Francis is little the better by him[1].

By June 10th these fines were mitigated in some cases:

Fynes imposed on the noblemen and other confederates in the late rebellion. The Earl of Rutland £30,000 to £20,000, the Earl of Bedford £20,000 to £10,000, Baron Sandys £10,000—£5000, Baron Cromwell £5000 to £2000, Lord Mounteagle £8000 to £4000, Sir Charles Percy £500, Sir Joscelin Percy £500, Sir Henry Cary 400 marks—200 marks, Sir Robert Vernon 500 marks—£100, Sir William Constable 300 m. £100, Robert Catesby 4000 marks, Francis Tresham 3000 m. Francis Manners 400 m. Sir George Manners 400 m. Sir Thomas West 1000 m. Gray Bridges 1000 m. Sir Edward Middleton 500 m.—£200, Thomas Crompton £400, Walter Walsh £400[2].

On June 26th there is a note that the Earl of Bedford, being urged to make speedy payment, begs leave to be allowed to pay in instalments. He also entreats the Queen to aid him in his efforts to do so[3].

There also appears in the Salisbury Papers the following entry: "Persons living that are condemned, the Earl of Southampton, Sir John Davys, Sir Edward Baynham, John Littleton."[4] None of these were executed—Sir John Davies probably from policy; John Littleton died of illness. It went hard with Southampton also.

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXXIX. 91. [2] *Ibid.* 106. [3] *Ibid.* 121.
[4] *Salisb. Papers*, XI. 86, 214. *Cecil Papers*, LXXXIV. 5, and *ibid.* 23.

CHAPTER XVI

A LAMPOON OF THE DAY

1601

A REMARKABLE metrical effusion without title or date is preserved in the special volume of State Papers which contains the records of the conspiracy and trial[1]. The only allusion to authorship lies in the words "*our* men lost the day," so that it must have been written by a sympathiser with Essex who had managed to escape capture. It is not of a nature to have been safely printed then, but it is probable that many MS. copies spread. There have been preserved two copies at least among the State Papers, and I have discovered another among the Harleian MSS.[2] in a volume which the *Calendar* seems to have entered as collected by the third Randle Holmes as a book of "Songs and Sonnets." These were considered to be too inferior to be worth fuller description than "Epitaphs, Lampoons and Satires." This rescension contains some variant readings, so I shall distinguish the three copies by A, B, and C, and number the verses, to make clear my elucidation of their meanings. This 'lampoon' was copied many years ago for Dr Brandl, and it appeared in the volume of the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* for 1910.

It is probably, in all three cases, incomplete, as certain names are omitted which would naturally have been included in one or other of the groups.

I

Chamberlin, Chamberlin
  hees of hir graces kinne
  foole hath he euer bin
  with his Joane silverpin
She makes his cockescombe thin
  and *quake*[3] in euerie limme
  quicksilver is in his head
  but his wit's dull as lead—
    Lord for thy pittie.

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 23. [2] Harl. MS. 2127, f. 34.
[3] A *shakes*.

II

partie beard was aferd
when they rann at the heard
the Raine deer was imbost
the white doe shee was loste
pembrooke strooke her downe
and tooke her from the clowne
Lord for thy pittie.

III

litell Cecill tripps up and downe
he rules boet court & croune
with his brother Burlie clowne
in his great fox-furred gowne
with the long proclamation
hee *swore*[1] hee sav'd the towne
is it not likelie?

IV[2]

Bedford hee ranne awaie
when ower men lost the daie
so 't is assigned
except his fine dancing Dame
do their hard hartes tame
and swear it is a shame
fooles should bee fined.

V

litell Graie, litell Graie
(*made a souldier in the month of Maie*)[3]
hee made a Ladies fraie
turned his heeles[4] and ranne awaie
yet must hee be advanc't *they saie*[5]
for to bear some swaie
Lord for thy pittie.

[1] C *saith*.
[2] This verse follows the next in C.
[3] This line only in C copy.
[4] C *borne aboute*.
[5] C *as men say*.

VI

foulke and John, foulke and John
you two shall rise anon
when *greater*[1] men bee gon
you two can *prie* as farre
where honors *fined*[2] are
as any man of warre
(*yf non your hands doe barr*)[3]
Lord for thy pittie.

VII

Rawleigh doth time bestride
he *sits*[4] twixt winde and tide
yet uppe hill hee cannot ride,
for all his bloodie pride.
hee seeks taxes in the tinne
hee *powles*[5] the poor to the skinne
yet hee *sweares*[6] tis no sinne
Lord for thy pittie.

It would be impossible in notes to give even the little I know of the inner meanings of these lines, so I must arrange some facts under reference to each verse. The thin veil of mystery must have been transparent to contemporaries. In some cases I can pierce this to some extent, in others I can only suggest a possible explanation. No. I refers to "Chamberlain." This, of course, means George Carey, who had succeeded his father as second Lord Hunsdon on 22nd–23rd July, 1596, and as Lord Chamberlain in March, 1596–7. His family was related to Elizabeth; hence there is some disrespect to the Queen herself implied in the words,

of hir graces kinne
foole hath he euer bin.

His health had always been uncertain, and in later years he suffered from palsy. The uncomplimentary suggestion that his wife was shrewish I cannot corroborate. He had married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe, a patron of the poet Spenser, who claimed kinship with her.

[1] B *wiser*.
[2] C *riffeled*.
[3] Extra line C.
[4] C *lyeth*.
[5] C *strips*.
[6] C *saith*.

There is no allusion here to Lord Hunsdon's company of players, of which Shakespeare was a member.

No. II has had an undue prominence given to it of late years through having been confusedly seized by the advocates of the Herbert-Fitton theory of the *Sonnets*. Though not nearly so clear in its subject as No. I, I have no doubt that "partie beard" meant Sir William Knollys, who, having been born in 1547, may be supposed to have had a beard streaked with grey. He was the uncle of the Earl of Essex, and was supposed not to have done all he could for his unfortunate nephew. He had reason to be "aferd," on some unspecified occasion, "when they rann at the heard," which evidently means the Queen's maids of honour, and refers to the great scandal case of the day. These ladies on June 14th, 1600, at the marriage of "the other Lord Herbert"[1] to Mrs Anne Russell, had performed a masque of the eight muses seeking the ninth. Their names were "My Ladie Dorothy, Mrs Fitton, Mrs Carey, Mrs Onslow, Mrs Southwell, Mrs Bess Russell, Mrs Darcy and my Lady Blanche Somerset." Mrs Fitton, as being the best dancer, led; and she came to the Queen and asked her to join them. The Queen asked her what was her name. She answered "Affection!" "Affection is false," said the Queen; yet she rose and danced. (She should have said "Terpsichore," the muse of dancing.) Lord William Herbert was present at that masque, and on 19th January, 1600–1, he became Earl of Pembroke on the death of his father. Sir William Knollys was connected with Mary Fitton in a very remarkable way, which we may learn from his own letters preserved at Arbury. Sir Edward Fitton's elder daughter, Anne, had been maid of honour to the Queen until she married John Newdigate of Arbury. Then she resigned, and her younger sister Mary, at 17, took her place in 1595.

Sir Edward Fitton wrote to Sir William Knollys, his old friend (also a relative of the Queen), to ask him to look after his young daughter. Sir William replied, "I will not fail to fulfil your desire in playing the Good Shepherd, and will to my power defend the innocent lamb from the wolfish cruelty and fox-like subtlety of the tame beasts of this place....I will with my counsel advise your faire daughter, with my true affection love her, and with my sword

[1] *Sidney Papers*, II. 201.

defend her if need be....I will be as careful of her well-doing as if I were her true father." Sir William had married Dorothy, daughter of Lord Bray and widow of Edward Bridges, Lord Chandos. She was older than he was, and was a confirmed invalid. So it happened that the attractions of his fair young ward soon proved too much for Sir William's judgment and discretion. He began to offer her attentions so conspicuous that the Court knew that he sought to engage her affections—honourably, he thought. He offered the reversion of his hand and heart not only to the girl, but, on his own behalf, to her relatives for her, as his second wife before the first had gone. Abundant proof of this is to be found in his letters, printed by Lady Newdigate in her *Gossip from an old Muniment Room.*

Mary Fitton had evidently flirted with and hoodwinked her guardian lover, while she trod the flowery paths of dalliance, as secretly as she could, with Lord William Herbert, who had just become Earl of Pembroke. By January 26th Sir John Stanhope had written to Sir G. Carew about "Mary Fitton's afflictions." But it seems to have been the 4th of February before the Court knew that "Pembrooke strooke her downe," and "the Raine deer" (the Queen) was "imbost" (or raging).

Cecil himself wrote on the 5th of February to Carew: "We have no news but that there is a misfortune befallen Mistress Fitton... and the Earl of Pembroke being examined confesseth a fact, but utterly renounceth all marriage. I feare they will both dwell in the Tower awhile, for the Queen hath vowed to send them thither." By the 8th, however, the Tower was filled with more important offenders; the Queen partially relented to these, Pembroke was committed to the Fleet, where he stayed some time (as Tobie Matthew told Carleton on March 25th), and Mary Fitton was entrusted to the care of Lady Hawkins. The last phrase, "and tooke her from *the clowne*," is held by the Herbert-Fittonites to mean Shakespeare and to prove that this was his "dark Lady."[1] The case is too long to be argued here, but the construction of the sentence and the parallel of other verses make it seem clear to me that "the clowne" means the subject of the sentence, "partie

[1] See the article "Shakespeare's friends of the Sonnets," in *Shakespeare's Environment*, etc.

beard," Sir William Knollys. The courtiers evidently thought this piece of scandal highly entertaining, and the satirist used the most mortifying and scathing incident known to him to gall the man who had been forced to range himself with the Earl of Essex's enemies, though he was his uncle.

III. There is no disguise about "litell Cecill." Sir Robert, the second son of the great Lord Burleigh, was said to have had a curvature of the spine and a peculiar gait in walking; his enemies frequently referred to his personal peculiarities, doubtless even his friends occasionally made him wince. He was really little—Elizabeth sometimes called him her "little Elf," King James described him as his "little Beagle." But he had the brains of the family; his elder brother Thomas, who succeeded to the title, had only "average ability"—the satirist here calls him also a "clowne." The "great fox-furred gowne" is mentioned in Burleigh's will. The "long proclamation" was certainly written by Sir Robert, and his brother, Lord Burleigh, with about 10 horse carried it to the city and supported the herald. It was printed, published, and dated two days later. A copy is preserved in the same volume of the State Papers[1] as the records of the examinations and trial. One might almost think the writer of the lampoon a citizen of London, by the compressed scorn of the phrase "sav'd the towne is it not likelie?"

IV. Through this verse we can glean the approximate date of the lampoon. The *Calendar* queries it as "January? 1600–1." That date is impossible. It refers to the Earl of Bedford's "fine," which was not announced until 11th May[2]. We may take it therefore to have been written in May or June 1601. The chief offenders were already executed, the term was over, no more trials were expected, the sympathisers were able to breathe and to vent their scorn on those who had done to death so many gallant gentlemen. The Earl of Bedford is the only one mentioned here who started with the Earl of Essex, but, changing sides in the middle of the action, is held up with the others to the scorn of any readers. In his own examination[3] he stated that he knew nothing of the designs beforehand; that Lady Rich had come in her coach, while he was hearing

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 36.
[2] *Ibid.* CCLXXVIII–IX.
[3] *Ibid.* CCLXXVIII. 49, 50.

a sermon in his own house, and had carried him away to her brother in Essex House, who had need of him. He had gone out with the Earls, but left them soon.

Henry Woodrington on 13th February[1] confessed that he and his uncle had gone to see the Earl of Rutland in Essex House and there, being carried along by the throng, on the 8th of February followed the company with purpose to withdraw the Earl of Bedford from them, he being a near kinsman and his uncle Ephraim Woodrington a servant to the Earl of Bedford. As soon as they could get a fit opportunity without danger to the Earl or to themselves, they got him from that company and carried him away by water. Bedford immediately got some horsemen together and galloped to the Court, but, being suspected, was seized there and committed first to the care of Alderman Holliday, and then to the house of Sir John Stanhope. Among the chronological notes regarding the Essex "rebellion"[2] it is stated that Lord Bedford was fined £20,000 (an enormous sum for those days), afterwards reduced to £10,000. We may imagine, therefore, the writer to be chuckling at the fact that he had to pay as much as if he had gone on with his friends to the end of their enterprise. What the little fling at his wife means I cannot be quite sure. She was a daughter of Sir John Harington, and the chief patron of Drayton, though his tone of praise changed somewhat in his publications of 1603.

V. All of the Essex and Southampton party must have special reason to dislike "litell Graie," because his choleric and jealous temperament had been one of the chief means of fanning the wrath kindled against them at Court. His story is given in a special chapter above[3]. I do not know why he should here be called "little," nor why he should be charged with "turning his heels to run away," except what may be gleaned from the previous chapter on the Conspiracy. He was protected from behind. But the writer must have had some little ground for whetting on him the arrows of his scorn. None expected then that Nemesis should come to him in a suffering similar to that of Southampton, through a trumpery charge, unglorified by sentiment, during long years spent in the doleful Tower, and a lonely death there, the last of his family.

[1] D.S.S.P. CCLXXVIII. 56.
[2] *Ibid.* CCLXXXI. 67.
[3] Chap. XI. p 163.

VI. The two persons aimed at here are not so surely to be identified. I think that "foulke" must mean Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke, the friend of Sir Philip Sidney. He had been friendly with both Earls, especially with Southampton, but was strictly obedient and loyal to the Queen. Only an enemy could charge him with venality, as he kept his hands singularly clean[1]. Neither is "John" quite clear. I am inclined to believe that it means Sir John Stanhope, who had been very friendly with the Southampton family, but had kept clear of any complicity with the doings of Essex. He had been appointed Treasurer of the Chamber in 1596. The Earl of Bedford was committed to his custody on February 10th. He married, first, Joan, daughter of Sir William Knollys, and, second, Margaret, daughter of Mr Henry Williams. He was created Baron Stanhope of Harrington in 1605.

VII. Raleigh's hatred and jealousy of Essex had been publicly known ever since the Spanish voyage of 1596. Elizabeth often made use of him to punish her favourite when he offended her, and it must have been bitter indeed to Essex to feel his merciless rival triumph over him at last. Raleigh was Warden of the Stanneries and Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall[2]. In the Parliament of 1601 he defended monopolies in general, and his own monopoly of tin in particular. Him, like Grey, Nemesis awaited. He may have been innocent of the charge which led directly to his execution, but against him the blood of Essex called out in judgment.

Perhaps it was something akin to this satire that the Lords of the Council aimed at on 10th May, 1601, when they noted: "Certain players at the Curtaine in Moorfields do represent in their interlude the persons of some gentlemen of good desert and quality that are yet alive, under obscure manner but yet in such sorte that all the hearers may take notice both of the matter and the persons that are meant thereby. All are to be examined"

[1] See my *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries*, p. 170.
[2] Journal of the House of Commons.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PASSING OF THE TUDORS

THE fall of Essex may be said to date the end of the reign of Elizabeth in regard to her activities and glories. After that she was Queen only in name. She listened to her councillors, signed her papers, and tried to retrench in expenditure; but her policy was dependent on the decisions of Sir Robert Cecil. He had secured the only form of sovereignty that Essex had desired. Her last Parliament[1] was summoned for 27th October, 1601, and she staggered under the weight of the Royal robes and would have fallen, but that eager hands were held out to support her.

Francis Osborne speaks of Essex's death as cruel and disastrous. "The Queen had no comfort after....The people were wrathful at the death of their favourite, and she lost their honour and glory.... The death of Essex, like a melancholy cloud, did shade the prospect of her people's affection....I have heard it, though looked upon by me as a paradox, that Essex would have vindicated English freedom by reviving such ancient privileges as had been pretermitted during the tyrannical reigns of the two last Henrys."[2] Even Speed says: "As the death of this nobleman was much lamented by the subjects whose love towards him was so ingrafted (as I think I may well say never subject had more), so her Majestie likewise having such a starre falne from her firmament, was inwardly moved and outwardly oftentimes would shew passions of her griefe, even till the time of her approaching end, when two yeares after she laid her heade in the Grave, as the most resplendent sunne setteth at last in a western cloud."[3]

She seemed to recover in 1602, and went a-maying to Lewisham on May day. She let Sir Roger Aston, James's ambassador, see her dancing, to prevent his master being too eager for any speedy personal advantage. She is said to have danced with the Duc de Nevers when he was here. Yet at the beginning of June she had

[1] Lingard, *Parl. Hist.* D'Ewes. [2] *Essays*, Elizabeth, p. 353.
[3] 3rd edition, p. 1214.

told the French ambassador "she was aweary of Life, and alluded touchingly to the death of Essex." She was very gay in her festivities in July; but it was noticed that she did not go far from home. Chamberlain was puzzled on October 2nd why Cecil should dismiss his invaluable secretary, Willes. It was afterwards found that he feared his servant would discover his correspondence with the Scottish King[1]. Cecil gave a great entertainment to the Queen on December 23rd, and as a special favour allowed Walter Cope to share in it. The Lord Admiral feasted the Queen, but neither his preparations nor his gifts were as good as were expected. Christmas seemed flat and dull.

And into the Court came a sense of mystery and secrecy. Few dared speak out their minds. Who was to succeed this failing life? Whither was England drifting?

Meanwhile, the Earl of Southampton lay in the Tower, and there seem to be only two sources whence we may glean some facts about him.

The letter indited by the Council to Sir John Peyton on March 22nd, 1600–1, has already been quoted[2]. Probably Southampton's illness necessitated extra care from his attendants and induced E. Harte, his keeper, to write on May 24th to Sir Robert Cecil to beg a change:

As to your good liking, I was put in trust to be keeper unto the Lord of Southampton, I desire you so to continue your good opinion of me, as by your good means to her Majestie, my libertie may be returned to her presence, that I may enjoy the countenance of such favours as she has bestowed on others her servants which did her service in the suppressing of the rebels. My long continuance in this manner is little better than a prisoner, and without your good remembrances may be so forgotten as both my time and my services here spent will little avail my preferment[3].

His application was answered as he wished on 14th June through the Lieutenant:

Whereas Captain Hart hath been appointed to attend on the Earl of Southampton ever since his first commitment to the Tower, her Majestie is pleased that the said Captain Hart may now have libertie to follow his businesse, and therefore you may signifie so much to him and appoint some

[1] D.S.S.P. Eliz. 285, 23.
[2] Reg. Privy Council, XXXI. 237. (See p. 224.)
[3] *Cecil Papers*, LXXXVI. 58. *Salisb. Papers*, XII. 205.

such person as you shall make choice of for that purpose to attend upon the Earl[1].

We do not know whom the Lieutenant chose, but it was probably some satisfactory person, as Sir John Peyton had become interested in his prisoner. On August 18th he wrote to the Council:

My Lord of Southampton, by reason of his close imprisonment and want of all manner of exercise being grown weak and very sickly, has desired me to send you his letters of petition, here inclosed, upon which occasion I have prepared for him another lodging. But without some exercise, and more air than is convenient for me to allow without knowledge from your honours of her Majesties pleasure, I do much doubt of his recovery.

Southampton's letter has not been preserved, but there is apparently the answer to it on the 19th of the same month. The Council wrote to the Lieutenant of the Tower:

Forasmuch as her Majesty hath understood by a letter from yourself and another enclosed from the late Earle of Southampton that he, suspecting himself to be in some danger by the growing on of a long sicknesse (which he hath had before his trouble), is now an humble suyter (for the ease and comforte of his minde) to have the favour to see his mother, and to conferre with her and some others that were putt in trust with his estate, his hope beinge thereby to obtaine at her hands some favour towards his child, from whom his great offences hath taken all which otherwise should descend unto her: Wee do hereby give you to understand, that her Majesty is pleased, and the rather at the humble and importunate suit of the Countesse his mother, to give you warrante to admit her Ladyshippe, and any two of those persons whom he shall desier, that have been dealers in his estate, to repaire unto him in this time of his indisposition to conferre with him, so provided that it be done at due time in private manner, in your presence and hearing, and this shall be your warrant[2].

It is most probable that Edmund Gage and William Chamberlain would be chosen to perform this doleful duty. Incidentally this shews that Lady Rich in 1599 had lost her wager, and that he had no son living at the time[3].

I am inclined to believe that the following list of expenses refers to this date. "Last paste 1602," could not have been so written in 1603, but "last paste," meaning 1601, account rendered in

[1] Reg. Privy Council, XXXI. 430.
[2] *Ibid.* 175.
[3] See p. 158.

1602, would fit times, seasons, and other records. The MS., four leaves stitched together and written on both sides by the Deputy Surveyor of her Majesty's Works, is a request for payment:

Maye it please your Honours to understand ye extraordinarye charges that have grown on soundry her Majesties howses in ye monethes of Auguste and September last paste 1602. The Tower of London the howse in mending and repairinge a lodging neare unto ye Queenes Gallerye, wher ye Earle of Southampton is lodged, and making a partition of fir poles and slitte deales at ye east ende of ye gallerye for a withdrawing chamber; ye mending with lyme and haire some faultes in ye frette and ceiling in ye Earles Bedchamber and whitewashing all ye walles and ceilinges, ye mending soundry faultes and decayed places in Mr Lieutenant's Lodging etc. £22. 2. 4[1].

This bill has come into the possession of Dr Smedley, who kindly allowed me to copy and make use of it.

On October 11th came an order of happier omen: "the Countess his wife was to be admitted for his comfort."[2] The news was contained in a letter to "Mr George Harvie, Esq., having charge of the prisoners in the Tower in the absence of Mr Lieutenant":

Whereas her Majestie is informed that the Earle of Southampton is of late growne very sickly, in the which respect her Highness is pleased that for his comforte the Countess his wife shalbe permitted to have accesse unto him, these are therefore accordingly to will and requyer you to suffer her at conveniyent tymes to repayre unto him, for the which these shalbe your warrant.

One likes to believe that it was her happy thought to take his favourite cat with her to help to comfort, and to help to calm the excitement of meeting again after such a long and anxious separation. No memorial is left us of the Countess's visit; but there is a portrait painted of him, with the cat in attendance; and it probably stayed with him during the rest of his captivity.

By a strange coincidence, Henry IV sent Biron as an envoy to Elizabeth about this time. He was imprudent enough to mention Essex. Elizabeth at first was wrathful, then told him that, in spite of his faults, if Essex had only taken the advice of his friends and fully submitted and entreated pardon, she would have forgiven him. This seems to point to some keeping back of his communications. Cecil, on July 18th, 1602, writing to Carew about Biron, said, "It

[1] Original MS. Deputy Surveyor of Works.
[2] Reg. Privy Council, xxxi. 256. [3] *Ibid.*

pleased me not a little (seeing God had appointed our Earl to dye) that we had other manner of proof of his conspiracy, that we beheld him in open rebellion and heard him before his death confirm all with open confession, for otherwise, who doth not know how partial this kingdom was to condemne his *opposites* of malice and practice."

There is no other allusion to Southampton's doings during the two years he spent in the Tower, except in private letters, especially those of the secret correspondence with the Scottish King, now published.

Essex had begged James to send ambassadors speedily and had suggested a line of action for them. James was willing, but they were delayed, and the crisis came before their arrival. Had they come at the time Essex proposed, things might have worked out differently. James had given them a paper of instructions, which could not be followed after Essex's death.

When the Scottish King sent his second paper of instructions on the 18th of April, 1601, from Linlithgow to the ambassadors[1], he acknowledged that "at the time of your despatch things were so miscarried by *that unfortunate accident*." He therefore gave them new instructions "how to walk surely between these two precipices of King and people, who now appear to be in so contrary terms," how to deal with the ministers "especially Mr Secretary, who is King there *in effect*," "to renew and confirm your acquaintance with Lieutenant of the Tower." Shortly after their arrival, the ambassadors held a conference with Cecil. He insisted that, while the Queen lived, there must be absolute respect paid to her wishes, and also that (though he was quite in favour of the King's claims) any correspondence between them must be kept absolutely secret. The Earl of Mar and Mr Edward Bruce sent a report to the King, and shortly after receiving this, James wrote his first personal letter to Cecil, dated June 3, 1602, in the *Calendar*, under the cipher numbers of "30" and "10" This shews that there had been dealings between them before[2]. "That Cecil (10) mistrusted the

[1] The first instructions have not been preserved. The originals are in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. *Secret Correspondence James I and Cecil*, ed. by Lord Hailes, Letter I.

[2] Camden Series, LXXIII. pp. 15, 16. *Cecil Papers*, CXXXV, 63, 4.

aspiring mind of Essex, James (30) could not but commend, taking it as a sure signe that Cecil (10) would never allow a subject to climb to so high a roome." It is endorsed by Cecil "1600. 30 first letter to 10." "The King" and "Secretary" are written after. This was a form of communication which it was not safe to use frequently. James recommended Lord Henry Howard as an intermediary, and hence arose the series of letters by that effusive nobleman, formerly so devoted to Essex and now hand in hand with Cecil. But he retained his affection for the Earl of Southampton. It is chiefly in relation to the latter that I have noted some points in these two series, and compared them with Cecil's letters to Sir George Carew.

On August 13th Cecil asked Sir George Carew to back his influence with Mountjoy; whereby he shews the delicate position in which the new Lord Deputy stood.

It is evident from Cecil's next letter that it was known that he had made a compact with Cobham, Raleigh, Grey, and others to crush Essex; that done, there came a slack time with them all.

On September 5th, 1601, Cecil writes, "I keep all things quiet amongst our trowpe, but if you remember what Meg Ratlyff prophesyed, she said the pack would break, but I heare all and find nothing."[1]

Lord Henry Howard, writing to the Earl of Mar on November 22nd, 1601, speaks of the nearly contemporary events of the fall of the Scottish King, of the French King, and of the stumbling of the English Queen under the weight of her robes on the first day of her Parliament. None of these seemed to have any serious effects, but Queen Elizabeth never actually sat on her throne again[2].

In his following letter, this time to Mr Edward Bruce, Lord Henry said, "I gave you notice of the diabolical triplicity,"[3] that is Cobham, Raleigh, and the Earl of Northumberland (the latter of whom had married the sister of Essex, whom he did not use well). He tried to keep up a correspondence with the Scottish King on his own account. James listened to him, but did not commit himself. Lord Henry now tells some of his tricks. "In conclusion he assured them out of such scraps as he had raked out of the alms-

[1] Camden Series, Cecil to Carew.
[2] *Secret Corr.* Hailes, Letter II.
[3] *Ibid.* Letter III.

basket, that all the partisans of the last tragedy resorted to Southampton without impeachment, by the Lieutenant's sufferance, that new practises were set on broach; that his own brother Sir Joseline Percy did ordinarily lie with him in the Tower, and that in his conscience he would, ere it were long, make an escape, or attempt a worse enterprise. These two wicked villains Cobham and Raleigh, handled the fool so cunningly." Northumberland was to tell the Queen himself, but shrank from doing so. Cobham told part of the story to Cecil, who, "finding that the practice meant against Southampton formally did pierce himself through the other side," dissuaded Northumberland from informing, and advised him "rather to merit Southampton's thankfulness by warning him of the danger imminent both to him and to the Lieutenant, with the commendation of all, than to incur the censures of the world by raking in the bowels of a man half dead, and informing upon a poor forlorn hope in extremity...Cecil sware unto me this day that he and they (Cobham and Raleigh) could never live under one apple-tree." He dwells on the miserable state of Cobham and Raleigh, "who are fain to put their heads under the girdle of him they envy most."

In his letter to the King of December 4th, Lord Henry writes evil words of Cobham and Raleigh's hypocrisy, and advises extreme caution with them[1]. They seek to scant the scope of Southampton's liberty.

Lord Henry's next letter was to Mr Edward Bruce[2], in which he said, "Cobham hath once again incensed the Queen against the lease which Southampton made years before this mishap for payment of his debts, and therefore out of compass of forfeiting. She hath pressed for it with all importunity, but it will prove good in law. These are the fruits of Cobham's overburning charity." This letter is undated, but as it refers to Northumberland's challenging Sir Francis Vere, it must have been written about the end of April 1602. Lord Henry's long-winded and obscure perorations are not always dated and may therefore be sometimes out of order—Letter VI makes little contribution to the great subjects. Letter VII, however, is dated 27th April, and refers to some whose suspicions had been aroused and were making efforts to intercept the King's

[1] Letter IV. [2] Letter V.

packet. The following letter, dated May 1st, 1602, is chiefly about Northumberland:

The man is beloved of none, followed by none, trusted by no one save his faction....The Queen repeated one month since when she was moved in his favour for a regiment, that Raleigh had made him as odious as himself, because he would not be singular. There is no secret that he revealeth not to all his own men. He came to King James upon anger and vexation at the Queen's deep hatred and invectives....He seeks to bind himself upon the future, finding Mountjoy and Southampton planted there, against whom his practices work everlastingly[1].

Letter IX from James discusses with Lord Henry Howard the report of Arabella's Stuart's change of religion to Catholic[2].

Letter X is an important one in many ways. Lord Henry Howard writes to the Earl of Mar on June 4th, 1602:

Raleigh and Cobham boast to have agreed with the Duke of Lennox to further all plots against you and Mr Bruce....Your Lordship may believe that Hell did never spew up such a couple when it cast up Cerberus and Phlegethon. They are now set on the pin of making tragedies by meddling in your affairs...since among us, longer than they follow the Queen's humour in disclaiming and disgracing honest men, their credit serves them not.... My Lord Admiral[3] the other day wished from his soul that he had but the same commission to carry the cannon to Durham House[4] that he had this time twelvemonth to Essex House to prove what sport he could make in that fellowship....I must tell your Lordship in secret betwixt you and me, in the wonted manner, without commission to advertise that Cecil's fear lest the Duke (of Lennox) or Beltrees[5] had expressed fables in strange figures could not guess at any other ground than some chimeras tendered from Cobham Raleigh and Northumberland upon their offer to comply. p. 123.

Now as all these letters are written for the inspection of King James, one has not far to seek for the cause of his arriving in England with a distrust of Cobham and Raleigh already implanted in his soul.

Lord Grey does not appear in this correspondence—he was not at Court. Chamberlain writes on May 8th, 1602: "The Lord Gray prepares to go into the Low Countries and to have the

[1] Letter VIII.
[2] He "thinks she has been very evil attended."
[3] Earl of Nottingham.
[4] Durham House, where Cobham and Raleigh met.
[5] Lord Semple of Beltrees, ambassador to Elizabeth in 1599.

command of 3 or 4 hundred horse, though whether he provide them there or here I know not." On the 17th he corrects himself: "The Lord Gray carries over neither men nor horse, but relies entirely on the States for his entertaynement." On June the 27th, "The Lord Gray hath not that command nor entertainment in the Low Countries that he propounded to himself." By the 15th of October, "The Lord Gray is newly come out of the Low Countries and rails freely on Sir Francis Vere." On 28th February, 1602–3, he says, "One Griffith a Welsh pirate.....his lands geven to the Lord Gray, to hold him up a little longer."

Now about this period Cecil confided to his friend Carew on 2nd September, 1602: "Two old friends use me unkindly, but I have covenanted with my heart not to know it, for in shewe we are great, and all my revenge shall be to heap coals on their heade." Going back to Lord Henry Howard's epistles, we find him writing to the King on 24th August, 1602[1]: "Cecil is infinitely glad that Mountjoy and Southampton are so strange to the mystery, and that all was not true which was advertised....For Mountjoy hath begun to sound...Cecil hath saved the life of the one out of respect to his affection to King James, though it was neither ancient nor very meritorious. He hath preserved the reputation and credit of the other for the same respect, though his adventure therein was not small; the rest must be wrought out with opportunity and time."

Letter XI is only flattery of the King, and Letter XII is chiefly about the relations of the King and the Queen.

Letter XIII is about the dangers of the carriage of the letters, and Letter XIV about the disagreements between King James and his wife in some respects, especially in matters of religion.

In Letter XV Howard tells the Earl of Mar, "In this place all is quietness, and hath been without disturbance, since Cobham by sickness, and Raleigh by direction were absent from Court. The Queen our sovereign was never so gallant these many years, nor so set on jollity." This must have been at the beginning of September, 1602, as the letter mentions the wound received by Sir Francis Vere.

A letter of Mr Edward Bruce to Lord Henry Howard tells us "The Earle of Southampton hath written to 30 ane earnest letter

[1] Letter XII.

for a warrant of his libertie immediatelie upon 24 (Elizabeth's) dethe, which 30 refuseth to grant without consent and authoritie of the Council, and is to write to him to deale by way of supplication to the Council, and what they advise him to do shall be performed with diligence; it is enjoyned to you by 30 to speak with 10, and if he find it expedient to enlarge him, and that his present service may be of any use in the State, he shall be content, and assents he be presentlie relieved otherways to let him stay till further resolution be taken for the best course in the business." The letter is undated, but, as it alludes to the Queen's imminent danger, it can be placed.

On January 12th, 1602–3, Cecil wrote to Raleigh a friendly letter about the ship *Fortune* under Captain Richard Gifford, which, having acted as a pirate, is to be confiscated to the Admiral. He asks Raleigh to inspect her, to fit her out again, and says that he would be willing to take the third share of the adventure in her with Cobham and Raleigh. "I pray you as much as may be conceal our adventure, at least my name above any other."[1]

On February 12th, 1602–3, Father Rivers notes that "The Earl of Southampton in the Tower is newly recovered of a dangerous disease, but in no hope of Liberty."[2] Two years and more had passed since he entered the Traitor's Gate. The Queen remembered still that disastrous day. She had four special causes of trouble at the time. Rumours of what Arabella Stuart had done, or was about to do, made her fretfully impatient; knowledge that the love of her people had gone from her grieved her; information that the Earl of Tyrone was willing to submit on the same terms that Essex had offered him (and these alone) put her in a state of Royal wrath. Was it for this she had degraded and destroyed her old favourite, to have but two years more of loss of men and money, of energy and thought, and to have no more than he could have secured so long ago? She absolutely refused to consider it. Then she was forced to consider. Her Lord Treasurer Sackville and Sir John Fortescue wrote to her[3] that her Treasury was empty, and money was needed for the Irish wars. She raged at them and their announcement so violently that they were afraid to appear in Court. What was to be done? She could not afford to fight any longer, and she

[1] *Salisb. Papers*, XII. 599, 625.
[2] Foley's *Eng. Jes.* vol. I.
[3] D.S.S.P. Eliz. CCLXXXVII. 52.

THE THIRD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, WHILE A PRISONER IN THE TOWER
(At Welbeck Abbey)

had perforce grudgingly to pardon Tyrone. The dimming of her eyesight seemed to open her inward eyes. It dawned upon her that her judgment had been wrong, that others had deceived her, that it would have been better for the country as well as for herself if she had saved her hero's life. "Our Queen doth love to sit alone in the darkness, and bewail with tears, the death of Essex," said a servant[1]. Then something mysterious happened. The Countess of Nottingham, wife of the Lord Admiral, was very ill, and begged the Queen to come and see her. The Queen came, and was much affected. She had loved her faithful subject well. But she went home and mourned, with a new passion, for Essex, and she felt at last that she too, Queen though she might be, was but a mortal. Was there some foundation for the story of the ring the Queen had given Essex[2]?

Early in March, 1602–3, Sir Robert Cecil wrote to Sir John Cary of the death of the Countess of Nottingham, and of the beginning of Elizabeth's last illness.

By the 9th of March the ambassadors and gossip-mongers of the country were spreading the great news, and all Europe listened. The Queen was ill—seriously ill—a disease without a name, or rather a combination of diseases. "I am not ill, and yet I cannot eat!" she said, bewildered. Then, she could not sleep. Her physicians might have said, as Lady Macbeth's did,

> Not so sick...
> As she is troubled with thick-coming fancies
> That keep her from her rest.

She refused to go to bed, for she thought that it was there "she saw things." She had cushions laid on the floor, and tried to rest She refused physic.

The Lord Admiral mourned bitterly for his wife and kept his chamber; but he had to leave it, for the Queen missed him and trusted him more than the others. He coaxed her to try to take a little broth; he urged her to go to bed, to take more rest. At last she yielded and went. She listened patiently and hopefully to the ministrations of the clergy, and then she slept.

[1] Strickland's *Elizabeth*, p. 765.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 772 and Lady Elizabeth Spelman's narrative, Francis Osborne's *Memoirs*.

The Lord Admiral had the courage to ask her whom she would have as her successor. She said "her throne had always been the seat of Kings, none but a King should sit in it." Already she had said to the Duke of Sully, when ambassador of Henry IV of France, "that it was well she had not married, for now her successor would govern the whole of Great Britain."[1] She lingered more than three weeks. During all that time she made no sign that she ever troubled her head about the fate of Southampton, who had so greatly loved her Essex. During ten years she had left unrewarded and unappreciated his deeds of valour; she had over-severely punished his faults; she had left his youth to be drained from him in the Tower. Never more would men call him "the *young* Earl of Southampton." Even then, she did not pardon him, together with Tyrone, for the sake of her lamented Essex, his friend. There was a time of tension in the Court and in the country, even more so in the Tower, where languishing prisoners waited feverishly for a general amnesty from a new sovereign. Cecil had taken every step necessary to keep the peace; he had in his pocket the proclamation, which James had already seen and approved; and he, like all others, waited. A ring of courtiers stood around the room; a group of weeping women knelt around the bed, in which the Queen peacefully slept through the night of the 23rd of March till the early morning of the 24th. Then, between 2 and 3 o'clock, the Angel of Death slipped through their ranks, and bore her away unconsciously from the care of the Angel of Sleep. At once everything awoke into ordered activity, while Sir Robert Carey stole out through the gates to bear secretly a blue ring from Lady Scrope to the King of Scotland, on fleet dark horses through the long north miles.

Speed says: "Queen Elizabeth's celebrations were such that future ages will somewhat stagger and doubt as to whether they were rather affectionately poetical than faithfully historical." We need not attempt even to give examples of the lamentations here.

[1] Sully's *Memoirs*, 2nd volume, 12th book, p. 80, edition 1747.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE COMING OF THE KING

THE almost universal sorrow felt for the loss of the English Queen was intensified by the fact that the inheritance did not follow on its usual lines. The people had not been given the opportunity of seeing the heir and of preparing him for the duties of their throne. James had been brought up as an alien, in an alien country, with alien customs and laws. He had nominally reigned since his infancy, in all 36 years, as heir to the Stuart Kings, before he travelled south to become heir of the Tudor sovereigns. The people he came to govern, though glad of a peaceable succession, were not, even at first, quite satisfied with him, and they became less so as he lived. Yet on the whole they looked on him more unfavourably than he deserved. If he was inclined to despotism, he was only following his Tudor predecessors. He was unwise enough to express his views of the Divine Right of Kings in print, so that all might read in cool blood claims which they would never have resisted under Henry and Elizabeth. If he did not understand English political theories, it was greatly the fault of Cecil, who, accustomed for so many years to pull the strings of government, did not attempt to teach him, but encouraged his sovereign to go and enjoy himself at the chase, that he might himself be free to continue in his old methods. If James was blamed as extravagant, he had a wife and family to keep as well as himself, and that wife was generally extravagant, and especially in her costly amusement of masques. The value of money had depreciated. He had come into England with a belief in its inexhaustible wealth, a belief increased by the enthusiastic welcome he received from his subjects in the north. His gratitude expressed itself in disproportionate liberality; his very "making of Knights," at first, was but an attempt to please those who pleased him. But he soon found, as we have seen, that the Treasury was empty, and he did not stop his extravagance. The Royal income did not

come in freely or regularly. Some scorned him for his cowardice. In that he did not resemble his Stuart ancestors, who were brave to the last. But the second strain of Tudor blood in him came to him vitiated by the feeble health and loose life of young Darnley, and the pre-natal effects of his mother's experiences hardened his whole life. There must have been some of the heroic strain left in him when he took ship and dared "the devil and the deep sea" to go and bring home his Danish bride amid the winter storms, and heroically endured the difficulties of his return. He was a patient and faithful husband to her all her life.

One really feels that his English subjects must have been repelled by his speech. The southern Scots had built up their language from the Anglian dialect; the English had built up theirs from the Saxon dialect. English people are proverbially impatient with languages they do not understand. When the Anglian dialect came to them with the rough northern accent, they must have found it as unpleasant, and as difficult to be understood at times as Dutch Even the English pronunciation of Latin was different from that of other nations.

Yet there were certain advantages in James which have not perhaps been duly appreciated, because of dwelling so much on his deficiencies. He did not come empty-handed, he came with a kingdom in his pocket, to bring union instead of wars, to add a fourth foot to a throne that had hitherto stood on three (and one of them very shaky). The unity necessarily made of the country a new thing, a Great Britain (a phrase, as noted by Miss Strickland, first used by Queen Elizabeth).

His objection to war was partly an economic one; he had to pay Elizabeth's debts for her wars. He was learned above the average, and encouraged learning, not only of classics, but of science, to which he added an entirely new interest in natural history; his delight was to collect new animals from foreign countries. He had new ideas regarding commerce and national improvement. He eagerly desired to introduce silk-growing and weaving into this country; he superintended his silkworms himself, and had a groom of the chamber (called Lecavell) to carry some about with him to study. For their sakes he imported a shipload of young mulberry trees in 1609, and we know, from

the survivors of that cargo, that Shakespeare's mulberry tree could have lived on till to-day if it had been let alone. He had wider ideas of art and literature. One ancestor was a poet, but James I is probably the only King who has tried to lead his subjects to exercise their poetic powers, as he did in his *Essaie of a Prentice in the Divine art of Poesie*. He recognised dramatists as poets, actors as artists, and both as gentlemen. He honoured Shakespeare more than Elizabeth had ever done, or ever would have done; he honoured Bacon more as a man of science than as an official; he was interested in Southampton as the survivor of a romantic and tragic "rising" (which he supposed to have been in his own favour). Hence, he advanced the young Earl and favoured him at first as much as he himself desired, and afterwards as much as Salisbury allowed. Later what good qualities he had gradually deteriorated through submitting his will to that of self-seeking favourites. The noble Catholic subject, whom the King had fondly believed he had converted, had in turn to try to teach his King, with all due deference and loyalty, that the meaning of Protestantism is religious freedom and political liberty for each individual subject, whether under King or under Pontiff. We are only concerned here with King James and his life as a background to Southampton's life. That conglomeration of incongruous elements which has been called the King's *character* remains yet to be sufficiently studied and duly estimated.

Sir Robert Carey had galloped to the north at dawn on the 24th of March in hot haste, proclaiming James twice by the way, and giving all news to his brother, Sir John Carey, Governor of Berwick. He reached Holyrood late on Saturday the 26th[1]. The King had gone to bed, but he saw the overspent courier, who brought the sign of the blue ring[2]. Next day, the 27th, the news was announced in the churches. Cecil had prepared a more dignified and suitable form of announcement by sending Sir Charles Percy and Mr Somerset to Scotland, and Sir Henry Danvers to Ireland.

A busy week followed, both in London and in Edinburgh. The earliest mention of Southampton's name occurs in a deposition

[1] D.S.S.P. James, I. 2.
[2] Dec. Acc. Treas. Ch., Aud. Off. 387, 40.

of the time, a striking example of how false news may be coined[1].

The information of John Arkinstall, trumpeter, taken before the Constables of the Town of Lewes: Upon Sunday being the 27th of March being with Richard Archer, Barker, and Anthony Word, his fellows (being all four Common Players of Interludes, shewing a Licence to authorize them) were lodging at an Inn in Hastings in Sussex, and one Holland a Schoolmaster at Rye, who served a cure under Dr Joy, at Brightling, came into their company and said that the King of Scotland had been proclaymed King at London, and after the King was proclaymed, then my Lord Beauchamp was proclaymed by one who was then at liberty, and being asked who that was, said, "by the Earl of Southampton and that he, the said Holland had a great Horse, and would have a Saddle, and spend his blood in the Lord Beauchamp's behalf."[2]

Nothing further is heard of the matter, but we know that the "Earl of Southampton" was out of that trouble.

Manningham, who, in his *Diary*, had, on February 2nd, recorded

At our Feast we had a play Twelfth Night or What you Will, much like the Comedy of Errors, like Menoechmi, but most like to that in Italian called Inganni—

noted in March 1602, after the Queen's death, that

on the occasion of the demise of a Sovereign, the Lord Mayor remains the Chief Subject in the Country; for all other officers had their appointments only during their Sovereign's lifetime[3].

He also adds:

One wishes that the Earl of Southampton and some others were pardoned and at liberty; others could be content some men of great place might pay the Queen's debts, because they gathered enough under her.

The State Papers contain relatively few notices of the events which immediately followed this great crisis. A sort of inter-

[1] MSS. of Rye Corporation. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* XIII. app. IV. p. 26. March 30th, 1603.

[2] The Statutes which remained in force till nearly a twelvemonth after the accession of James I vested the legal right in Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, the eldest son of the Earl of Hertford by Lady Catharine Grey, from whom her son inherited the Suffolk claim. See Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Chronology of History* (Cabinet Cyclopædia, 1833), p. 320.

[3] Page 18.

regnum took place in the Privy Council Registers, but we know that Cobham and Grey, and also Raleigh, signed the common letter of the Council to the King on the 26th[1]. Manningham would be pleased to know how near Southampton was to liberty. The tenth day after King James learnt of his new power, having settled a special government for Scotland in his absence and prepared the order of his going, he had written the letter which carried release[2]. And it may be noted that it was the last thing he did in his Scottish Palace; for he left that day, the 5th of April. He was at Berwick by the 6th.

The King's letter to the Nobility, Peers and Councillors was practically an order for release:

Although we are now resolved, as well in regard of the great and honest affection borne unto us by the Erle of Southampton as in respect of his good parts enabling him for ye service of us, and ye state, to extend our grace and favour towards him, whom we perceive also ye late Queene our sister, notwithstanding his fault towards her, was moved to exempt from the stroke of justice, nevertheless because we would be loathe in such a case as this wherein the peeres of our Realme have proceeded in the honorable formes used in lyke cases, to take any such course as maie not stand with our greatnes and the gravity fitt to be observed in such matters, we have thoughte meet to give you notice of our pleasure (though ye same be to be executed by our owne regal power) which is only this: Because the place is unwholesome and dolorous to hym to whose bodye and mynde we would give present comforte, intending unto him much further grace and favour, we have written to ye Lieutenant of ye Tower to deliver him out of prison presently to goe to any such place as he shall choose in or neare our cytye of London, there to carry himself in such quiet and honest forme as we knowe he will think meete in his owne discrecion, until the body of our state, now assembled, shall come unto us, att which tyme we are pleased he shall also come to our presence, for that as yt is on us that his onlie hope dependeth, soe we will reserve those workes of further favours untill the tyme hee beholdeth our owne eies, whereof as wee knowe the comforte will be great unto hym soe yt will bee contentment to us to have opportunitye to declare our estymacion of hym in anye thereto belonging wherein ye shall be doubtfull, wee have now by our letters directed our servant the Lord of Kinlosse to give you satysfaccion, whoe bothe before his coming in parte, and nowe by these our letters sent after him, is best instructed therein. We have alsoe written to our aforesaid Leiftenant for the present delivery of Sir Henry

[1] D.S.S.P. James, I. 1. *Cecil Papers*, II. 14.
[2] Nichols' *Prog.* I. 60.

Neville Knight, whom we are pleased you of your counsell shall bring with you, when you shall wayte upon us.

From our Palace at Holyrood House the 5th of April 1603,

JAMES REX

To our trustie and right well-beloved ye nobilitie and peeres of our Realme of England, and to our right trustie, and welbeloved our Councillors of State now assembled at White Hall[1].

Edward Bruce, afterwards Lord Kinloss, soon joined the Council. He and Cecil together wrote on the 9th of April that they had stayed the journey of Sir Walter Raleigh, who was conducting a great many suitors to meet the King[2].

Manningham, continuing his journal, notes:

10th April 1603, I heard that the Earl of Southampton and Sir Henry Neville were set at large *yesterday* from the Tower[3].

The 10th is the date always given, but Manningham must be correct. The King's letter probably reached the Lieutenant at night, and he set the two prisoners free at once, *con amore*. The letter to the Council would reach the Court the following morning, and the news would be formally announced. I take it that this was the occasion on which the Countess Dowager of Southampton sent her undated letter to Cecil:

Sir I colde now hate myselfe and sexe that barres me from shewing my love to you as most I wolde, yet as I can, I dessyr to assure you that no alteracion of tyme or fortune (that is far from you) can make me forget my bond to you for me and myne, who under God breathe by your menes. God give him menes, as I believe he hath mynd, to be trewely thankful to Him and you. Greve not yourselfe to hurt, for that cann not be recalled, let it be your comfort, your own trew worthyness has made you more hapy (thoughe for the present less greate). All wysse and honest give you dew commendacion for your exceeding wysdome and temper in the carage of this great cause. God I doubt not wyll blyss you and your services for that endevore and I wyll remaine whyll I have breth your trewe thankful frynd.

M. SOUTHAMPTON[4].

But, before the 10th, Southampton's conditions were improved. The death of the Queen thawed the ice in the Tower. The

[1] Add. MS. 33,051, f. 53, also 34,395, f. 46. Also Tanner MS. 75, f. 63. Stowe MS. 156, f. 45.

[2] D.S.S.P. James I, I. 10.

[3] *Diary*, p. 168.

[4] *Cecil Papers*, XCVII. 115. *Salisb. Papers*, XII. 562.

prisoner's friends flocked to him, and the Lieutenant made no difficulty. Beyond his mother and wife and little daughter Penelope, we can almost surely name some of them; Lady Rich would be there, with a choke in her voice as she thought of the last day she had met him, with her brother; Sir William Harvey, his stepfather; John Florio, the resolute, who had seen his former master through his troubles with the Danvers; Sir Henry Danvers himself, still mourning his brother's loss; the Arundels, Sir Thomas and his wife (Southampton's sister Mary); his cousin Anthony, Viscount Montague; Sir Henry Howard would have been there too, but he was off to meet the King; Rutland and his brothers, and Joscelyn Percy.

And it is possible his poet Shakespeare would peep in to see, rather than to address, him in the crowd.

One person whom we know to have eagerly presented himself, and who was not at first welcomed, was Sir John Davies, formerly Master of the Ordnance in the Tower. It may be remembered that he was one of the most trusted of Essex's followers; that, when Essex went into the city, he left the charge of the Queen's messengers to him and Sir Gelly Meyrick. They were both obedient to their leader and would not have let the Lords leave, in spite of the long delay, had not Sir Ferdinando Gorges come back, as if from Essex, and ordered their keepers to release the Lords, going back with them to the Court. Both Meyrick and Davies were condemned, and the first was executed. Davies escaped, no one knew how, but the rumour went abroad that he had purchased his own life by informing on others. As they concern Lord Southampton so closely at this time, I think it is wise to include two letters here (though written a little later) and let them speak for themselves—the one an impromptu letter, and the other written according to order. In what is apparently the earlier, Davies tells Sir Robert Cecil that he could not understand by what means a strange imputation had been laid upon him concerning the Earl of Essex's trouble[1]. He had given his friends a true account; to those prejudiced against him he desires to be silent (his innocence would appear later), rather than to revive those matters which he knew would not be pleasing to the State.

[1] Add. MS. 6177/181.

Since the Queen's death, out of the exceeding desire I had to give a true and full satisfaction unto my Lord of Southampton, whose noble favour I have so highly prized and as much sought to obtayne as it is possible within the compass of my witt and means, I made a full relation of all these passages before his coming out of the Tower. His Lordship was then content honorably to free me from all falsehood and malice towards my Lord of Essex and himself; yet intimated error and weakness in being over-credulous to Sir Walter Rawley's othes, who, the better to gaine my confession had sworn unto me that Sir Ferd. Gorges had confessed all, and alleged some particulars of our projects at Drury House, as the possessing of the Courte and the calling of a Parliament, which, as his Lordship said, Sir Ferd: Gorges denied to be his confession, but it was thrust into the book among other untruths. Since that time, upon the continuance of his Lordship's disfavour (as I tooke it) because his followers continued much to wrong me, at my coming to the Court in Mr Cromwell's house, in the Presence Chamber before my Lord Harry Howard, I besought his Lordship's favour again, made repetition of my carriage in that business and brought it to the same pass again, that his Lordship in his honor and conscience, did clear me as before from malice or falsehood, but could not take off the tax of error or weakness, which I tolde his Lordship was as heavy to me as villainy or treachery. I could with as much willingness undergo the one as the other and therefore humbly besought him better to esteem my judgment and discretion, than to think I could be so overtaken, for, it appeared to be his true confession by the testimony of my Lord Keeper, my Lord Treasurer, my Lord Admirall and your Honour. His Lordship, upon the naming of my Lord Admirall and yourself, was pleased to come unto this honorable conclusion, that if the confession which is published to be taken on the 16th February, be testified by your Honors to be Sir Ferd. Gorges' true confession, that then his Lordship would acquit me of all and be content no less worthily to esteeme me than he had formerly donne, which condition I also accepted, and therefore humbly beseech you (by the same honor whereby you nobly saved my life) justly to determine this controversie, the matter being absolutely referred to my Lord Admirall and yourself.

So I ever reste your Honors most faithful servant,

J. Davis.

[Undated.]

The other, from Sir John Davies to *Lord Cecil*, runs:

According unto your Lordship's direction, I wrote unto you, signifying what had passed from my Lord of Southampton, how farre his Lordship has charged me, yet was honorably pleased to remove that tax likewise, if so be my Lord Admirall and your Lordship advertised him that that *was* Sir Ferd. Gorges' *true* confession. How much I have thought to obtayne

his most noble favour, his Lordship can best witness, having used all the meanes that I could possibly devise.

Since it is intimated unto me, that his Lordship should be informed, that I should applie myself to some, between whom and his Lordship there is not so much kindness as were to be wished—to lose the favour or friendship of any noble and worthy gentleman were but small discretion in me, considering the strange practises for my disgrace that have binne of late against me, but to make any particular donation of my service to any man living, I must call God to witness I never have done, but only to your Lordship, knowing that the obligation whereby your Lordship hath bounde me is no less than my life, which is more than I hope ever to receive from any man againe, so that if my Lord of Southampton be assured to your Lordship he cannot make any doute but that I must ever be faithful to him. Therefore I humbly beseeche your Lordship to be the Mediator for his noble favour, which I will never faill honestly to deserve by so worthy servyce as shall be in my power to performe. So with my prayers for your Lordship's continual increase in honor and happinesse I ever rest your Lordship's faithful servant

J. DAVIS[1].

Another letter was addressed directly to Southampton by a man whom no one would expect to have done so—the writer of *The Declaration of the practises and treasons attempted and committed by Robert, late Earl of Essex and his complices.* This letter runs:

It may please your Lordship I would have been very gladd to have presented my humble service to your Lordship by my attendance, if I could have foreseene that it should not have been unpleasing to you. And therefore because I would commit noe errour, I choose to write, assuring your Lordship (how credible soever it may seeme to you at first) yet it is as true a thinge that God Knoweth, that this great change hath wrought in me noe other change towards your Lordship than this, that I may safely bee nowe that which I was truly before. And soe craving noe other pardon than for troubling you with this letter, I doe not now begin, but continue to be your Lordship's humble and much devoted

FRANCIS BACON[2].

On the 12th of April Chamberlain said that "John Davis was sworn the King's man, and Neville restored to title and fortune."

On the 13th Manningham wrote:

The Earl of Southampton must present himself with the nobles, and Sir Henry Neville with the Councillors, like either shall be one of their ranks[3].

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CII. 171.
[2] Add. MS. 5505, f. 23b.
[3] *Diary*, p. 171.

Many others noticed this arrangement.

A letter preserved at Hatfield was written by Southampton to Sir Robert Cecil. It is sealed with his own seal, bearing the four falcons but has neither date nor address. It must have been before Cecil was ennobled.

Sir I am very sorry you should have any occasion to think unkindly of Mr Crofts, but being assured that what passed from him to discontent you proceeded rather from his present grief than out of any want of respect, I beseeche you, lett me entreat you to banish the memory of it, and for my sake to procure him by your meanes the order of Knighthood, for which I shall account myself exceedingly behouldyng to you to whom I will ever remayne most assured.

H. SOUTHAMPTON[1].

Metcalfe's *Book of Knights* enters Sir Herbert Croft on 7th May, 1603, Sir James Croft on 23rd July, 1603, Sir Henry Croftes on 22nd January, 1610. I do not know which of these might be the "Mr Crofts" whom Southampton so earnestly supported.

A Privy Seal granted on May 31st was probably the outcome of the King's interest in Southampton[2]. Sir Thomas Heneage, the second husband of the Countess Dowager of Southampton, had left her sole executrix, but had left his books in disorder and his payments in arrears. Queen Elizabeth had been severe upon her, and "the injurious son-in-law" did not mend matters. Hence the King to Sir Thomas Egerton:

Whereas Sir Thomas Henneage Knight, late Treasurer of the Chamber, stood indebted to our late dear sister in divers somes of money amountyng in the whole to the some of thirteen thousand and three hundred pounds, and had made an arrangement with Sir Moyle Finch who had married his sole daughter and heir that if he survived and should pay six hundred pounds a year for thirteen years, he should have all his farms houses and lands, so as to pay the Queen's debt first, and if any were over Sir Thomas's own debts. Since which time Sir Thomas is dead and by his last will constituted the Lady Mary, Countess of Southampton, his sole and only executrix. And as our late sister considering her need of money would not accept the payment of her debt by six hundred pounds yearely commanded the said Lady Mary to make payment of the said debt owing by Sir Thomas with all convenient expedition, which the said Lady Mary dutifully did take order for the speedy payment of the said debt of thirteen thousand

[1] *Cecil Papers*, c. 17. [2] Privy Seal 1, James I, 27th May, 1603.

three hundred pounds, and thereupon hath payd the same so as there was not anything remayning due unto our said sister, she willed that the sayd Lady Mary should receyve £600 paid by the sayd Moyle Finch into the receipt for so long time as the said is payable, to be employed by her either in the payment of Sir Thomas' debts or at his will and pleasure by her letters Privy Seal dated at Nonesuch 27th day of August 41 Eliz., that she should always pay this sum to Lady Mary or her assigns, and if Sir Moyle Finch did not pay the treasurer to take means to compel him. Wee therefore give you warrant this is to be continued. Humble suit hath been made by the said Lady Mary for warrant and command that the said payments from tyme to tyme be paid over to her or her assigns. Given under our hand 27th May in the first year of our reign.

Greenwich.

Among the New Year "Free Giftes out of the Exchequer" the first is "to Mary the Countess of Southampton £600."[1]

It has not been recorded where, after his release, Southampton went first, as he had no *home*. He might have stayed with his mother at the Savoy, or with his sister at Arundel House, or he might have gone, with sad memories, to Drury House, where Sir Charles Danvers used to live. It is not likely that his wife would have kept up a separate establishment during his imprisonment. It must have taken a considerable time to get his affairs into practical order, to supply suitable clothing, and to regain health sufficient to allow him to undertake a long and exciting journey. But, as John Barbour begins,

> O Fredome is a noble thing,
> It maketh man to have likyng.

The King was at Newcastle on the day Southampton was liberated[2]. He passed through York, Worksop, Beauvoir Castle, etc. On Monday the 25th the King fell and hurt his arm, and had to ride back to Sir John Harington's for treatment. On Wednesday the 27th he reached Huntingdon, where the Bailiff gave him the sword of State. Southampton had come to meet him there, and James gave him the sword to bear before him. The King was the guest of Sir Oliver Cromwell, who gave him the greatest entertainment he had received during his journey. Had these three men but been able to look into the glass of Time and to see the relations their sons would bear to each other, they would have been astonished

[1] Nichols' *Prog. James I.* [2] *Ibid.* p. 52

and incredulous. The royal party thence went to Sir Robert Cecil's at Theobalds, where they stayed four days. The great officers of State, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Treasurer, and the old servants of Queen Elizabeth, having buried their former mistress, came thither to meet their new master. He went on the 7th of May to London, was the guest of Lord Thomas Howard at the Charter House, and thence went to the Tower on the 11th. The King had been making knights all the way, and be began to make lords on the 13th. Cecil was the first of this rank, as Baron of Essenden. On the 16th James granted Southampton a special pardon[1], with restitution in blood to him and his heirs, and restitution of titles, lands and property of all kinds.

The Venetian ambassador's reports of this period are worth study (checking the dates into Old Style). He says:

> On his journey the King has destined to great rewards the Earl of Southampton, Sir Henry Neville, and others. He has received the 12-year-old son of the Earl of Essex in his arms and kissed him, openly and loudly declaring he was the son of the most noble Knight England had ever produced. The Coronation has been put off till the King's name day; till then the King will not make his entry into London, only taking possession of the Tower, and awaits the Queen to save the expense of a double coronation[2].

Dudley Carleton wrote to Chamberlain that

> the plague spread rapidly in London....Sonday last at Windsor the King gave the order of the Garter to Prince Henry, the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Mar, the Earls of Southampton and Pembroke[3].

The Venetian added that the King had invested Southampton with his own hand with great pomp, and had added a post worth 6000 crowns a year. He no doubt refers to the Captaincy of the Isle of Wight and the Stewardship of the Royal Demesnes on the Island, in reversion after Lord Hunsdon[4]. He was also made Custos Rotulorum of Hampshire.

Cecil had advised the King that he should, in the first instance, enter the Kingdom alone, as the great ladies and the Queen's servants could not come to greet his Queen until after the funeral of Elizabeth. That performed on the 28th of April, amid universal

[1] D.S.S.P. James, I. 84. Patent Rolls, 1 James, pt. 2. Ind. Wt. Bk. p. 3.
[2] *Venetian Papers*, 1603, May 15th, vol. x. (40–66), p. 81.
[3] D S.S.P. James, II. 40.
[4] *Ibid.* Patent Rolls, 14, d.

mourning, the ladies were free. The Queen of Scotland was somewhat delayed by arrangements concerning her younger children; but the King went out to meet her at Sir George Fermor's at Easton Neston on June 27th. Among the great ladies who there kissed Queen Anne's hand was "My Lady of Southampton."[1]

The Court returned to Windsor on Thursday the 30th of June. Carleton wrote thence on the 3rd of July:

The Lords of Southampton and Grey, the first night the Queen came hither, renewed old quarrels, and fell flatly out in her presence. She was in discourse with my Lord of Southampton, touching the Lord of Essex's action, and wondered, as she said, that so many great men did so little for themselves; to which Lord Southampton answered, that the Queen being made a party against them, they were forced to yield; but if that course had not been taken, there was none of their private enemies, with whom only their quarrel was, that *durst* have opposed themselves. This being overheard by Lord Grey, he would maintain the contrary party durst have done much more than they, upon which he had the lie at him. The Queen bade them remember where they were, and soon after sent them to their lodgings, to which they were committed with guards upon them. The next day they were brought out and heard before the Council, and condemned to the Tower. But soon after the King sent for them, and taking the quarrel upon him, and the wrong and disgrace done to her Majesty, and not exchanged between them, so forgave it to make them friends, which was accordingly effected and they set at liberty[2].

The date of this incident is significant. Arthur Wilson's *History of Great Britain* begins with the reign of James. He says[3]:

The Earl of Southampton, covered long with the ashes of great Essex his ruins, was sent for from the Tower and the King looked on him with a smiling countenance; though displeasing haply to the new Baron of Essendon Robert Cecil, yet it was much more so to the Lords of Cobham and Grey, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who were forbidden their attendance. This damp upon them, being spirits full of acrimony, made them break into murmurs, then into conspiracy with two Romish Priests.

Wilson describes their conspiracy, arrest, and trial as "strong proofs, and weak denials...much muddy water." Raleigh's chief accuser was Lord Cobham, who afterwards withdrew his charge and then reaffirmed it.

[1] *Lady Anne Clifford's Diary*, Knole MS. Nichols' *Prog. James I*, p. 173.
[2] Also Nichols' *Prog.* p. 187.
[3] *History*, p. 4.

Lodge says in his *Life of Cecil*:

> Raleigh is known to have presented a memorial to James on his arrival in England charging Cecil with the ruin of Essex, and his father with the murder of Queen Mary of Scots[1].

If this be true, it was a very unwise step, for of course Cecil would see that memorial and be moved thereby. Raleigh also was known to have used very imprudent words about the King. "The Pack" was at last and definitively "broken up."

The first of James's personal proclamations was for the apprehension of William and Patrick Ruthven, brothers of the Earl of Gowry. The second was for the capture of Anthony Copley, "younger brother of one Copley, that is lately returned from foreign parts into this country, and hath dealt with some to be of a conspiracie to use some violence upon our person, etc." Anthony Copley was the recusant, minor poet, and essayist, who approved of toleration in religion, but wanted no papal rule in England. The Court was shortly afterwards startled by the news of the arrest of Lord Grey on the 12th of July. Sir Walter Raleigh, examined on the 14th, was sent to the Tower on the 17th; Lord Cobham, George Brooke his brother, and Anthony Copley joined him; Griffin, Griffith, or Gervase Markham was looked for.

The Venetian ambassador says:

> When Anthony Copley was arrested he betrayed a plot of twelve gentlemen to kill the King and some of the Council; among these were Lords Grey and Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, George Brooke, Griffen Markham, and the two priests Watson and Clarke[2].

The behaviour of Raleigh was very unexpected[3]. The Lieutenant of the Tower told Cecil he had never seen any prisoner so distracted as he. He protested his innocence loudly, and yet in despair at his disgrace, he tried to commit suicide by stabbing himself to the heart. He did not go deep enough, so survived to endure the humiliations he strove to escape.

On the 2nd of July the King had kept the feast of the Garter at Windsor for the installation of the new knights, Prince Henry,

[1] *Illustrations of History*, II. 4.

[2] *Venetian Papers*, X. 95, 101. Harl. MS. 293.

[3] *Cecil Papers*, CI. 85, etc. *Winwood Papers*, II. 8 and II. 10. Edward's *Life of Raleigh*, I. 375.

the Duke of Lennox, and the Earls of Southampton, Mar, and Pembroke[1].

On the 21st of July, in the Great Hall at Hampton Court, there was a creation of peers, and Henry Wriothesley was created anew Earl of Southampton and Baron of Titchfield; Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was created Earl of Devonshire; Sir Henry Danvers, Lord Danvers of Dauntsey. On the 23rd Francis Bacon was knighted, after eager efforts to win the honour; on the 24th was issued a general pardon, with certain exclusions; on the 25th, the usual procession through the city being omitted because of the plague, the King and Queen were crowned at Westminster on the Stone of Destiny from Scone. The Earl of Tyrone, now willing to submit, had been brought over by Lord Mountjoy, who had followed out successfully the thwarted plans of his friend Essex. Probably it was in part through his connection with the Earl of Southampton that Sir William Harvey was remembered in July 1603. Among the Privy Signet Bills for that month is found:

The Office of Remembrancer of the First Fruits and Tenths in His Majesties Exchequer with the usual fees and allowances thereunto belonging to Sir William Harvey Knight, one of his Highness' gentlemen Pensioners during his Life, after the decease of Sir Edward Stafford Knight. (Procured by Sir Thomas Lake at the suit of Mr Murray, Laird of Tullibardine. Fee 6/8.)

One little note on Southampton's affairs has been preserved by Mr Halliwell Phillipps:

A conveyance of Land by the Earl of Southampton of property at Romsey, near Southampton[2].

He probably needed ready money so sorely that he had to realise what he could lay his hands upon. Later the King seems to have refunded that[3]. One letter of the Venetian ambassador should have been mentioned, as it throws some light upon Southampton's religious feelings. He says:

Queen Anne has secretly become a Catholic, though she goes to the heretical church with her husband. She insists on educating her daughter as a Catholic, and the King keeps the Prince from her, as much as he can. The King has made himself the Head of the Anglican Church, and exacts

[1] Ashmole, *List of Garters*, p. 53.
[2] Hall. Phill. Short List, etc., p. 10, no. 6.
[3] D.S.S.P. James, IX. Docquet Oct. 28th, 1604, and X. 63.

the oath. Old Howard, who has lately been appointed to the Council, and Southampton, who were both Catholics, declare that God has touched their hearts, and that the example of the King has more weight with them than the disputes of Theologians. They have become Protestants, and go to Church in the train of the King. The Plague is increasing, it is unusually hot[1].

The Royal Progress began on the 10th of August from Hampton Court by Loseley, Farnham, and Basing to Hurstbourne, on the 20th and 21st to Salisbury, and on the 29th and 30th to Wilton, with some days at Woodstock (11th to 15th September), then back to Basing[2].

On August 20th the King wrote to Lord Treasurer Buckhurst[3]:

Having directed you to consider a suit moved unto me by the Earl of Southampton, for the farming of the Import on Sweet Wines coming into this country, at the rent of £6000, and received answer that you knew of no inconvenience likely to arise to us by such a grant: We require you to order the demise of the said impost for a terme of years, with such clauses and covenants as in the demise to the late Earls of Leicester and Essex, or with such other as you think meet[4]. [Draft.]

On the 22nd this grant was duly made out to him in the usual form. Strange that what the Queen would not renew to Essex in 1600, but kept in her own hands, should be given by her successor to Essex's friend!

On the 6th of October the King and Queen were back at Wilton, and seem to have spent their time between Wilton, Basing, and Winchester until the beginning of December[5]. On the 10th of October Southampton was made Master of the Queen's Game and Keeper of her Forests, and on December 10th Master of the King's Game in Hampshire[6].

Meanwhile Raleigh was examined again, before Lord Henry Howard, Lord Wotton and the virulent Sir Edward Coke, on the 14th August. The charges against him were urged to the point of treason. Thereupon he wrote a pitiful letter to the Earls of Southampton, Suffolk, and Devonshire[7], declaring his innocence of the

[1] *Venetian Papers*, x. par. 66.
[2] Nichols' *Prog.* p. 250.
[3] D.S.S.P. Addenda James, xxxv. 35.
[4] D.S.S.P. James, III. Docquet.
[5] *Ibid.* James, IV. 13.
[6] *Ibid.* James, V. Docquet.
[7] *Raleigh's Works*, ed. Birch, II. 379.

two main points, "that he had been offered money as a bribe, and that he was privy to Lord Cobham's Spanish Journey."

He implored their Lordships

not to leave me to the cruelty of the Laws of England....There is no glory in shedding innocent blood....I know your Lordships have a reputation of conscience, as well as of Industry....I know the King is too merciful &c. Your Lordships' humble and miserable suitor,

WALTER RALEIGH.

I have not found any allusion to their reply. Grey did not write to Southampton, but did so repeatedly to Cecil, and sometimes directly to the King himself. It was decided they should be tried at Winchester. In preparation for that there was a warrant signed for "green cloth to be used for the Arraynement of Lord Graie, Lord Cobham, George Brooke, and Sir Walter Raleigh, *apud Civitat. Winton*, Baize and hangings."[1]

The confessions of Brooke and Raleigh were taken at Winchester on November 25th, 1603. Raleigh unnecessarily gave information against Cobham which so enraged his fellow-prisoner that he charged Raleigh with a number of misdeeds. He afterwards confessed that he had not spoken the truth in his statement, but again confirmed what he had said. There were two branches of the plot, which had been planned to be carried out on June 24th[2] (curiously near the last quarrel between Grey and Southampton). Sir G. Markham had advised them to work it by night, and to remember that the King was not King till he was crowned. Lord Grey meant to have secured a body of men, ostensibly to lead to the Low Countries; but he really meant to use them for this design. He expressed his desire to his companions that afterwards he should be made Earl Marshal of England and Master of the Horse. Watson and the priests devised a scheme which was called the Bye Plot. Raleigh's was called the Main Plot "to kill the King and all his Cubs." Whether Raleigh had been in earnest or not, he had been extremely imprudent, and he now learned how charges can multiply against a man at the bar. The Earl of Southampton and his cousin Lord Montague were both on the jury for trying Cobham and Grey. All the conspirators were found guilty

[1] Wardrobe Accounts Audit Office 2345/32.
[2] Add. MS. 34,218, f. 226.

on 7th of December. The priests were executed, with George Brooke, who died accusing his brother and Raleigh. He seems also to have accused his brother-in-law Cecil, since the latter wrote to Shrewsbury[1] on the 23rd December "of the base and viperous accusation before he died"; but this, of course, was not believed. Sir John Harington did what he could to help his cousin, G. Markham. Harington wrote, "It is almost incredible with what bitter speeches and execrations Raleigh was exclaimed upon, all the way he went through London and the towns, which general hatred of the people would be to me more bitter than death."[2]

The other three stood on the scaffold expecting death, when the King's clemency prevailed, and, with a dramatic surprise, their prayers in preparation for death were changed into thanks for a prolongation of life. They were not pardoned, however, and were all taken back to the Tower.

During the course of these proceedings Southampton had written on November 11th from Wilton to Julius Caesar, to hasten the pardon of Captain Edward Thynne[3].

We may turn now to a pleasanter record. Very shortly after the King arrived in the metropolis, while he was yet in the Tower, he planned a reformation in the theatre. He had large views of the prerogatives of Kings and a liberal interest in the players' art; so he took away from noblemen their power of licensing their servants as players, reserving all such power for himself and the members of the Royal Family. In choosing his own royal company he was apparently tied by some old promise made to Laurence Fletcher, chief of the English comedians who used to come to Scotland, for whose sake he had fought the ministers of Edinburgh, coerced the burghers of Aberdeen, and threatened Elizabeth's agent, that if the rumour was true that Fletcher had been hanged in England, he, the King, would hang the English agent in Edinburgh[4]. The rumour was not true. This promise performed, he chose the Lord Chamberlain's company for his own, partly to please Southampton, no doubt, who knew them, and partly to please himself. For were they not the company who included a real poet, who could satisfy all the

[1] Nich. *Prog.* p. 300. [2] Harington's *Brief Notes and Remembrances.*
[3] Add. MS. 12,506, ff. 107, 121.
[4] See my *Burbage, and Shakespeare's Stage,* pp. 99 and 253.

canons of his poetic criticism? It may not have been noted that James put Shakespeare's name above that of Burbage, or the other members of the company. Was he not a *protégé* of the Earl of Southampton? So there was here something of the nature of a compliment to the patron who, on the 16th of May, had been restored in blood and in title.

On the 17th of May James signed the Privy Seal for the patent of "the King's Players" (the patent itself was drawn up on the 19th). Anyone may read it clearly, in the revolving frame in the Museum of the Record Office—"Pro Laurentio Fletcher, Willielmo Shakespeare, et aliis," to give them authority to play comedies and tragedies, etc.,

> as well for our Solace and Pleasure as publicly to their best commoditie,

within any convenient place in any University, Town, or Borough, commanding all officers not only to permit them, but to aid and assist them,

> also what further favour you shall shewe to these our servants for our sake, we shall take it kindly at your hands.

As his Majesty's Servants, they took rank with the Grooms of the Chamber without fee. They were paid when they performed at Court, or elsewhere, for the King. The Cecil Papers copy, with the Great Seal, dated the 19th, contains the names Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillipps, John Hemings, Henry Condell, and the others; and Augustine Phillipps had the last vestige of the discredit he had suffered, by being called in question over the Percy performance, washed away. The other companies were licensed by the Queen and Prince. This altered the whole status of "the quality," made playing a profession, and gave its members new opportunities of development. Unfortunately the plague somewhat spoiled the prospects of their first year, though they probably toured through the country. The King was in Wilton by December. John Hemings, one of his Majesty's Players, received "a warrant on the 3rd December 1603, for the payment of the expenses of himself and the rest of his company coming from Mortlake and presenting one play before the King on the 2nd December at the Court at Wilton £30."[1] So we know

[1] See my *Burbage, and Shakespeare's Stage*, pp. 99 and 253.

where the King, the Earl of Southampton, and his poet Shakespeare were at that date. The King allowed them the payment of three plays for one, reckoning the distance. They also played at Hampton Court after their return, on St Stephen's day at night, St John's day at night, and Innocents' day, probably performing on one of these occasions "The fair maid of Bristol," entered at Stationers' Hall 8th February 1604–5.

A good many notices, which at the time could not be supposed likely to have any relation to Southampton, might have been inserted here; but I must content myself with one—a letter from Wildgoose and Lennard, reporting that Mr Annesley, of Lee in Kent, was unfit to manage his own affairs, and begging to have charge of him, on 18th October, 1603[1]. Concerning this, his daughter wrote to Cecil:

I most humbly thank you for the sundry letters that it hath pleased you to direct unto gentlemen of worship in these parts, requesting them to take into their custodies the person and estate of my poor aged and daily dying father: But that course so honorable and good for all parties, intended by your Lo., will by no means satisfy Sr John Willgosse, nor any course else, unless he may have him begged for a Lunatic, whose many years service to our late dread Sovereign Mistress and native country deserved a better agnomination, than at his last gasp to be recorded and registered a Lunatic, yet find no means to avoid so great an infamy and endless blemish to us and our posterity, unless it shall please your Lo. of your honourable disposition, if he must needs be accompted a Lunatic, to bestow him upon Sir James Croft, who out of the love he bare unto him in his more happier days, and for the good he wisheth unto us his children, is contented upon entreaty to undergo the burden and care of him and his estate, without intendment to make any one penny benefit to himself by any goods of his, or ought that may descend to us his children, as also to prevent any record of Lunacy that may be procured hereafter. Lewsham 23 October 1603.

CORDELL ANNESLEY (of Lee)[2].

This good daughter, who thus brought her father to rest in peace, after the Dowager Countess of Southampton passed away, married Sir William Harvey, Southampton's step-father.

The printers were busy till the end of 1603. Funeral elegies on the great Eliza were poured forth, good and bad. Adulatory verses to welcome the new Sovereign were hastily indited. Some tried to

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CI. 163.

[2] *Ibid.* CLXXXVII. 119.

combine both and succeeded in neither. Some thought more of Southampton. The writer of "a mournful dittie entituled Elizabeth's Losse" invited

> You poets all, brave Shakspere, Jonson, Greene,
> Bestowe your time to write for England's Queene;
> Lament, lament, lament you English Peeres,
> Lament your losse possest so many yeares,
> Return your songs and Sonnets and your laies
> To set forth Sweet Elizabetha's praise[1].

No, Shakespeare had no thought of pretending to lament the hard jailor of "The Lord of his Love." In dignified silence he let the new King come as he had let the old Queen go. This silence was noted. He did not care. Chettle, in his *England's Mourning Garment*, entreats him:

> Nor doth the silver-tongued Melicert
> Drop from his honied muse one sable teare
> To mourn her death who graced his desert,
> And to his laies opened her Royal eare.
> Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth
> And sing her rape, done by that Tarquin, Death!

Shakespeare was deaf even to that appeal. If he wrote anything in connection with this subject, it did not see the light for years. Many think that the 107th Sonnet was his welcome to Southampton. I have had my doubts of it; the first half does not follow Shakespeare's usual methods of construction, the close falls beneath his level. Yet, since it has been regarded as Shakespeare's address to Southampton, it ought to be included here.

CVII.

> Not mine own fears, nor the prophetic soul
> Of the wide world, dreaming on things to come,
> Can yet the lease of my true love control,
> Suppos'd as forfeit to a confin'd doom.
> The mortal moon hath her eclipse endur'd,
> And the sad augurs mock their own presage;
> Incertainties now crown themselves assur'd,
> And peace proclaims olives of endless age.
> Now with the drops of this most balmy time
> My love looks fresh, and Death to me subscribes,

[1] Greene was dead, but the rhyme was too useful to lose.

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speare were at that date. The King allowed the
of three plays for one, reckoning the distance.
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and Lennard, reporting that Mr ... n flir
unfit to manage his own affairs, ... sing
on 18th October, 1603[1]. Co ... oth bring.
Cecil: ... av'n, for I wil
... e than can be ca

I most humbly thank you ... ut prepare thee,
to direct unto gentlemen o ... now thereby thou ha
into their custodies the ... *s we seeme goodnesse past*
father: But that course ... *ion's* water cooles the heate
your Lo., will by no ... *uth* and *greatness* oft too much d
unless he may have ... *nes* are coy and cannot brooke the
our late dread S ... *such heate* causeth, for it seems unswe
agnomination, t ... *ret* thy woorth doth wrest from what s
yet find no me ... Thereto opposed by unseene violence,
our posterit ... knowledgment of what in thee is deere
if he must ... That is, the glory of much *excellence*
Croft, w ... Fitt for the use of high'st *preheminence*.
for the ... The World is in the wane, and worthy men
unde ... Have not therein in each place residence:
ma ... Such as are worthy should be cherisht then
n ... And being overthrown, rais'd up agen.

He also wrote a Sonnet "To the right noble and
Earl of Southampton."

Welcome to shore, unhappie-Happie Lord
From the deep seas of danger and distress
Where, like thou wast to be thrown overbo
In every storm of discontentednesse.
O living death to die when others please!
O dying life to live how others will;
Such was thy case (deere Lord), such as thi
O Hell on earth, can Hell more vex the

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is Hell being harrowed by his substitute
at harrowed Hell, thou art brought forth from thence
earthly Heaven absolute
is sweetnesse, see his excellence
well wotts true Love that soule must wound
aven's grace and His doth so abound.

f Penelope, Lady Rich, of Lord
broke,
nich thou wast made strange.

ubles and his own disgrace, the Earl
out "bringing those (men, I cannot call
eir wicked action."[1]
ly poet who now wrote the noblest praise of

o Henry Wriothesley, Earle of Southampton.

Non fert ullum ictum illæsa fœlicitas

He who hath neuer warr'd with miserye,
  Nor euer tugg'd with Fortune & distresse,
Hath had n'occasion, nor no field to trie
  The strength and forces of his worthinesse:
Those parts of iudgement which felicitie
  Keepes as conceal'd, affliction must expresse;
    And onely men shew their abilities,
    And what they are, in their extremities.

The world had neuer taken so full note
  Of what thou art, hadst thou not beene undone;
And onely thy affliction hath begot
  More fame, then thy best fortunes could haue done;
For euer, by aduersitie are wrought
  The greatest workes of admiration.
    And all the faire examples of renowne
    Out of distresse and miserie are growne.

Mutius the fire, the tortures *Regulus*,
  Did make the miracles of faith and zeale,
Exile renown'd, and grac'd *Rutilius*;
  Imprisonment and poyson did reueale

[1] *Salisbury Papers*, XI. 40. *Cecil Papers*, LXXVI. 51.

The worth of *Socrates*; *Fabritius'*
  Pouertie did grace that Common-weale
    More than all *Syllaes* riches, got with strife;
    And *Catoes* death did vie with *Cæsars* life.

Not to b'unhappy is unhappynesse;
  And misery not t'haue knowne miserie:
For the best way unto discretion, is
  The way that leades us by adversitie.
And men are better shew'd what is amisse,
  By th'expert finger of calamitie,
    Then they can be with all that Fortune brings;
    Who neuer shewes them the true face of things.

How could we know that thou could'st haue indur'd
  With a reposed cheere, wrong and disgrace;
And with a heart and countenance assur'd
  Have lookt sterne death and horror in the face?
How should we know thy soule had beene secur'd
  In honest counsels and in way unbase!
    Hadst thou not stood to shew us what thou wert,
    By thy affliction, that discri'd thy heart.

It is not but the tempest that doth show
  The Sea-man's cunning; but the field that tries
The Captaines courage: and we come to know
  Best what men are, in their worst ieoperdies:
For lo, how many haue we seene to grow
  To high renown from lowest miseries,
    Out of the hands of death, and many a one
    T'have been undone, had they not beene undone.

He that indures for what his conscience knowes
  Not to be ill, doth from a patience hie
Looke onely on the cause whereto he owes
  Those sufferings, not on his miserie:
The more h'endures, the more his glory growes,
  Which never growes from imbecillitie:
    Onely the best compos'd and worthiest harts
    God sets to act the hard'st and constant'st parts.

SAMUEL DANIEL[1].

[1] From *Certaine Epistles*, 1601–3.

CHAPTER XIX

FESTIVITIES, 1604–5

THE King's Own Players performed at Hampton Court on New Year's day at night, but we do not know the name of the play[1].

The first year of United Britain was signalised by a new form of Court extravagance, which would have scandalised Queen Elizabeth. Costly masques were produced, in which the characters, hitherto reserved for men, were played by women performers, consisting of the noblest ladies (and the Queen, of all ladies in the land, acted the leading character). A new style of writing was necessary for these, with a new style of dressing. The courtiers crowded to see—some to admire, some to criticise. Southampton certainly saw the masques; we may wonder what he and Shakespeare thought of them[2].

On the 11th of January Southampton had his summons to Parliament duly forwarded; on the 12th there was a conference regarding toleration in religion.

On the 18th of January the King's Players had a warrant for the payment of £53 for their performances; and what was doubtless more welcome to them, as being unexpected, was a free gift from the King, on the 8th of February, of £30[3] to help towards their maintenance while prohibited from playing publicly because of the plague.

The King left Hampton Court early in February for Whitehall, proceeding thence to Royston and Newmarket. His players seem to have played at Whitehall, for a warrant was granted on the 28th of February for the plays performed before his Majesty, the one on Candlemas day at night, the other on Shrove Sunday at night[4]. Southampton duly sat in the Parliament of 1604, where the first

[1] Dec. Acc. Treas. Ch., Audit Off. 388, 41.
[2] Nich. *Prog.* p. 424.
[3] Audit Off., 388, 41.
[4] Dec. Acc. Treas. Ch., Pipe Off. 542

bills passed were for the restitution of himself in blood, as well as of the children of the Earl of Essex[1]. But he did not sit through the session. The Lord Chamberlain announced to the House of Lords that the Earls of Southampton and Pembroke were to be excused, having been commanded to attend the King to Royston. On the 12th of March the King, Queen, and Prince came to their palace in the Tower, prepared to complete the proper ceremonies of a coronation by a procession through the city. On the 13th of March the King created Lord Henry Howard Earl of Northampton, and Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset. The Earl of Southampton was in the next day's procession, and his mother (not his wife, who was otherwise engaged).

Howes' *Chronicle* and Nichols' *Progresses* give accounts of the seven triumphal arches on the route, of the devices and masques prepared by Ben Jonson, Drayton, Webster, Dekker, Daniel, and others. Gilbert Dugdale's descriptions state that

> King James gave not only to those worthy of honour, but to the mean gave grace, as taking unto him the Lord Chamberlain's servants, now the King's Actors, the Queen taking to her the Earl of Worcester's servants that are now her Actors, and the Prince their son Henry took to him the Earl of Nottingham's servants, who are now his Actors, so that of Lord's servants they have become the servants of the King, Queen and Prince.... The prisoners in the Tower, Cobham, Grey, Raleigh, were removed to other prisons for the time[2].

The Players, as Royal Servants, were in the Procession. This has been disputed. But the Lord Chamberlain's books[3] are clear about it, mentioning the quantity allowed for the cloth of their garments, the occasion of its being used, and the names of the wearers. In great dashing writing, heading the list of the King's Players, is the name of "William Shakespeare," spelt correctly.

Foley tells us that on the 24th of the month (probably March) "there was a solemn tilting before Whitehall, the Earls of Cumberland and Southampton with the greatest commendation."[4]

On April 1st, 1604, Southampton wrote to Sir Julius Caesar, Master of Requests, about a ship left at Portsmouth by a Frenchman, which had been seized by his Deputy. His action had now been

[1] *Lords Journals*, II. 264–266.
[2] Nichols' *Prog.* p. 413.
[3] Lord Chamb. Books, II. 4 (5).
[4] Foley's *Eng. Jes.* I. 59.

called into question. "I thought that when I was made Vice-Admirall by the Admirall he had given me somewhat. I now find that without my privity such courses are taken, that I shall hold a thing in name and shew only." If the Frenchmen who now claim it shew no cause for their claim, he desires "my Deputy should suffer neither loss nor disgrace, neither any dishonour." He suggests that both parties should be heard before Caesar.

On the 10th of April Southampton recommended a soldier to Sir Julius Caesar who had been wounded and maimed in service in Elizabeth's time, and required that the help should be continued. On the same day from the Court he writes in favour of a poor man, called Evans. He also asks Sir Julius Caesar to help Thomas Jones, who has lost money in a case with Clement Greene; Greene had three small ships laden with commodities for the Isle of Wight, but the Admiralty attached the same[1].

Thomas Whitefield, who was of a troublesome and contentious disposition, had commenced a suit against Henry Needler in his Majesty's Court at Whitehall. Southampton asks Sir Julius Caesar to attend to it, on May 17th, 1604.

A year after Southampton's liberation, his wife brought him a second daughter[2]. Doubtless there was some disappointment in this, as he wished this time for a son and heir. But the child was welcomed with honour. The Queen stood godmother to "Anne the daughter of the right honourable therll of Southampton baptized in April 1604 in the Chapel, in the second yere of his Majesties' Reign."[3] A bill is sent in for "making readie the Chappel at Whitehall for her Majesty for the Christening of the Earl of Southampton's Child."

On April 18th Southampton and the Earl of Devonshire were appointed joint Lieutenants of Hampshire[4]. Southampton was then also doing good service as Commissioner for the Union[5].

On the 1st of May the King was at Highgate, at the house of Sir William Cornwallis, where Ben Jonson's masque, which Gifford calls *The Penates*, was performed before him.

[1] Add. MS. 12,506, ff. 139, 145, 148, 199.
[2] Orig. Cheque Book, Chap. Roy. p. 75.
[3] Dec. Acc. Treas. Ch., Audit Off. 388, 41.
[4] Patent 25 d, also Doyle's *Heraldry*.
[5] Wilson's *History of England*, p. 29.

On the 8th of May, 1604, he signed a warrant:

James R. Wee will and command you immediately upon the sight thereof, to deliver, or cause to be delivered to our right trustie and right welbeloved cosins Henry, Earl of Southampton, and William, Earl of Pembroke, chosen and elected to be Knights and companions of our Honorable order of the Garter, eyther of them eighteen yards of crimson velvet for their robes, kirtle, hoode and Tippets of our saide Order, and twelve yardes of white sarcenet to eyther of them for lyning of the same as hath been accustomed. And these our letters, signed with our own hand shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. Given at Westminster eighth day of May in the second year of our reigne &c. To Sir George Howme Master of our greate wardrobe[1].

That would naturally have been in preparation for the feast of St George of that year.

Southampton was mysteriously and suddenly arrested in June, 1604, and as suddenly released, without trial or explanation[2]. Rumour was rife. The Venetian ambassador notes the fact with concern. He says on July 6th, 1604:

On Sunday night was arrested the Earl of Southampton, Baron Danvers and others, who were confined separately and examined, but all set at liberty yesterday morning. I have not heard the reason, probably the malignity of their enemies, of whom they have many[3].

He writes later:

I have not found out the real reason. It is said that it was a charge of treason against Southampton that he meant to kill some Scots who are much about the King, charged by unknown enemies. Southampton went to the King and said that if he knew the name of his enemy he would challenge him, but it passed off with fair words[4].

Malone says that it was by the machinations of Cecil (soon afterwards made Lord Cranborne) that the King was persuaded to believe that too great an intimacy subsisted between Southampton and his Queen[5]. It is true they might have been thrown a good deal together, as Southampton had literary and artistic tastes, as well as goodwill to help her about her masques. Probably Malone gathered this from that prejudiced and self-contradictory book,

[1] Add. MS. 5756, f. 233.
[2] Sir Eg. Brydges, *Peers*, p. 321.
[3] *Venetian Papers*, vol. x. no. 238–242.
[4] Birch's *James I*, pp. 494–5.
[5] *Shakespeare*, x. 69.

Anthony Weldon's *Court and Character of King James*[1]. Having discussed the trial and condemnation of Cobham, Grey, and Raleigh, Weldon says:

> Now doth the King return to Windsor, when there was an *apparition* of Southampton being a Favourite to his majesty, by that privacy and dearnesse presented to the Court view, but Salisbury, liking not that any of Essex his faction should come into play, made that *apparition* appeare as it were *in transitu*, and so vanished, by putting some jealousies into the King's Head, which was so far from jealousie, that he did not much desire to be in his Queen's companie, yet love and regality must admit of no partnership.

Southampton was present at the prorogation of Parliament on the 7th of July, 1604[2].

In July of that year the King granted Sir Fulke Greville the ruined castle of Warwick, at a nominal rent of £5 a year, and of the mills and meadows belonging thereto at the yearly rent of £20[3]. He rebuilt and improved the castle at enormous cost to himself. The tide of the plague had rolled away from London, and it had now become the healthiest place in the kingdom. "Now the Queen has come, the King will stay at Windsor." "The ordinances of the King's Household" were drawn up 17th July[4].

From *Sir Robert Carey's Life*[5] we learn that the King and Queen went back to Easton Neston to meet their delicate young son Charles, who could not walk at four years of age. Those who intended to beg his custody feared to undertake it; Sir Robert, however, and his wife risked it, after which the child improved every day. Sir Robert had not been otherwise rewarded for his wild ride to the north. The Councillors whom he had forestalled united to hinder him; but in securing this office he made a path for his future.

On July 25th Southampton had grants of Basildon, co. Gloucester, Dunmow in Essex, and other lands.

The King being peaceably settled in his new kingdom, ambassadors poured in to congratulate him. There were some peculiarly interesting incidents connected with the Spanish ambassador sent

[1] *Shakespeare*, X. 41.
[2] *Lords Journal*, II. 266.
[3] D.S.S.P. James, VIII. July 4. My *Shak. Warwick. Contemp.* p. 169.
[4] Harl. MSS. 642, f. 228.
[5] Page 164.

to his Court. Many years since, Halliwell-Phillipps appealed to Shakespeareans to tell him where he might find the reference to the fact that Shakespeare's Company was in attendance on the Spanish embassy. About twenty years ago, in doing other work, I found this reference, but did not use it until I had collected further material for my paper on "The Shakespeares of the Court" in the *Athenæum*[1]. On this occasion the special envoy of Philip III of Spain was the Constable of Castille, who had power to agree to and ratify the terms of peace between Spain and Great Britain. Great preparations had been made to receive him, and Somerset House, the second palace in London, was prepared for his reception. All expenses were to be defrayed by the King, hence extra servants (not of the Constable's train, nor of the resident ambassador's household) were provided for him. And among these other servants were the King's Players, who then acted as Grooms of the Chamber. We know this from the account of their payment, among the other expenses of the Treasurer of the Chamber[2].

To Augustine Phillipps and John Hemyngs for th' allowance of themselves and tenne of their fellowes his Majesties Groomes of the Chamber and Players, for waytinge and attending on his Majesties Service, by commandmente, upon the Spanish ambassador at Somerset House for the space of 18 dayes viz. from the 9th day of Auguste 1604 untill the 27th day of the same as appeareth by a bill thereof signed by the Lord Chamberlain xxi*li* xii*s*.

Shakespeare is not mentioned, but was probably included. It is a quaint idea to imagine him being taught Spanish Court Etiquette by the Majordomo of the Ambassador, but as for any romance about Shakespeare (or his fellows) being allowed to hear (or even to see) the secret commission which sat at Somerset House, we must let that go. The picture of the members of that historic meeting may be seen in the National Portrait Gallery, Robert Cecil and Lord Mountjoy among them. We may be sure that Shakespeare was one of the many who wanted no peace with the Spaniard. But there was not the same reserve on the public occasions and gala days of that time; so that the King's Players probably enjoyed their little job.

[1] 12th March, 1910, and my *Burbage and Shak. Stage*, p. 101.
[2] Dec. Acc. Treas. Ch., Audit Off. 388, 41; Pipe Off. 543.

Southampton was appointed Councillor to the Queen on the 9th of August[1], and Cecil was created Viscount Cranborne on the 20th.

The Venetian ambassador wrote that the King came to London on the 9th (English Style)[2]. The Constable came next day to Court attended by Lord Southampton and Lord Effingham, the son of the Lord Admiral. The great banquet given them at Whitehall on that occasion is noteworthy. We can find all about it in the Journal of the Constable's doings (in Spanish) printed at the time, now in the British Museum. Also parts of the story have been garnered by Rye in his *England as seen by Foreigners*.

The Earls of Pembroke and Southampton officiated as gentlemen-ushers. ...The Constable being at the King's side, and the Conte of Villamediana on the Queen's....The principal noblemen of the Kingdom were likewise at the table, in particular, The Duke of Lennox, Earl of Arundel, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer, Earl of Nottingham, High Admiral, the Earls of Devonshire, Southampton and Pembroke, and many others....There was plenty of instrumental music, and the Banquet was sumptuous and profuse....Dancing began in the Audience Chamber. At this ball there were more than fifty Ladies of Honour....Prince Henry danced a Galliard....The Earl of Southampton then led out the Queen and three other gentlemen their several partners, who all joined in dancing a brando. In another the Queen danced with the Duke of Lennox....The Prince stood up to dance a correnta which he did very gracefully....The Earl of Southampton was now again the Queen's partner and they went through the Correnta likewise. Afterwards there was bear-baiting.

After all this glory and lavish extravagance came

The Royal Proclamation upon the Peace with Spain and the Archduke whereunto the people made no manner of sign of joy their way or in any way soever. I have heard it from those who heard it at Whitehall[3].

The articles of the Peace between England and Spain are given in the same paper. The display probably led the Constable to advise liberal rewards to Cecil, who had made things move.

A list of the fees of the Queen's officials at that time includes the names of Southampton, Lord Cranborne, Lord Sidney, Sir George Carew, Mr Ralph Ewens, &c.[4] Nichols gives the list in his

[1] Doyle's *Off. Baronage*, I. 373. Nichols' *Prog.* p. 268. D.S.S.P. James, CVII. 3.

[2] Rye, p. 123. [3] Add. MS. 38,139, ff. 71, 71 *b*. Manwood's *Notes*.

[4] Add. MS. 38,139, f. 186 *b*.

Progresses of James I. Immediately after the Spanish Commissioners left, the Court dispersed for the King's hunting progress. Fowler, on Oct. 3rd, wrote from Hampton Court, "The Spanish Ambassador hath been here, and presented gifts to Pembroke, Southampton, and others."

The Privy Council's Register of this period was accidentally burnt, but part of a copy has been preserved. Thence we find that on November 30th, 1604[1], the Council wrote a letter to the Lord President and Council of York, to

commit one Nalton, a minister, to prison, for speaking of lewd words against the Earl of Southampton, and after to certifie the nature of the wordes, that such order may be taken for his further punishment and reparation of his Lordship's order as shall be fit.

Most likely Nalton called him "Recusant." Nothing further seems to have been done that year. On January 28th, 1604–5 Lord Sheffield wrote to Cranborne:

After the writing of my letter, I wrote a letter to the Counsayle at York who have advertised me of the imprisonment of one Nalton, a minister, who was committed by your Lordship for speaking unfitting spitches of my Lord of Southampton....I should be glad to know what course is to be pursued with him, because the man exclaims he is not brought to triall.

A letter of Southampton's to Viscount Cranborne shews that he has settled at Southampton House in Holborn by November 3rd, 1604[2]. It is in favour of Mr John Ferrour,

who had been dispatched by Mr Hudson, the Kinges then agent to her Majesty with business of great trust and important (wherein myself was interested) a day before the decease of the late Queene.

He had received no reward, though the King had commanded him to wait on him for a place in ordinary. Little would content him.

I know your Lordship's forwardnesse out of your own good inclination to grace the well-deserver....This courtesie I shall acknowledge as done to myself....He will prove a grateful and honest minded man. Your Lordship's

To do you service,

H. SOUTHAMPTON.

[1] Add. MS. 11,402.

[2] *Cecil Papers*, CVII. 113 and CXI. 23.

In another undated letter, not very legible, returning some letters sent from Lord Cecil to him to look over, Southampton says:

I will be with you in the morning, to follow such directions as you shall give me. P.S. I am very sorry for the mischaunce happened to ye King, but I hear it is not much, and therefore I hope will not long trouble him[1].
[Endorsed "1604."]

The special attendants who went before to prepare the Royal apartments sent in their bill to the Treasurer of the Chamber for preparing "The greate Chamber at Whitehall for 2 days in November 1604, for the King's Majestie to see the plaies....For making ready the Banqueting House at Whitehall against the plaie, November 1604....For making ready the Hall for Plays at Christmas, December 1604. For making ready the great Hall for Sir Philip Herbert's wedding the same month December 1604. For making ready the Banqueting House at Whitehall for the mask...preparing the Hall for Candlemas and Shrovetyde to see the plaies January 1604–5."[2]

We know from the same declared Accounts that the King's company of players had performed on "All Saints Day at night, the Sunday at night following, being the 4th November 1604, St Stephen's Day at night and Innocents' Day at night."[3] The payment for each play was £10, but there is no clue to the titles of the plays. Chamberlain wrote to Winwood on December 18th:

Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere are to be married on St John's Day at Whitehall. Three thousand pounds are already delivered for the expenses of the great Masque to be performed on Twelfth Night. The Queen's brother, the Duke of Holstein, is still at Court. The tragedy of Gowry has been twice performed by the King's Players to crowded audiences but the King is displeased and it will be forbidden. Princes should not be set on the Stage during their lifetime[4].

The marriage between Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere provided gossip for many a day.

There was a minor masque, the name of which has not come down to us, performed at Whitehall on St John's Day at night for Sir Philip Herbert, acted by private performers, Lord Pembroke, Lord Willoughby, and others.

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CIX. 40.
[2] Dec. Acc. Treas. Ch., Audit Off. 388, 42.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Winwood, *Mem.* I. 41.

"New Year's Day passed without any solemnity."[1]

On Twelfth Day Prince Charles was created Duke of York. There was a great display—the Earl of Northampton and the Earl of Dorset bore the robes of estate, the Earl of Southampton carried the coronet, the Earl of Cumberland the golden rod, the Earl of Worcester the cap of estate; and the little prince himself, unable to walk, was carried in the arms of the Earl of Nottingham, supported by the Earl of Dorset[2]. In the evening the gorgeously appointed Masque of Blackness by Ben Jonson was performed at Whitehall. Carleton wrote very disparagingly of the Masque itself and of the dress of the performers: "Blackness became them nothing so well as their own red and white, you cannot imagine anything more ugly than a troupe of lean-cheeked Moors." One courteous ambassador kissed a black hand, and curious glances were cast at him to see if he had carried any colour away. The King's Players performed on the 7th and 8th of January.

There is a very strange literary dispute concerning an event of this year, which ought not perhaps to pass quite unnoticed—that is, the date of the revival of *Love's Labour's Lost*. The Queen's brother was visiting her then; the Earl of Southampton and Lord Cranborne, her Councillors, wished to honour her and her guest by a feast, and at the feast to give a play. Sir Walter Cope was trying to help and must be allowed to tell his own story, as he told it to Lord Cranborne

From your library.

Sir, I have sent and bene all thys morning hunting for players, juglers, and such kinds of creatures, but fynde them hard to fynde, wherefore leaving notes for them to seeke me, Burbage ys come, and says there is no new playe that the Queene has not seene, but they have revyved an olde one cawled "Love's Labour Lost," which for wytt and mirthe he says will please her exceedinglye, and this is apoynted to be played tomorrow night at my Lord of Southampton's, unless you send a wrytt to remove the *Corpus cum causa* to your house in the Strande. Burbage ys my messenger, ready attending your pleassur[3].

This is undated; but a date may be found for it in this way.

[1] Nichols' *Prog. James I*, p. 469.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 475, 479.
[3] *Salisb. Papers. Hist. MS. Rep.* III. App. p. 148. D.S.S.P. James, XII. 15, 19.

Apparently Cranborne did not appropriate that play, but found some other to suit his occasion. One of Carleton's gossipy letters, dated January 15th, 1604–5, says, "Last night's revels were kept at my Lord of Cranborne's...and ye like two nights before at my Lord of Southampton's." So Cranborne's feast was the 14th, Southampton's the 12th, and Cope's letter the 11th. When was *Love's Labour's Lost* "revived"? There are three slips of paper, ostensibly lists of the Plays and part of the Revels Books, which used to be called "Cunningham's Forgeries," but of late have been raised to a higher level by some expert opinions. I regret to feel obliged to hold to the opinion expressed by previous authors on the ground of handwriting, doing so, however, because some of the entries given in Cunningham's papers do not agree with known facts. I now take only the one point relevant to my subject. Cunningham says, "By his Majesties plaiers Betwin Newers day and Twelfe Day A play of Loues Labours Lost." Now, such a method of dating is unknown to royal accounts of that nature; there is no record in the Treasurer of the Chamber's Accounts[1] of any preparation for any company playing just then; there is no payment made to the King's company for a play, and no other company dare perform that play. It might have been given on either the 7th or 8th of January; but Twelfth Day is on the 6th. My further strictures appeared in the *Athenæum*, signed "Audi alteram partem," in 1911[2]. However, we may visualise the fact of *Love's Labour's Lost* being performed in Southampton House, Holborn, for the benefit of the royal Dane.

Chamberlain tells Winwood on the 26th of January, "Eight or ten days since there were above £200 worth of Popish books taken about Southampton House, and burned in St Paul's Churchyard."[3] It is not quite clear whether the books were found in the neighbourhood of the house, whether they were seized, or whether they were given up. Chamberlain also tells his friend that "Sir Edward Stafford died suddenly last week, leaving the first fruits to Sir William Harvey."[4]

[1] Dec. Acc. Treas. Ch., Audit Off. 388, 42, also my *Burbage, and Shakespeare's Stage*, p. 102.

[2] *Athenæum*, 3rd June, 1911, July 22nd and 29th, and October 7th, 1911, p. 421. *Times Lit. Supp.* Dec. 2nd, 1920, p. 798 and Feb. 24th, 1921, p. 127.

[3] Winwood, *Mem.* I. 46. [4] *Ibid.* 49.

On the 9th of February William Constable, one of Essex's party, wrote to Lord Cranborne begging help

to support the remains of a wretched life which yesterday three years ago was forfeited...had not your honour above my merit preserved me....Now my life and sword is at your service....It pleased my Lord of Southampton at Woodstock to witness the presentation of my fidelity to your Lordship[1].

He also asks "the grant of a small thing, the importation of tobacco into Ireland though the country is poor." In the same month a grant was made to Viscount Cranborne of the interests and terms of William, late Lord Cobham, for his son Sir William Cecil and his daughter, heirs to his wife, Lord Cobham's eldest daughter[2]. In March an advice was sent to the Lord Treasurer "to grant out of the estate fallen to the Crown by the attainder of Lord Cobham, all that was settled on his wife the Countess of Kildare and his house in Blackfriars where he dwelt."[3] (This was next door to the theatre.)

The most notable event of the month is given in Rowland Whyte's letter to Shrewsbury:

My Lady Southampton was brought to bed of a young Lord upon St David's Day in the morning, a saint to be much honoured by that house for so great a blessing, by wearing a leek for ever upon that day. March 4th, 1604–5[4].

(Whyte was of Welsh descent, his real name being Wynne.) More about that event may be noted. Southampton asked the King and Cranborne to be sponsors. Cranborne, writing to Sir Thomas Lake on March 9th, 1604–5, from Theobalds, explains that he is "hawking with the Chamberlain and the Earls of Cumberland, Southampton, and Devonshire, but to-morrow all go back to school." Of this Sir Thomas Lake wrote to Cranborne on the 16th:

This morning while I was with his Majesty, my Lord of Southampton came to his Highness to invite him to the christening of his sonne, whereuppon his Majestie willed me to adde to my letter, that if my Lord had matched him with a Christian, he could have believed my Lord had good meaning in it, but having coupled him with a hound, he thinketh my Lord did it onely to flatter him because he knoweth his Majesty loveth hunting and the begle as well as any of the company at least[5].

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CIV. 11, 66.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Lodge's Illust.* III. 269.
[5] *Cecil Papers*, XCIV. 96.

James frequently called Cranborne his "little Beagle," but it is probable that the joke was not so pleasant to Cranborne's ear as it was to Lake's. The royal attendants for seeing after the King's palaces note their expenses for the preparation:

For making ready the Chapel at Greenwich for the King's Majesty against christening of the Earl of Southampton's son.

The christening is entered as on the 27th of March, but the Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal[1] and the Declared Accounts say the 26th[2], as does the letter of Calvert to Winwood. There was also a gift given

To the nurse and midwife at the christening of the Erle of Southampton's child being a sonne to whom his Majestie was godfather in person himself in his Highnesse Chapple at Greenwich 26th March 1605.

So Lord James Wriothesley had a royal welcome.

The King's own turn came next. The Princess Mary was born at Greenwich on April 8th, 1605[3]. Two new Knights of the Garter were made—the Duke of Holstein, the Queen's brother, and Lord Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton. Among the titles showered by the King on his nobles at the Royal Baptism on 4th May, James created Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, Thomas, his elder brother, Earl of Exeter, Philip Herbert Earl of Montgomery, Sir Robert Sidney Viscount Lisle, Sir John Stanhope Baron Stanhope of Harington, Sir George Carew Baron Carew of Clopton, Sir Thomas Arundel (Southampton's brother-in-law) Lord Arundel of Wardour; Sir Robert Dormer (a cousin of Southampton) Lord Dormer of Wing.

John Ferrour, the unlucky messenger to Scotland on the last day of the late Queen, wrote to thank Salisbury for his assurance of favour "through his most honourable good Lord, the Earl of Southampton"—(the letter is undated, but endorsed "1605"). This emboldens him to ask the reversion of the lease of a manor in Norfolk near where he was born[4]. (He was afterwards of the Virginia Company.)

In the Easter term it is noted that the Dowager Countess of Southampton received her £600 promised in part return for her paying the debts of Sir Thomas Heneage[5].

[1] Original f. 71.
[2] Audit Off. 388, 42.
[3] Nichols' *Prog.* pp. 505, 510.
[4] *Cecil Papers*, CI. 23.
[5] Pell's Roll Issue, Easter 1605, mem. 10.

On Monday, June 3rd, the King, with many noblemen, Southampton among them, went to see the lions in the Tower, and saw a novel form of lion-baiting, repulsive to modern feeling[1].

On Saturday next to the morrow of Ascension Day, this same term, the Earl of Southampton was summoned before the Justices of the King's Bench by Henry Collier, gent., servant of Sir Edward Fenner, Justice of the King's Bench, on a plea of debt for £300 which he had borrowed from Collier (on the 21st of March?) in the Parish of St Mary Arches Ward of Cheap[2]. Southampton had promised to repay this when asked and had not done so, to the damage of Collier of £50. John Coppuldyke, Southampton's attorney, could not deny this, and the Court determined that Collier should recover the £300 from Southampton and 10*s*. damages.

Samuel Daniel this year published *Certain small poems, lately printed including Philotas*. Now, Philotas suffered for a treasonable conspiracy against Alexander the Great. Daniel was summoned before the Council to explain his meaning, in its apparent connection with the Earl of Essex and Mountjoy. He explained by saying that *Philotas* had been read by the Master of the Revels and Mountjoy before Essex was in any trouble.

Apparently a very short time after this, Southampton was sent from the giddy rounds of Court life to his duties in the south. He acknowledged on 25th June having received a letter from Salisbury "yesterday being Monday," shewing that he knew that one Throgmorton had been in these parts to levy men for the Archduke's service and had raised some in the Isle of Wight by the sound of a drum.

I sent a messenger to enquire and had the Mayor of Hampton to dine with me. Grimson pretends to be the Lieutenant for Throgmorton, and used a general passport for him and his, but there was no licence to recruit by sound of drum. I have not been there myself nor spoken with the Bayley of Newport. I would be loth to warrant all circumstances of this case to be trew, for I build not my fayth upon the relation of others. On Saturday, God willing, I mean to be there when I will advertise you of the truth, and have given orders that if he return, he will be stayed. I beseech your Lordship let me, as soon as you may, receave from you his Majesties will how I shall proceed further in it because I am very unwilling to rely

[1] Nichols' *Prog*. p. 515.
[2] Coram Rege Roll, Easter 3, James I, XXI.

upon my own discretion, but what directions you shall send me will, as nere as I can, be performed. Thus recommending unto your Lordship the best love and service I can yeald to any (next unto my Master unto whom I owe myself) rest your Lordships most faithfull frend to do you service.

H. SOUTHAMPTON[1].

Tichfield, 25th June 1605.

The answer must have been prompt, or the letters crossed, for the next reply runs:

My Lord, I am bounde unto you for your care to howld me in a right way, which, God willing, I will not stray from, and follow the course your Lordship hath directed. And for the newes you wrote me, especially that of his majesty's health, it was the best I could heare. I pray God ever continue it, and make him as happy as he is of all men held worthy. The day after I wrote last unto your Lordship Grimson returned unto the Island[2].

Southampton had told him that none but the King might beat drums or display colours. Grimson answered that Lord Chenys had done it unchallenged a month before in Winchester. Southampton blamed the authorities and added,

He is a known recusant, and therefore, as I take it, his act the more skandalous. It was done 3 weeks before my coming into the country, and till now I never heard of it, wherefore I hope I shall escape blame though I cannot excuse the Deputy Lieutenants and justices who were then in the shire....if I shall heare of any fleet out of Spayne, I will advertise you....

Tichfield 29th June 1605.

P.S. I pray your Lordship doe me the favour to commend my service to my Lord Chamberlain and his Lady, unto whom I would have written, but that presently after dinner I must by the grace of God pass the sea, and I have many businesses to despach before my going.

There is an undated letter from Southampton to Salisbury about the executors of Sir Edward Bell, endorsed 1605[3], and a letter from the Countess herself of about the same time.

My Lord,

I have been alredy so much bound unto your Lordship as it makes me presume att this tyme farther upon your favor in a business now brought unto mee which is this. I am entreated by a good frend of mine to move you for the wardship of the sonne of one Sir Read Stafford, which, if your Lordship have not already disposed of, and will bee pleased to bestow upon

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CXC. 106.
[2] *Ibid.* CXI. 90–1.
[3] *Ibid.* CXCII. 48.

mee, and yet receave some benifitt thereby, myself thus having performed what was desired of mee I refer it unto your Lordship's consideration and with my best wishes rest your Lordship's most assured to command,

E. SOUTHAMPTON[1].

(It may be noted that her signature has now become angular and like her husband's.)

It is interesting to note that Southampton's first sale of Romsey after his release was made good to him. The King gave him a regrant in fee farm of the manors of Romsey in Hampshire, and of Compton Magna, co. Somerset. Three grants were again made at the suit of the Earl of Southampton[2], the first, of the manors of Romsey and Compton to his faithful servants or helpers Edward Gage and William Chamberlain, and two other grants of his own to two other servants[3].

About this time also Southampton was worried about a suspicious event[4]. Two men, Bream and Captain Dunscombe, had got a ship from Plymouth by underhand means, and tried to victual it secretly in the Isle of Wight, it was supposed, for piratical purposes. He wrote and told Julius Caesar, who answered, asking for details. Southampton replied on the 27th June, saying that he knew nothing of Bream personally but "on receipt of your letter I presently sent to the Isle of Wight to enquire of Bream and Dunscombe." He explained all the mysterious arrangements about the ship, "from Tichfield 27th June 1605." He writes again on the 2nd July from Carisbrooke Castle:

Whether Bream have committed fresh insolencies as you speake of I know not...we have taken Captain Bream, and Dunscombe has fled...by this bearer I have sent Bream up to you, to use your discretion with him.

On September 11th, 1605, Southampton wrote to Salisbury, giving information disclosed by Captain Burley, Yarmouth Castle, Isle of Wight, concerning one Booreman's issuing of counterfeit French crowns[5].

William Camden, who had always a good word to say for Southampton, records among his examples of anagrams one on

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CXCII. 49.
[2] D.S.S.P. James, IX. docquet, Oct. 28th, 1604.
[3] *Ibid.* X. docquet, Dec. 17th, 1604. See *ante*, p. 270.
[4] Add. MS. 12,506, X. ff. 111, 123.
[5] D.S.S.P. James, XV. 57.

his name, "Henricus Wriothesleius"—"Heroicus, Laetus, vi virens." This appears in Camden's *Remains* published that year, p. 156.

It is rather singular that in an undated "List of recusants whose fines are granted to Lady Walsingham" there should appear the names of "Sir Thomas Monson, the Earl of Southampton," &c., 1604–5 [?][1]

Southampton, in his island, found himself somewhat like Robinson Crusoe; he was monarch of all he surveyed, but he suffered from the lack of fit companions. He wrote to Salisbury touchingly in his next letter:

My Lord,

Your Lordship knows that all promises between frendes are to bee kept, which lest you should forget, I must put you in remembrance of a favour you promised when I saw you, whereof if your leasure will suffer you I shall expect the performance, which was to see this Iland sometime this somer, if your Lordship be still of that mind (as I hope you are not thus soone changed) I beseech you lett me heare of it 3 or 4 dayes before you come, not to make provision to feast you, for I will leave that to those who love you less, and endeavour to make known my affection to you in somewhat else rather than in meate and drinke, but only that I may meete you at Titchfield, whither I would entreat your Lordship to direct your course, from whence I will convoy you (God willing) safely over the water (there being your best passage) and see you well on shore againe att your returne. This is all I have to troble your Lordship with att this time, therefore thus wishing unto you as much increase of happinesse as yourself can desier I rest your Lordship's most assuredly to do you service

H. SOUTHAMPTON[2].

This July 22nd 1605 Carisbrooke Castle.

There is no record whether or not that visit was paid Probably it was not.

But Southampton next month had a peep into Court life. For the second time he was in the train of his sovereign visiting Oxford. He is not now described as one of the beautiful youths who followed Elizabeth, but as a more staid and responsible man in place of trust. As a noble incorporated of Oxford in 1592, he sat at one reception beside the Vice-Chancellor[3]. When the University rang the bell at 7 o'clock next morning for a royal sermon, the King was asleep,

[1] D.S.S.P. James, XI. 25.
[2] *Cecil Papers*, CXCII.
[3] Nichols' *Prog.* I. 566.

and it had to be postponed. About 9 o'clock the King came in great state to the church, the Earl of Southampton bearing the sword of state before him[1]. During the three crowded days of the visit, the King was more than once noted as being asleep at the plays, but very wide awake at the disputations, in which he took a share himself. Samuel Daniel's English pastoral *The Queen's Arcadia*, played at Christ Church, made amends to the audience for all the others they had endured. There was, however, one little interlude which should be noted.

Dr Matthew Gwynne, author of *Vertumnus*, one of the dull plays, struck a varied note in this. As the King came by the gate of St John's College, he was surprised by a little dialogue in Latin, repeated afterwards in English for the benefit of the Queen and Prince (and others). The device of this was much approved. Three Sibyls appear as saluting Banquo, who was to be "no King, but to be the father of many Kings."

These sibyls now in the name of England and Ireland saluted the King of Scotland as the fulfilment of the old prophecy,

joining their welcomes to Anne, parent, wife, sister, daughter, of Kings, and to the Princes. Though the name of Macbeth is never mentioned, one cannot but see in the little production the germ of the idea of one part of that great play. The King was pleased with the allusion to his ancestor Banquo (fabulous as he was), and someone present was inspired to carry the idea further. Was it Southampton who saw, heard, and understood, and suggested it to his protégé Shakespeare, or was the poet himself in the train of the King there, or merely as a traveller passing through Oxford on his way between London and "home for the holidays"? We can, however, see what Matthew Gwynne suggested, and what Holinshed's Chronicle filled up, in the three "weird sisters" and the witches of *Macbeth*, the wonderful play which Shakespeare wrote as self-elected Laureate to the King who honoured him[2].

The King went from Oxford to Lord Knolles' at Greys, thence to Bisham Abbey, and back to Windsor. Southampton went back to his island.

[1] Nichols' *Prog.* I. 548.

[2] See C. Stopes, "The Scottish and English Macbeth," in *Shakespeare's Industry*, p. 78.

There are descriptions of the reception by Isaac Wake in Latin and Anthony Nixon in English.

The following letter to Salisbury seems to be of the same year, though that is not entered:

My Lord,

I humbly thank you for your letter, which I wish I could answer with any change worth your reading; but the barrenness of this place affords nothing to discourse of but heate in summer, and storms in winter, which is now with us begun. My Lord of Devon was, I imagine, with you before I received your letter, being no longer able to stay from his pleasures att Wanstead in the desolate partes of the New Forest: I wish myself also often att the court to enjoy the presence of your Lordship and the rest of my best frendes, though otherwise I thanke God I am enough pleased with the quiet life I lead heare, yett doe I intend ere longe to be with you, and in the mean and ever will rest as I ought your Lordship's most faithfully to doe you service.

H. SOUTHAMPTON[1].

Carisbrooke Castle the 16 of September.

Southampton soon after that date was on the move. He made a trifling request in favour of a person of the same name as some of his relatives and some of his servants. It is not clear whom he means.

My Lord

I am entreated by a good friend of mine to move your Lordship in the behalf of one Chamberlayne concerning a matter depending in the Star Chamber between him and one Green and to be heard (as I take it) this next term. My sute is no more but for that which I assure myselfe you would affoord without soliciting which is your lawful favour in that cause of Chamberlayne whose cawse as I am informed is just, and being so, I make no doute but my request shall be graunted, if otherwyse I leave it. Thus recommending unto your Lordship my best wishes I rest your Lordship's most assuredly to doe you service.

H. SOUTHAMPTON[2].

Tichfield 3th of October.

One more letter of this period has been preserved:

My Lord

There is one Captain Gifford, who is a servant and hath been employed by the Duke of Florence and who, as I am enformed, hath beene in England by proclamation declared a pirate. Now my Lord there is of late come into Portsmouth a ship laden with goodes belonging to this man. I beseech your

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CXII. 66. [2] *Ibid.* CXII. 106.

Lordship therefore doe mee the favour to lett mee know whether he hath his pardon or not, or if you think fitt it should be winked att, for otherwise the ordinary course as in such cases is to bee taken, and a seasure to be made of the goodes. I hope your Lordship will pardon my troubling you att this present. By the grace of God I intend the next weeke to see you att London and ever rest your Lordship's most assuredly to doe you service,

H. SOUTHAMPTON[1].

Tichfield 23rd October 1605.

He was preparing, as many others were, to go to London for the Parliament summoned for February 7th, 1604–5, prorogued till 3rd October, and again till the 5th of November. Philip Henslowe and Edward Allen, Masters of the Game at Paris Garden, were empowered to take up mastiff dogs to send from the King to the Emperor[2]. The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury was sworn one of the Privy Council; and the Lord Mayor was told to forbid plays and keep all infected persons in their houses.

The Earl of Southampton gave £100 to the Bodleian Library in 1605. Probably the gift was partly in remembrance of his friend the Earl of Essex, who appreciated Sir Thomas Bodley so much[3].

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CXII. 130.
[2] MS. copy *Regis. Privy Council*, Add. MS. 11,402.
[3] *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, ed. W. D. Murray, 1890, p. 422.

CHAPTER XX

THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER

THE story of the Gunpowder Plot has been remembered more effectually than most events in history, through its commemoration giving schoolboys an opportunity for unlimited squibs, crackers, marches with straw-stuffed old clothes, blazes, and bonfires. It would be impossible to reckon how many times Guy Fawkes has been burnt in effigy. Many rhymes have been written about him; perhaps the most popular has been:

> The Fifth of November shall ne'er be forgot
> As long as a soldier wears a red coat.

Through repetition this has become a prophecy, and by waiting long enough for it the prophecy has become fulfilled. The soldier no longer wears a red coat, and the explosion which did not take place on the 5th of November, 1605, has dropped out of memory, through the real pictures of terrific explosions which have since taken place. It is only when great events are lacking that might-have-beens are so faithfully commemorated. Still, at the time it was a warning signal of an explosive state of mind among certain people, and necessitated the use of serious statecraft. The King patted himself on the head for having himself discovered the meaning of the veiled message sent to Lord Monteagle[1]. Most of the Members of Parliament, Peers and Commons alike, felt some grateful recognition to him for having preserved them, with himself, from the designed desolating horrors.

In a letter written by Salisbury on the 9th, describing the course of events, he himself claims to have discovered, from Monteagle's letter, the intention of the use of powder; but having given the secret letter into the King's hand without comment, the royal critic came to the same conclusion.

Southampton must have shivered even at the imagination of the

[1] Nichols' *Prog.* I. 577, 586.

terrors he had escaped. To him no friendly warning had been sent, though some of his personal friends—some of his relatives even—had been involved in the conspiracy, at least according to popular report.

Guy Fawkes, who bore the assumed name of Johnson, was taken in the act. For him there was no hope. Some of the others fled to Warwickshire, partly because many of them lived there, partly because it was a part of the plot to secure the Princess Elizabeth and make her Queen[1]. Some of them made a brave fight, but were overpowered by numbers. Fire in one case cut off retreat, some were slain. Priests were captured everywhere, of whom the chief was Father Garnett. "Viscount Montague has been committed to Sir Thomas Bennethore Alderman of London....Tyrwhitt, who married my Lady Bridget Manners, and Sir Edward Digby have gone to the rebels."[2]

The scared Parliament met on the 9th of November, but it was chiefly to thank God for His wonderful preservation and to prorogue itself until the 21st, so as to give time for examinations, as the conspirators were to be tried in Parliament.

Little more was thought of until the end of the year 1605. Some of the conspirators fled from Warwickshire to Worcestershire. "Tyrwhitt has come to London... Montague, Mordant and Tresham were sent to the Tower on the 15th."[3]

Cobham's, Grey's, and Raleigh's plots faded into insignificance before the magnitude of this; yet it could do their case no good that a definite recusant confederation should plan such a subversion of King and Government.

Perhaps it was because people required an unusual stimulant to think of other things that so many plays were performed that winter[4]. On 15th December the Lord Mayor and the justices of Middlesex were instructed to permit the King's, the Queen's, and the Prince's Players to play and recite their interludes at their accustomed places, that they might be prepared to be fit for royal service. Beside the performances of the other companies, John Hemings had a warrant for his own company for the payment of

[1] D.S.S.P. James, XVI. 6, 7, 17, 19, 22.
[2] *Ibid.* XVI. 83; XVII. 2, 62.
[3] *Ibid.* XVI. 44.
[4] Add. MS. 11,402.

£100 for 10 plays during last Christmas and since. This warrant was given on March 24th, 1605–6, i.e. James' Accession Day[1].

Southampton's poet had already begun to devise his play of *Macbeth*. From the examination of Garnett the Jesuit, the great "Equivocator," he had introduced one of its few topical allusions.

Faith, here's an Equivocator that could swear in both the scales against either scale; who committed treason enough for God's sake yet could not equivocate to heaven; O come in, Equivocator[2].

Viscount Montague had dined with his aunt, Lady Southampton, a fortnight before the discovery, but no suggestion had been given of danger then.

Perhaps, as they have not been printed, some allusion may be made to the doings of the Privy Council[3]. On 15th November:

A letter to Sir William Waad Lieutenant of the Tower, to receive the Lord Viscount Montague without suffering any to have accesse unto him there.

On 16th November:

Letters to the Aldermen to receive into their houses wives and kinswomen of the Traitors who it was not thought fit to commit to prison. Dorothy Grant, wife of John Grant was to be sent to Sir Henry Roe, Elizabeth Cole wife of William Cole, Mary Morgan wife of Henry Morgan, Martha Percy wife of Thomas Percy, Dorothy Wright wife of John Wright and Margaret wife of Christopher Wright, Mistress Rookwood wife of Ambrose Rookwood to be placed in various safe houses.

It is noted that

Robert Chamberlain in Aldermanburie was not John Chamberlain's brother....Mistress Key and Mistress Vaux were discharged upon Mr Lewis Pickering's bond.

On 17th November:

A letter to the High Sheriff of Stafford to take up the bodies of Percy, Catesby, the two Wrights and other traitors that have been slain and buried, and send their heads to London.

On 28th November 48 prisoners were sent up from Worcester

[1] Dec. Acc. Treas. Ch., Audit Off. 388, 43.
[2] *Macbeth*, II. 3.
[3] Add. MS. 11,402.

and Warwick. On 27th December the Lord Treasurer was instructed that

Maintenance was to be allowed to the prisoners apprehended and for their wives children and families, that his Majesty's Clemency may appeare even towards those that to him intended such barbarous and savage crueltie.

On 28th January the Lieutenant is told to try by way of persuasion with Digby, Winter, and others that are to suffer, to make choice of some of the clergy for their spiritual comfort. The chief executions were on the 30th and 31st of January.

Lord Montague[1] had a peculiar risk in the open and determined recusancy of his grandmother, Magdalene, Viscountess dowager of Montague, who lived in the family mansion at St Mary Overies, and gave every facility to the coming and going of priests. That she knew of the scheme may be inferred, as she warned her grandson.

On August 16th, 1606, the Lord Treasurer had a warrant to keep Lord Viscount Montague prisoner in his house "without suffering any accesse of Papists, etc."

On September 13th, 1606, the Lord Treasurer is instructed to send Viscount Montague to his house at Cowdray, there "to be restrayned without accesse of any unto him but his own servants, and to go no further than his Park."

It was the 28th of June, 1608, before the Council decreed that Viscount Montague may come as often as he likes from Cowdray to London, and remain as long as he pleases, but when he leaves he must go straight to Cowdray.

Among the New Year's gifts, Southampton is mentioned as receiving a cup of gilt plate, weighing thirty-two ounces, in which were 20 pounds in gold. The King's Grooms of the Chamber were paid "for making ready several rooms in and about Westminster Hall for the King and Queen against the arraignment of Sir Everard Digby and others in January."[2]

To Bartholomew Hales, Esq. upon the Council's Warrant dated at the Court of Whitehall 15th November 1605 for the paynes and expenses he

[1] The Parish Books have an entry in 1593, that a new door should be opened in the Church wall opening into my Lord Montague's house, in place of the old door, stopped up. In 1597, the Register states that Mr Gray, a priest from old Lady Montague's house, was buried here.

[2] Dec. Acc. Treas. Ch., Aud. Off. 388, 43.

hath been at in bringing upp thither from the town of Warwick certen gentlewomen and others, that are wives, sisters, and others of allyance unto some of those of the late traiterous conspirators, in which service he hired a waggon for the conveying of them to London and for dyett and other necessaries by the way, the some of £26.

To Adam King messenger by a warrant dated 19th November 1605, for the apprehension of sondrie prisoners and bringing them up, and again for the carrying of letters to the High Sheriff of Worcester 16th Novr.

Many men are entered as carrying letters about the conspiracy; William Bradley is allowed payment for taking Stephen Littleton and Robert Winter from Worcester; and the expenses of many other prisoners are noted. Dudley Carleton himself was supposed to be involved in the treason, but was able to clear himself.

With these doleful surroundings wedding festivities seemed out of harmony[1]; yet on the eleventh and twelfth nights after Christmas were performed *Hymenaei*, to celebrate the marriage of the Earl of Essex to Frances Howard, the second daughter of the Earl of Suffolk. The masque performed on Sunday was written by Ben Jonson and designed by Inigo Jones. *The Barriers* took place on Monday, Twelfth Day. Nichols gives the words of the masque, and a description of the performances.

On Saturday, 22nd March, an extraordinary rumour arose early in the morning that the King had been slain at Woking and all his nobles in defending him[2]. The authorities were in alarm, the gates of the city were locked, all precautions were taken. The Tower was put in defence, and people went about in tears, while swift messengers were sent to enquire. They had no long journey; for they met the King peaceably returning to London, nothing having happened even to suggest the report. The King was welcomed with fervent joy by all classes of people, and it comforted him not a little.

The event was considered important enough for James himself to issue a Proclamation that he was safe and well, which might be dispersed all over the country. Ben Jonson wrote a stanza on the event.

A few letters concern the Earl of Southampton more or less, and may be included here.

[1] Nichols' *Prog.* II. 3. [2] *Ibid.* 39.

Sir Maurice Berkeley to the Council (defending himself against the charge of intending to practise in favour of Catholics):

I do confess that the Countess of Southampton told me that there was a very severe and terrible bill coming from the higher house against Catholic recusants, but that I promised her to speak against it, when it came amongst us, or not to speak for it, that I utterly deny...whereas I am accused that I wished the Papists would rise, if it be affirmed by two witnesses it is of no purpose for me to deny it...if I had used any words tending to that effect in the presence of two, the lady of Southampton being one of them, and the other one that I cannot yet call to mind, it might rather be interpreted apparent folly than secret malice...it might have proceeded from some humour to make her discover in what perplexity she was, being a Catholic, or to make her discover as much as she knew of the humour of the Catholic party...it might be interpreted anything rather than any practice intended for that faction, etc.[1]

The letter is undated, but is endorsed "1606."

Southampton sent a letter by Mr Hawkesworth to Sir Charles Cornwallis in April, 1606:

Sir,

Having soe fitte an opportunity as the return of this gentleman to you, I could not let him passe without yielding thanks for the many kind remembrances I have received from you, having reason to esteem them at a high rate because it is more than I can any way challenge as due. All that I can therefore say at this time is that I acknowledge myself in your debte, the which if it shall hereafter lye in my power to satisfie by any affecte of friendshippe either to you or yours, I will by God's grace as honestly performe it as any with whome you have longer contracted Amity. Thus commending unto you my best wishes I rest your very assured friend

HENRY SOUTHAMPTON[2].

To Sir Charles Cornwallis his Majesties Ambassador in Spain.

The Countess of Leicester wrote to the Earl of Salisbury,

"On behalf of my niece and nephew Digby, who can find no possibility of justice, considering the greatness of his adversary, who sits as judge in his own cause," unless Salisbury and the rest admit him "one of the council there." He is honest and sufficient to do his Majesty service. "If my daughter of Devonshire do not her best endeavours herein, she is much to blame, being tied thereto by promise and desert."[3]

[Undated. Endorsed "1606."]

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CXVIII. 111.
[2] Harl. MSS. 1875, 404 *b*.
[3] *Cecil Papers*, CXIX. 26.

Sir Allan Percy, writing to Carleton from Essex House on April 1st, 1606, notes the illness of the Lord Chancellor and of the Earl of Devonshire[1]; also that there had been "a great quarrel between three gentlemen on occasion of drinking the Earl of Southampton's health." What the real meaning of this was, I cannot discover.

Penelope, Countess of Devonshire, writing to the Earl of Salisbury,

is glad to hear of his safe recovery from sickness. Assures him of her affection. When she was at Drayton with her mother, the "young hunter" came very well pleased, till Salisbury's servant came to guide Ld Cranborne to Lady Derby. The fear of parting 3 days made them melancholy; so they concluded to go together. She fears nothing but their riding so desperately; but Ld C. is a perfect horseman. Her mother will grow young with their company.

Wansted this Monday[2].

[Endorsed "1606."]

Another event of that spring which deeply affected Southampton was the death on the 3rd of April, 1606, of Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy and Earl of Devonshire, his friend for years. His romantic and tragic career is known to all students of the period. Born in 1563, blessed with health, strength, good looks, and good wit, he had an early fight with Fate. His father's search after the "philosopher's stone" and his brother's pursuit of pleasure had beggared the family. He vowed to restore its good name, to rebuild the old house. He began well; as courtier, soldier, Member of Parliament, and scholar, he seemed able to rival even Essex in the Queen's favour. He had the audacity to challenge his rival, and, better still, by skill and good fortune to defeat him. They were, however, too like each other in generosity to remain enemies—indeed, they became warm friends. Essex's elder sister Penelope became the one passion of Mountjoy's life.

Rarely has a woman had more poetry poured forth in her praise. In her youth she was beloved by Sir Philip Sidney, who wrote for her his *Amoretti*; Spenser mourned with her and for her when Sidney died. It is evident that her father had intended her to marry Sidney, but his death in Dublin changed many things. The

[1] D.S.S.P. James, xx. 4.

[2] *Cecil Papers*, CXCIII. 15.

Astrophel and Stella

arrangements had not gone so far as a formal betrothal, as that would have prevented the sorrows of her future life. She was forcibly married, protesting all the while, to a man she detested. But she was a Ward of State. It is difficult to understand how it could have been done, but Burleigh, her step-father Leicester, and the Queen herself cannot be held free from blame. Possibly his father, Sir Henry Sidney, could not make such a good money offer to her guardians as Lord Rich could. Sir Philip sought to console himself with literature and the company of his sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke; tried to slip away with Sir Fulke Greville to the colony of Virginia, but was brought back from Plymouth by the Queen's orders; was, however, allowed to go to the Netherlands, where he died of the results of a badly treated wound. He had married Frances, the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, who afterwards became Countess of Essex. Spenser, Daniel, Davies, and other poets poured forth eulogies of Sir Philip Sidney, and associated her with his memory. The unhappy Penelope in her brother's house met the consoler, who afterwards became her adorer, Sir Charles Blount. Afterwards ensued the most extraordinary romance of real life. Her husband would not divorce her, Lord Mountjoy would not give her up. She never lost her place in society, until, in the reign of James, Lord Rich did divorce her, and Mountjoy, then Earl of Devonshire, married her. A howl of denunciation went up at the act from Church and Court. The pair might have lived it down, but the Earl took a severe cold and died of it at the Savoy on 3rd April, 1606[1]. People said he died of a broken heart, but that was a fiction. Doubtless his heart was sore, for his marriage could not legitimise his children.

Then it fell to Southampton not only to mourn for the departed, but to help the survivors.

Dudley Carleton, writing to John Chamberlain on May 2nd, says:

My Lord of Devonshire's funerals will be performed on Wednesday next, in which my Lord of Southampton is chief mourner, my Lords of Suffolk and Norfolk assistants and 3 other earls....It is determined not to have my Ladie Rich's armes empaled with his. His Arms shall be set up single without

[1] D.S.S.P. James, xx. 4, 36.

his wife's, i.e. though Ladie Rich had been divorced, they are tied in the conclusion not to marry any other[1].

On Sunday, June 22nd, Sophia, the youngest daughter of James and Anne, was born at Greenwich, and she died the next day. The Queen was still keeping her chamber when her brother, Christian IV of Denmark, after many postponements arrived at Gravesend on the 16th of July, 1606. He naturally went first to see his sister in her chamber, but afterwards the two Kings toured together about the country in a royal way.

The Register of the Privy Council, on the 17th July, makes a minute of the Lords and Ladies summoned to do honour to the King of Denmark. Among these were the Countess Dowager of Pembroke and the Countess Dowager of Southampton. Then follows a long list of noblemen and their wives, among whom were "the Earl of Southampton and his Lady."[2]

[1] D.S.S.P. James, XXI. 4.

[2] A minute of letters written to Lords and Ladies to come and honour the King of Denmark &c.

17th July 1606.

Countess of Oxford
—— of Cumberland Dowager
—— of Pembroke Dowager
—— of Southampton Dowager
Lady Chandos dowager of the late Lord Giles
Lord Marquis of Winchester and his Lady
Earl of Hertford and his Lady
Earl of Southampton and his Lady
Earl of Sussex and his Lady
Lord Denny
Earl of Rutland and his Lady
Earl of Pembroke and his Lady
Earl of Bedford and his Lady
Lord Willoughby d'Eresby and his Lady
Lord Mounteagle and his Lady
Lord Howard of Effingham and his Lady
Lord North and his Lady
Lord Chandos and his Lady
Lord Hunsdon and his Lady
Lord Norris
Lord Russell and his Lady
Lord Danvers
Earl of Lincolne
Lord Spencer
Lord Cavendish and his Lady
Earl of Cumberland and his Lady

Add. MS. 11,402.

The Earl of Bedford and other noblemen were called to prepare themselves for a tilting before the Danish King; Salisbury received both the Kings in his house of Theobalds, and, after a great deal of feasting, hunting, and sightseeing, King Christian regretfully left his hospitable brother-in-law on 14th August, 1606.

Among the general free gifts of that year, there were three worth noting:

To Magnus Guildenstern, attending on the King of Denmark, one chain of gold; To Dr Bull [the famous musician] one chain of gold; given by the Queen's Highness to Mr Florio, at his grandchild's christening, one cup and cover.

Shortly after the King of Denmark's departure, the King set out on his southern progress[1]. He visited the Bishop of Winchester at Farnham, and reached Beaulieu, the Earl of Southampton's place on the skirts of the New Forest, on the 30th of August. The King was very much delighted, both with the place and the manner of his reception.

Sir Thomas Lake wrote to Salisbury the next day:

...This day his Majesty dined with the Earl of Southampton and received much entertainment....

Beaulieu 1st September 1606.

It is probable that it was on this occasion that the following anecdote was related to the King by the Earl, who had learnt his master's taste for Natural History:

In his hawking brook at *Shellingford*[2] he sawe divers fowls upon the river, and a little waye up the stream a Foxe very busie by the banckside. He delayed his sport to see what that creature would doe. The Foxe stepps by, and sheeres up, sometimes a seare brake, sometimes a green meede, puts them in the water, and so lets them drive down upon the Fowle. After he had well emboldened them by this stratagem, he putts many in together and himself after them, with one in his mouth, and under this covert, gaining upon the thickest part of the fowle, suddenly darts from his ambush, and catches one. This did the Earl report as an eye-witnesse. Authority Sir W. Springe[3].

[1] Nichols' *Prog.* II. 95.
[2] Query, Little Shelford, Cambridgeshire?
[3] L'Estrange's *Anecdotes*, no. 48, 204.

Another of L'Estrange's anecdotes is amusing:

Charles Chester, a Court Fool in Elizabeth's time, used always to be girding at Sir Walter Rawley and Lord Knolles. Rawley once waxed his mouth his upper and nether beard together, and once built him up in a corner, with a mason or two, up to the chin, and left him there all night[1].

Some personal letters, not clearly dated, should come in here, of which those concerning Southampton's anxiety for his sweet wine privilege should stand first.

My Lord,

I understand that of late there have been divers marchands before your Lo and the rest of the Lo^s^, unto whom you made knowen that it was his Maties purpose for the speedier payment of his dettes to rayse new imposicions of all kinds of comodities that have not alredy their costomes lately raysed, which newes makes me feare the burthen will fall as well uppon mee as upon the marchantes, for if there shall bee a new imposicion raysed uppon the sweet wines (whereof I am farmer) I have great reason to feare that it will impayre that kind of trade, and so consequently much preiudice mee. My Lo, I have no other to seeke help of for aught concerns mee, but yourself, and therefore you must pardon mee if I bee more troblesome unto you then I should and I humbly beseech your Lo, before this bee engrossed bee pleased to remember (as I protest it is trew) that the best meanes I have to subsist is by this farme, which if it should be overthrowen I should bee enforced to lyve in a very mean fashon. I am nothing doubtful of your Lo: favor and therefore I will use no more wordes, assuringe myself in this that concernes in a manner the best part of my estate, you will bee pleased to have some care of mee: only I thoughte fitt to putt your Lo. in minde of it, least by the mayny more important affayres that depend uppon your care, this small one mought bee forgott, and thus wishing a long continewance of your honour & happy fortune I rest

Your Lordships most assuredly to doe you service

H. SOUTHAMPTON[2].

The 15th of June.

If there must neades bee an imposicion layd uppon sweet wines, I beseech your Lo. lett the lyke bee imposed proportionably uppon French wines, for otherwise if the price of them bee so farr under Spanish as there then will bee, all the meaner sort in probability will geve over the buyinge them, & serve themselves only with French. Your Lo. must geve me leave to putt you by this in minde of the course you resolved of for Sanddam Castle of which I yet heare nothing.

[1] No. 100.
[2] *Cecil Papers*, CXXV. 169.

The Earl of Southampton to the Earl of Salisbury:

My Lo: I have understoode by this bearer her Heynes how carefull your Lo. is of mee, that I should receave no prejudice by the late imposition layed upon sweet wines, wherof I am farmer, as herin I find my self nothinge deceaved, for though uppon the first hearinge of a proposition lately made unto the Marchantes, concerninge the raysinge of costomes, by your Lo. and the rest of the Lo: I apprehended what would lykewise fall uppon mee, and theruppon was bould to write unto your Lo. Yett was it rather (as my letter will testify when it shall be delivered) to putt you in remembrance of mee, then that I any whitt douted your favor towardes mee, wch I am so well assured of that I can geeve place to no suspicion of the contrary, and am also perswaded that your Lo. is so well satisfied of my affection and fayth unto you, that it weare frivolus to fill paper wth yealdinge numbers of thankes, seeinge if I should send you a whole volume of acknowledgementes and protestations, I can express no more then in few wordes to say I am and ever will bee to you as I have professed wch by gods grace I will alwayes faythfully performe. This bearer did also make mee understand the course your Lo. intended to howld to save mee from loss, unto the wch I willingely submit my self, only one feare I have wch to your Lo. I dare lay open, wch is that there beeing now but few yeares to come in my lease, when I shall bee driven every yeare (if my former profitt bee empayred) to crave large deductions, wherby the commodity of both what I have or shall receave will bee apparant, it will perhappes rise to a larger proportion then the Kinge will bee content I shall howld, and so overthrow my hope of renewinge my lease, wch then once expired I shall become bankrowte, wherfore I humbly beseech your Lo. if you thinke it fitt lett me now by your meanes renew my lease, and augment the number of my yeares for the wch in my opinion I can never have so fayre an opportunity, for first I have no condition in the lease I have alredy wherby I can clayme any such satisfaction as your Lo. propoundes, and to have a covenant wherby I may demaund it doth of necessity imply the new drawinge of my lease wth such a condition inserted, then I have at this time just reason to expect the more favor in regard I have alredy a covenant in my lease wherby the Kinge doth tie himself not to rayse any new imposition uppon these wines, and if any bee raysed I am by vertew of that covenant to have the profitt of it, and yet notw^th^standinge willingly submitt my self unto his pleasure, and doe not mentione this wth any purpose to contest, but only name it as a motive to procure mee the greater favor in the renewinge my time, wch the longer it bee the more shall your Lo. make mee and mine bound unto you. I have only one thinge more to move unto your Lo. and then for this time I will troble you no farther, wch is that if his Ma^ti^ purpose to lett this new imposition uppon sweet wines, that I may farme it, otherwise if it bee not intended to bee lett, that my officer may collect it for the Kinge, puttinge in sufficient

security to bee accountable for what hee shall receave to the uttermost. There beseeching &c.

The 17 of June[1].

[Endorsed "1606."]

The Earl of Southampton to the Earl of Salisbury:

In this time of my absence (though it be not likely to be long), this bearer has desired me to recommend him to your favour. His business your L. is already acquainted with and if you please when you have an idle time to make him attend upon you, & help him in this necessity of his with some good direction how to carry himself to win the favour of his Majesty & appease my Lo. of Worcester, I doubt not but you shall find him ready to follow it. 10 July[2].

[Endorsed "1606." Holograph.]

The Earl of Southampton to the Earl of Salisbury:

My Lo: this gentleman Sr James Fitz-Pierce hath been of late very earnest wth mee to make him knowen unto your Lo: the wch findinge no oportunity to performe by reason of this busy time, I am enforced to satisfy him wth my letter and all that I have to say is no more but that I knew him in Ireland well esteemed both by my Lo. of Essex and by my Lo. of Devon., by the later of w^ch (as I take it) for his good desertes hee was made knight: I am acquainted wth no sute hee hath ether to your Lo. or the state & therfore having done what hee desired I rest, &c.

The 12 of August[3].

[Endorsed "1606."]

Again, on the 25th of August, Southampton was pleading with Cecil for a friend whose suit in the Duchy of Lancaster had been unduly delayed:

If I did think it any way contrary to the common course of Justice, I would not move it, yet referring your Lordship to your better Judgment &c.[4]

The Earl of Southampton to the Earl of Salisbury:

My Lo: I had much rather doe your Lo: service then bee so often troblesome unto you as I am, yett must I now of necessity renew an owld sute in the behalf of my poore aunt Katherin Cornwallis, who by your Lo. favour hath hetherto lived free from troble for her recusancy, but is now by malice lykely to bee indited if your Lo. interpose not some mean to healp her. My Lo. I can say no more for her then I have alredy done, shee is an owld

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CXCV. 18.
[2] *Ibid.* CXCII. 104.
[3] *Ibid.* CXCII. 120.
[4] *Ibid.* CXCII.

woman, that liveth w^th^out skandall, I am in expectation of some good from her, & I assure my self shee will take no thinge so kindly of mee as to preserve her from this danger: if therefore your Lo. hould it fitt and will healpe her, it will bee to mee (I thinke) a very good turn. Thus wishinge &c. 28 Septr.[1]

[Endorsed "1606."]

Southampton wrote to Salisbury at the end of the year:

My Lord, if this poore corner of the world did afford any things worth the writing I should ere this have often trobled your Lordship with my letters, but since the receyte of your last (for the which I humbly thank you) I have been as diligent to enquire as I could, and can heare of no shipp in these quarters that came newly out of Spayne, though before that time we heard almost every day somewhat or other.

Now my Lord, I must move you in a business which much concerns me to have care of, wherein also yourself is as far interested as I am, it is concerning the estate of my Lord of Devonshire, whereof there is now an office to be founde, a jury out of Northamptonshire beeing appointed to appeare to that purpose in the Court of Wards the Thursday next after Allhallowday, att the which I beseech your Lordship be pleased to afford your owne presence, not that we feare anything, but onely because in a matter of that importance I would be glad we mought proceed with as much security as may be. Another request I have to make to your Lordship, which is that, whereas the day appointed for the apparence of this Jury is the 5th of November, which day is consecrated to the service of God in regard of his mercy shewed on that day in preserving his Majestie and all the estates of the realm, and therefore, as I imagine no court in Westminster will then sit, that your Lordship would be pleased to put it off until the Thursday followinge, which will be the 12th of November, before which time I purpose, God willing, to wait upon your Lordship, being myself also desirous to be there at such time as the matter shall be handled. Thus wishing your Lordship as much contentment and happiness as your self desier I rest

Your Lordship's most assuredly to do you service

H. SOUTHAMPTON.

The 26th of Oct.

P.S. I beseech your Lordship if at any time you chance to meet with my Lord Chief Justice before my coming up make him see that you take this business to hart, for in regard of the sute with Champernonne, which dependeth before him, his favor will much avayle us, whereof though I nothing doute, yet I assure my selfe, when he shall find that your Lordship affects it, he shall be much the more forward to do us good[2].

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CXVIII. 104.
[2] *Ibid.* CXCIV. 14.

The Earl of Southampton to the Earl of Salisbury:

My Lo. I heare since the returne of my brother Arundell that hee taketh the marriage of his sonn much worse then I expected, wch makes me bould to putt your Lo. in minde of my request unto you, that you would bee pleased to use some part of your auctority wth him to make peace between them. I perswed myself your Lo. doth affect it & I am assured it is in your power to bringe it to pass: I doe therefore beseech your Lo. to bestow some small time about it, seeing, as the case standes, the good or ill fortune of the younge man (during his fathers life) dependeth wholy on his pleasure & I make no doute but little paynes will bringe it to a good effect. Thus recommendinge &c.[1]

This letter is undated, but is endorsed "1606."

The commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot was duly performed on November 5th. Nothing very special took place at Court until Thomas Campion's masque was presented at Whitehall on Twelfth Night, 1606–7, at Lord Hay's marriage with the daughter of Lord Denny.

A grant reached the Earl of Southampton, on 14th January, 1607, of the office of Keeper of the New Forest for life[2].

I had looked in every place I could think of for the record of the birth of his second son, afterwards his heir, and I could not find it. Last year Mr R. F. Scott, Master of St John's College, Cambridge, kindly gave it me. It occurred in an unexpected place—in the Register of Little Shelford, co. Cambridge. "1607. Thos Wryosley S. Henry and Eliz. Wroseley, Erle and Countess of Southampton, baptized 2nd April." (See the volume *Ely Episcopal Records* edited by Mr A. Gibbons, p. 354.) Why the Earl should have been there, it seems difficult to say. Probably it was because Shelford Parva was but 9 miles from Royston, so favoured by James, who liked Southampton as a hunting companion. He lived, while there, in a house built by Horatio Pallavicino, with a fine white marble portico in the Italian style. That his abode there was no flying visit may be proved. The same Register records the burial of John Cooke, his servant, in 1608, and of another servant, Valentine Metcalfe, in 1615[3].

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CXIX. 103.
[2] D.S.S.P. James, XXVI. 12. Ind. Wt. Bk. p. 56.
[3] British Museum Add. MS. 5808, vol. VII. f. 304.

CHAPTER XXI

"SOME TO DISCOVER ISLANDS FAR AWAY[1]"

THE call of the sea had rung in Southampton's ear from his youth up. Already the story of the first voyages to the West had become invested with the charms of tradition. His birth was nearly coincident with the early schemes for settlement, in which his own relatives took a prominent share. His chief dwellings were by the sea, his paths were on the sea. His title was taken from the great southern port of which he was made a freeman in 1590–1[2]. The expansion of the earthly horizon westwards stimulated men's imaginations to poetic flights; the circumnavigation of the globe[3] taught them new ideas of science and philosophy. No wonder that Southampton's interest in maritime discovery was unflagging.

The first plan for a settlement on the continent of North America seems to have originated with Carleill in 1574, "to discover sundry rich and unknown lands *fatally* reserved...for England."[4] With him were associated Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir George Peckham, Sir Richard Grenville, and others[5]. A new patent was granted Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his heirs and assigns, for planting people in North America in 1578[6]. In 1580 Sir Thomas Gerrard and Sir George Peckham presented a petition that Sir Humphrey Gilbert had assigned to them his patent for discovering heathen lands[7]. Sir Philip Sidney has distinguished himself in so many ways that his association with early colonisation schemes has been overlooked. In 1581 he had a "grant of thirty hundred thousand acres of ground to be by him discovered and inhabited in certain parts of America not yet discovered." He had it duly enrolled in Chancery[8]. Of this he personally granted 30,000 acres to Sir

[1] *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. 3.
[2] *Corporation Books*, III.
[3] *Hakluyt*, ed. Maclehose, VII. 285.
[4] D.S.S.P. Eliz. XCV. 63.
[5] Colonial S.S.P. Eliz. I. 1.
[6] *Hakluyt*, VIII. 34.
[7] *Ibid.* VIII. 40.
[8] Close Roll, 23 Eliz. part VII. 1153.

George Peckham, of Denham in Kent[1]. Each of these men was called by Southampton "cousin" (though not in the first degree[2]). Sir Humphrey Gilbert's first voyage of 1583 was unfortunate, and he lost most of his money. But he planned another almost immediately. He was much helped both in advice and money by Sir George Peckham. Walter Raleigh, who was also interested, sent his bark *Raleigh* to join his stepbrother's party, but the sickness of the men prevented its sailing with the rest. We all know the tragic end of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his little boat in the storm. One account of the incident was written by Edward Hayes in the *Golden Hind*[3] and another by "Sir George Peckham, the chief adventurer and furtherer of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland."[4]

Raleigh secured a new patent for himself on 25th March, 1584, and an expedition was sent out by him in the following month under Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow. They also "took possession" of a stretch of land, but returned to England in September. In the following April a second fleet was sent out by Raleigh under his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, who left about 37° N. a colony of 108 persons under Master Ralph Lane. In writing home to Walsingham not to attend to Grenville's complaints of certain gentlemen, "because his intolerable pride, insatiable ambition and harsh proceedings to all made him no fit judge," Lane said he had "already discovered rare and singular commodities in the Queen's new Kingdom of Virginia."[5] By the same ship he wrote to Sir Philip Sidney as his "dear friend," and urged him not to lose the chance of coming out to the place, "You only being fit for a chief command in the enterprise."[6] Hakluyt was then producing his first folio, which he meant to dedicate to Sir Philip Sidney. Fulke Greville, his friend, and he had drawn up by 1585 great schemes of conquest and colonization in that Far West land where Sidney's acres lay—Sidney to find the funds and Drake to assume the public responsibility. They both knew that Elizabeth would not grant them permission to go personally, so they did not ask for it; the

[1] D.S.S.P. Eliz. CLXI. 44.

[2] George Peckham's mother was sister to Southampton's grandmother He lost so heavily that in later years he appealed to Cecil for help.

[3] *Hakluyt*, VIII. 34.

[4] Patent Rolls, 6 Eliz. I.

[5] *Hakluyt*, VIII. 319.

[6] Colonial S.S.P. Eliz. I. 3, 5.

secret was a delightful but dangerous one for all concerned. Fulke Greville, with pardonable pride, records how Sidney chose him out of all England, "to be his loving and beloved Achates in this journey."[1] They stole secretly down to Plymouth, where Drake was only waiting a favourable wind to start on one of his buccaneering expeditions. Someone (possibly Drake himself) gave information at Court. A royal mandate was sent to stay them. Sir Philip, with some disguised soldiers, stole it from the pursuivant, so that it was not formally delivered. It was, however, soon confirmed by urgent letters conveyed by a formidable party. The wind was too late in changing, Drake's fleet had to sail without them, and the two youths were taken back to Court, where Greville was denied the foreign travel he so earnestly desired, and Sidney was allowed to go to his uncle in the Low Countries, there to lose his life, severed from his friend. Possibly, had they had their own way, the whole history of American colonisation would have been changed, and Sir Philip have shown the fruition of his riper manhood to the world.

Raleigh's colony, under Lane, had many troubles that year and the next[2], while Sir Francis Drake was performing wonderful exploits against the Spaniards. When he returned homewards north by Raleigh's colony, the tired and anxious survivors were only too glad to be allowed to return with him (19th June, 1586). They were the first to bring home tobacco. Raleigh had sent out a ship of stores for the colonists, which only reached 37° N. after they had departed. Sir Richard Grenville also went to visit them, but, finding no trace of them, left 50 men to search for them. In 1587 Raleigh made another attempt to colonize, sending out a party of 100 men under Captain John White, to found a city and call it *Raleigh*. But their supplies failed; White came home for more, and a small fleet was prepared to go to their help in 1588, when the order went out to stay all ships in English waters for defence against the Spaniards. Through the strenuous efforts of White two small ships were sent off full of provisions, but through the heavy storms

[1] Greville's *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*. My *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries*, p. 167.

[2] *Hakluyt*, VIII. 345. *Purchas, his Pilgrims*, vol. XVI. Stith's *Virginia*, p. 24 *et seq.*

they became so damaged that they were forced to return. Nevermore did the sea bring back news of that colony.

Raleigh having received for his services in Ireland a great reward out of the lands of the Earl of Desmond, on 7th March, 1588–9, passed his Virginia patent to Sir Thomas Smith and Captain John White. They sent out a fleet of supplies to seek the colonists; but they had completely disappeared, and the fleet returned on 24th October, 1590.

Southampton must have been moved also by the ocean career of his connection, the Earl of Cumberland[1]. He had been among the brave spirits who winged the chase of the Armada until it was "scattered by the breath of the Lord." His voyages in quest of the Golden Fleece are a series of romances. Probably it was in imitation of him that young Southampton learned to wear his hair long, unlike the fashion at Court. The Arundels would give him further food for interest, and the voyage of the *Content* even more. This was a ship of Sir George Carey, Lord Hunsdon, Governor of the Isle of Wight, which, with other two small ships, held a royal and satisfactory fight, from seven in the morning till sunset, with six Spanish men-of-war and galleys on 13th June, 1591[2].

Hakluyt also prints a most interesting account by Sir Walter Raleigh of "The last fight of the 'Revenge'" on 31st August, 1591. Sir Richard Grenville had been sent by the Queen to intercept the Spanish Plate fleet, had been separated from his companions, but encountered the Spaniards, and defied them all, alone amid so many. He would never have yielded, but after his fatal wounds his men surrendered. This narrative is certainly the foundation of Gervase Markham's poem, *The Honorable Tragedy of Sir Richard Grenville*, though it was dedicated not to Sir Walter, but to a rival[3].

Captain Raymond's excursion to the East and West Indies is worth noting, as, coming homewards, they were wrecked on the Bermudas, where the survivors stayed five months, built themselves a boat, and escaped in 1592[4].

Sir Robert Dudley, son of the Earl of Leicester, after an adventurous journey passed the Bermudas in 1594; and his captain,

[1] Purchas, XVI. 5, 128.
[2] *Hakluyt*, X. 179.
[3] *Ibid.* VII. 38.
[4] *Ibid.* VII. 194.

Wyatt gave an account of them[1]. Sir Walter Raleigh, when in the shadow of the Queen's wrath for his misdoings with her maid of honour, Elizabeth Throckmorton, paid his first visit to America (not in the northern parts, but in the southern) in 1595. The fabled riches of Guiana fired his imagination and stimulated others to help him, with the hope of regaining the Queen's favour. He published the story of his adventures with a descriptive title, *The Discoverie of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana, with the relation of the great and golden city of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado), etc.*, undertaken, as he said, in the winter of his life "so as to appease so powerful displeasure."[2]

A second voyage to Guiana was described by Laurence Keymis in a letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, who had subscribed liberally towards it. A third voyage to Guiana, set forth by Sir Walter Raleigh, is described by Thomas Masham. Sir Walter had left a servant of his, Francis Sparrey (or Sparrow) by name, when he was over there himself in 1595. This man had been taken by the Spaniards, but after long imprisonment had escaped and returned to England in 1602.

Meanwhile the last voyage of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins ended (after victorious exploits) in Panama, Hawkins dying on 12th November, 1595, Drake on 28th January, 1595–6[3].

Southampton had at last got on shipboard, meaning to go with Essex to fight the Spaniard at Cadiz, but was recalled by the Queen, as Sidney and Greville had been. He did command a ship in 1597, and distinguished himself. Hakluyt's volumes came out in 1589, 1598, 1599, and 1600, and Southampton must have read them. William Strachey takes up the story.

Thus Sir W. Raleigh, weried with so great expense and abused with the unfaithfulness of the ymployed, after he had sent (as you maye see by these fiue several tymes) collonies and supplies at his owne charges, and nowe at length both himself and his successors thus betrayed, he was even nowe content to submit the fortune of the poore men's lives and lief of the holy accion itself into the favour and proteccion of the God of all mercy, whose will and pleasure he submitted unto to be fulfilled, as in all things ells, so in this one particular. By which meanes, for seventeen and eighteen years

[1] *Hakluyt*, VII. 203. [2] *Ibid.* X. 348, 441. [3] *Ibid.* XII. 23, 66.

together, yt lay neglected, untill yt pleased God at length to move againe the heart of a great and right noble earle amongst us,

Candidus et talos a vertice pulcher ad imos,

Henry Earle of Southampton, to take yt in consideration, and seriously advise how to recreate and dipp yt anew into spiritt and life; who therefore (yt being so the will of the Eternall Wisdome, and so let all Christian and Charitable hearted believe in compassion to this people) begun to make new enquiries and much scruteny after the country to examyne the former proceedings, together with the lawfulnes and pious end thereof, and then, having well weighed the greatnes and goodnes of the cause, he lardgely contributed to the furnishing out of a shipp to be commanded by Capt. Bartholomew Gosnoll and Capt. Bartholomew Gilbert, and accompanyed with divers other gentlemen, to discover convenient place for a new colony to be sent thither, who accordingly in March, anno 1602, from Falmouth in a bark of Dartmouth called the Concord sett forward holding a course for the north parts of Virginia. At which tyme, likewise, Sir W. Raleigh once more bought a bark, and hired all the company...for chief Samuel More ...to find those people he had sent thither...in 1587[1].

They reached 34° N., but took little trouble to search, preferring to trade with the natives and return home.

The good ship the Concord setting forth.....about the 14th Maye following, had more success.

The following chapter[2] tells of the success of this good ship "set forthe by the Earl of Southampton." It made land about 43° N., and found it wonderfully fertile. The voyagers would have stayed as a colony; but they wanted to sell their merchandise at home, and returned by the middle of July.

Much was commended the diligence and relation of Captain Gosnoll; howbeit this voyage alone could not satisfye his so intent a spirit and ambition in so great and glorious an enterprise as his Lordship the foresaid Earle of Southampton, who laboured to have yt so beginne, as that it might be continued with all due and prepared circumstances and saffety, and therefore would his lordship be concurrent the second tyme in a new survey and dispatch to be made thither with his brother in law Thomas Arundell Baron of Wardour who prepared a ship for Captain George Waymouth[3].

[1] *Travailes in Virginia* by William Strachey, Secretary and Recorder there, book II. chap. v. p. 153.
[2] *Ibid.* book II. chap. vi. p. 155.
[3] *Ibid.* chap. vii. p. 158. Sloane MSS. 1622.

He also found rich land with a fair river, and took possession of it in the name of the King.

On Weymouth's return his good report joining with Captain Gosnoll's cawsed the business with soe prosperous and faire starres to be accompanied as it not only encouraged the said Earle (the foresaid Lord Arundell being by this tyme changed in his intendment this way, and engaged to the Arch Duke...) but likewise called forth many firme and harty lovers, and some long affected thereunto, who petitioned the King, and were granted a patent on the tenth of April 1606.

These words of William Strachey, the first secretary of Virginia, are all the more necessary to be inserted here, because they are so little known. They give a new idea of the relation of Southampton to the colonies, he being made the figure-head of the new and abiding work of the seventeenth century and Jacobean settlement. Sixteenth century labours had been fruitless, nothing was left of them but a tradition, some experience, and the name "Virginia." To that James added "Britannica."

There is no doubt that Southampton in the Tower would cheer himself by reading Hakluyt's new edition of 1600, which contained the records of the voyages to the West. Indeed, it seems nearly certain that the folio volume depicted at his right hand in the portrait of him taken in the Tower was that very identical volume. But it seems surprising that Strachey should have claimed for a prisoner[1] the active energy of sending forth a new expedition. The puzzle is, not where he found the interest, but where he found the money.

Captain Gosnoll and Captain Weymouth agreed as to the fertility and desirability of the Western land. The former had struck it about 43° N., and recorded the multitude of fish about Cape Cod, the multitude of vines on the islands, the richness of the soil, and the safety of the harbours[2]. Captain Weymouth's party was settled after Southampton was free. He was familiar with the care of forests, the qualities of soil; he understood ships and the management of them; he had made himself familiar with the views of experienced captains trading in all parts of the world; he had the power of attracting men to his service and keeping them there. Sooner than

[1] See also Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, I. 26.
[2] Purchas, XIII. 302. Brown's *Genesis*, p. 26.

he expected it, he had succeeded to the government of the Isle of Wight, in reversion, after the death of Lord Hunsdon, and he had the command of money. Exactly five days after the christening of his first-born son James at Greenwich, with the King as sponsor, on 26th March, 1605, he would be seeing off this second great adventure. James Rosier, a servant of the Arundels, wrote the account of the voyage, and Purchas gives liberal extracts from it[1]. The *Archangel* started upon Easter Day, the last of March, about 5 o'clock in the afternoon from the Downs,

being well-victualled and furnished with munitions and all necessaries, our company being nine and twenty persons, of whome I dare boldly say few voyages have been manned forth with better seamen generally in respect of our small number.

They drew near land at 41½° N. on Monday, 13th May, and stood off till the dawn of Saturday, Whitsun Eve, when they took shelter in a well-wooded island with abundance of fruit and plentiful supplies of fowl and fish. Some canoes of savages came to see them *from the east*. They reached a fine harbour at the mouth of a beautiful river, whose banks were fertile and fit for pasture.

We cannot describe the worthiness thereof, the abundant utilitie and sweet pleasantness, and its goodness for shipping...any man may conceive with what admiration we all consented in joy; many who had been travellers in sundry countries, and in the most famous rivers, yet affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld. Some that were with Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage to Guiana, in the discovery of the river Orinoco, which echoed fame to the world's ears, gave reason why it was not to be compared with this.

There was no sign that any Christian had ever been on that shore; so Captain Weymouth erected a cross, and took possession of it in the name of King James. Many of the men wished to settle. "We all concluded we should never see the like river in any degree equal, until it pleased God we should see the same again." The captain reckoned that point, sixty miles up the river, as 43° N. One would like to know where in latitude 41½° N. they had first seen land, and what is the modern name of that unequalled river. They were safely back in Dartmouth on 18th July, 1605. Mr Brown says: "The period between the return of Weymouth and the return

[1] Purchas, XVIII. 335. Brown, p. 27.

of Dale, June 1616, was the period of the First Foundation."[1] Had that failed, the United States would not have been as they are to-day. Mr Brown notes a very mysterious agreement which no one else records. In the autumn of 1605 Captain Weymouth intended to make a merchant voyage back to Virginia, but was diverted from his intention by a more ambitious scheme. An agreement was drawn up by Sir John Zouch of Codnor, in the County of Derby, and Captain George Weymouth of Cockington, Co. Devon, that Zouch should pay the expenses of two vessels fully fitted, and Weymouth should be next in command under himself. Zouch was to give Weymouth £100 in twenty-one days and allow him to fulfil his agreement with certain merchants to take their shipments. When they should arrive near land, Weymouth was to give Sir John the best advice he could as to a settlement; Sir John was to choose first what land he wanted, and Weymouth was to choose second. The agreement was signed by four witnesses, one of them James Rosier[2]. But nothing more is known as to this apparently poaching scheme. Captain Bartholomew Gosnoll had been on a voyage to the East and had returned to London. He had much admired the charms of Virginia and bestirred himself now to return. He prevailed on Edward Wingfield, Captain John Smith, and a few others to assist his efforts. Six months after the return of the *Archangel*, the Privy Council instructed Lord Chief Justice Popham and Sir John Herbert to call together those they thought fit and confer about the plantation of Virginia[3], and they record the Patent of 10th April, 1606[4], not for one company only, that of London, but for a second for the Merchant Adventurers of Plymouth and the western ports.

The first colony was to be at some convenient spot between 31° N. and 41° N., the second colony to be formed at least 100 miles north of the first. The chiefs of the first company were Sir Thomas Gates, George Somers, Dr Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Harman, Rawly Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham. The King's Colonial Council included Sir Walter Cope, Sir Ferdinando

[1] Brown's *Genesis*, I. 33.
[2] *Ibid.* 33–64, 75–95.
[3] Privy Council Register.
[4] *Colonial Entry Book*, LXXIX. 1–12. Purchas, XVIII. 400–459. Patent Roll, 4 James I, part 19, No. 1709.

Gorges, Sir George More, Sir Henry Neville, Sir Fulke Greville, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Sir Thomas Roe.

The literature of the time, in so far as it reflects the progress of western discovery, is not abundant. Daniel in 1603, in *Musophilus*, alludes to the "unformed occident." The satirical play *Eastward Hoe*, 1605, brought Chapman, Marston, and even Ben Jonson into trouble. They were imprisoned, with a threat of having their ears cut off. Some said it was because the play was supposed to throw scorn on the Scotch as a nation; others, that it was because of the mockery of great men at Court in their schemes of adventure, discovery, and colonisation. Southampton may have been marked as one of these. Sir Petronel Flask says: "I am sorrie (by reason of my instant haste to so long a voyage as Virginia) I am without means by any kind amends to shew how affectionately I take your kindness."[1] Quicksilver says of him: "All he could any wise get he bestowed on a ship bound for Virginia."[2] Captain Sea Gull gives a description of Virginia: "Wild Boar is common there, as tame Bacon with us, and gold commoner than copper." The Earl of Southampton and his brother-in-law were then known to be fitting out the *Archangel*; the four falcons of Southampton's arms have even been described by some heralds as *sea-gulls*; and Captain Sea Gull is possibly a satire on Gosnoll or Weymouth. It is possible that Ben Jonson's share was limited to the chaffing of his rivals, a habit rather encouraged at Court. The *Spanish Tragedy* is quoted; "Hamlet" is the name given to Lady Flash's footman[3]. Her sister's marriage was hastened "That the cold meats left at your wedding might serve to furnish the nuptial tables," and she herself sings Ophelia's ballad, "His head as white as milk, all flaxen was his haire." Ben Jonson implies that he voluntarily shared his friends' imprisonment; but he wrote a very humble appeal to Salisbury to work his pardon and deliverance, assuring him that all the objectionable parts had been put in by the players themselves. After due delay they seem to have been delivered without further punishment[4].

A very different spirit inspired Drayton's *Ode*, published in a small octavo volume, undated, but about that time. Drayton must have read Rosier's account of Weymouth's voyage; so it could not

[1] *Eastward Hoe*, III. 1.
[2] *Ibid.* I. 1.
[3] *Ibid.* III. 2.
[4] *Cecil Papers.*

have been written before 1605, and, as it addresses those about to start, it could not have been written after 1606. In the 1619 edition it is the 11th poem, *Ode to the Virginian Voyage.*

> You brave heroique minds
> Worthy your country's name.

Captain Christopher Newport was in charge of the transport of the colony, and the fleet left London on 20th December, 1606. Contrary winds made it the 5th of January before they put out, to sail by the Canaries, then the customary route to Virginia[1]. On April the 26th they sighted the Chesapian Bay, where they meant to settle. The story of the settlement is one of trouble and difficulty caused by discord, chiefly arising from lack of discipline. Too many undesirables had been shipped over to get rid of them, ignorant of any useful industry. Everything being considered common property, these were not ashamed to eat what they had not earned. They had at first chosen an unhealthy site. Many died. "On the 20th August, 1607, died Kenelm Throgmorton; on the 22nd died Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, both honourably buried." Starvation came. "If God had not put terror in our enemies' hearts, and also pity to bring us provisions, we should all have died." The labours of thirty of the best sustained the lives of nearly 200 of the others. These deserved well; but out of the chaos arises only one grand heroic figure, that of Captain John Smith, who possessed all the qualities necessary to make a successful settler. He taught them to dig, to build a fort, to fashion boats, to barter with the natives. He always took the difficult jobs himself, travelling through the neighbourhood to see how the land lay, to learn the language, to make treaties with the tribes. More than once he was nearly slain, and he was only saved by the courage of Pocahontas, the favourite daughter of the wily King Powhatan. On his life and fortunes hung the fates of many. But jealousies against him prevailed, and at last a cruel accident forced him to return. The second company sent out, on May 31st, 1607, an expedition under Captain George Popham, President; Captain Rawly Gilbert, Admiral; and Captain Edward Harlow, Master of the Ordnance. They began ambitiously, but the weather was against them, and they returned to England on the

[1] Purchas, XVIII. 459. Papers of Captain John Smith, principal agent and "patient" in Virginia.

death of Sir John Popham, their President's father, in 1608. Notwithstanding the failure of the second colony, the Earl of Southampton and his friends of the Isle of Wight employed Captain Edward Harlow to make another voyage of discovery and investigate the islands about Cape Cod, which Captain Weymouth found. The natives of the district called Aggawam treated the explorers kindly, and Aggawam was renamed *Southampton* by Prince Charles. The disorders in the first colony increased; everyone who came home told his own tale to screen himself. The Council read everything through a mist of lies. Sir Ferdinando Gorges wrote to Salisbury on 7th February, 1607–8: "Our second ship has returned....The people have split up into factions and disgraced each other....We shall have much ado to go forward as we ought. For my own part, I should be proud if I might be thought worthy to be the man commanded to the accomplishment thereof."[1] His offer was not accepted.

The King granted a new charter on the 23rd of May, 1609[2], abrogating the old, extending the bounds and the privileges of the colony, and forming a new London Company, which included some of the higher nobility—the Earls of Salisbury, Suffolk, Southampton, Pembroke, Lord Sheffield, and others. Sir Thomas Smith remained treasurer. Among the members were William Crashaw, clerk, B.D., and Raleigh Crashaw.

This new company on the 29th of May invited the Englishmen resident in the Low Countries to join. The letter was signed by Southampton, Pembroke, Lord Lisle, Lord De la Warre, etc. These names attracted so many subscribers that they began preparing their fleet in that same month. The government was intrusted to Lord De la Warre, who sent Sir Thomas Gates as his deputy, Sir George Somers as Admiral, and Captain Newport as Vice-Admiral. The King insisted that each of these should be furnished with his new commission, and whoever should reach the colony first should read it to the inhabitants, and take order thereupon. Some question of priority having roused jealousy among the three leaders, they agreed all to go in the Admiral's ship, the *Sea-*

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CXX. 66.

[2] *Colonial Papers*, I. 17. *Colonial Entry Book*, vol. I. XXXIX. 49, 728. Patent Roll, 7 James I, pt. 8, 23rd May. Brown's *Genesis*, 229.

Adventure, with 150 men. There were eight ships and a small pinnace, the number of men in all being 500. They became separated from each other in a great storm. Seven of the ships arrived in Virginia by the 11th of August, but the Admiral's ship and the pinnace were missing, and therefore there was no new governor appointed.

Captain John Smith, the only survivor of the original Council, had been acting as president, but, meeting with nothing but contempt, he had sailed for England after his serious wound, leaving George Percy president in his stead[1]. He left "four hundred and ninety odd men, three ships, seven boats, commodities for ten weeks' provision, corn newly gathered, hogs, chickens, goats, sheep, ammunition, tools, nets, and necessaries sufficient." His greatest maligners soon cursed his loss. The Indians had no respect for any other man among them, they boldly stole, and cut off all stragglers from the camp. Fear kept even the industrious from hunting, fishing or planting. George Percy was far from well. In six months they had reached their "starving time." By the time the ships arrived, their numbers had been reduced from 500 to 60.

And the Council at London went on hopefully, knowing nothing of all this woe.

The postscript of a letter written by Southampton to Salisbury on 15th December, 1609, is interesting, as shewing the King's love of natural history.

Talking with the King by chance I towld him of the Virginia Squirrels, which, they say, will fly, whereof there are divers brought into England, and hee presently and very earnestly asked mee, if none of them were provided for him, and whether your Lordship had none for him, saying that he was sure you would gett him one of them. I would not have troubled you with this, but that you know so well how he is affected to these toyes, and with a little enquiry of any of your folks you may furnish yourself to present him att his coming to London, which will not be before Wensday next and the Monday before at Theobalds, and the Saturday before at Royston[2].

William Strachey, in his *Travailes in Virginia*, notes:

A small beast they have which the Indians call Assapanick, not passing so big as a rat, but we call them flying Squirrels because, spreading their legges,

[1] Stith's *Virginia*, pp. 108–112.
[2] *Col. Papers*, I. 19. D.S.S.P. James, 65.

from whence to either shoulder runnes a flappe or fynne, much like a bat's wing, and so stretching the largeness of their skynne, they have been seen to make a pretty flight from one tree to another, sometimes twenty or thirty yardes[1].

In the same year as this, in which he openly joined the Virginia Company, Southampton joined the East India Company. In their Court Minutes of May 30th, 1609, there is entered:

Power to the Governors to admit the Lord Treasurer, the Lords of Worcester, Southampton and others, favourers of the Company, and no mere merchants, to be free of the East India Company, they being adventurers or otherwise[2].

In the Court Minutes for July 6th, 1609, is noted:

A brace of Bucks sent by the Earl of Southampton to the Company to make merry withal in regard of their kindness in accepting him of their company[3].

On October 27th of that year:

Lord Mounteagle asked to be made free of the Company, on the same conditions as Lord Southampton, he adventuring £500, and giving the Company a brace of Bucks yearly at the Election (willingly granted)[4].

On January 9th, 1609–10[5], the Earl of Southampton asked the Company to admit Mr Haines, whom he had appointed to manage his adventures. In the year 1610 sad news travelled from West to East, which plunged the nation into dismay. The seven ships had arrived without their admiral, had found the colony crushed and despairing, calling for food and necessities. Mr Brown notes in his *Genesis* that the first time Virginia was mentioned in Parliament was in the debate on 14th February, 1609–10, whether or not Sir George Somers had lost his seat by going thither. They did not then know that he had not yet reached his destination. Lord De la Warre had not started as soon as he had intended, and William Crashaw preached what was meant to be a Godspeed sermon on the 21st of that month, "before the Right Honorable Lord la Warre Lord Governor and Captain General of Virginia, and others of his Majestie's Council for that Kingdom." Southampton would certainly be present. The sermon has been printed,

[1] Strachey's *Travailes in Virginia*, bk I. p. 123, l. 10.
[2] No. 433.
[3] Bk II. 119–123, 448.
[4] Bk II. 143, 463.
[5] Bk II. 479.

and Brown gives copious selections from it. The preacher speaks of the lawfulness, excellency, goodness, and plain necessity of this present action, the principal end being the plantation of a Church of English Protestants and the conversion of the heathen. It sheds a curious light on the reverend gentleman's attitude to a burning question of the day. The discouragements have been from enemies.

> The Spaniard is not an enemy, the French follow our example, the Savages invite us. There are only three enemies, the Divell, the Papists and the *Players*...they play with Princes and Potentates, Magistrates and Ministers...nothing that is good and holy can escape them, how then can this action?...The Divell hates us, so do the Players[1] because we resolve to suffer no idle persons in Virginia, which course, if it were taken in England, they know they might turn to new occupations....Those of the Council are blessed, those of the Colony are the Lord's Apostles....Blessed be the Lord God of Virginia....I am not worthy to be thy Apostle, but I vow and devote myself to be in England thy faithful factor and solicitor, and most desirous to do thee service.

This is entered at Stationers' Hall as "A Sermon preached by Master Crashaw intituled a Newe Year's gift to Virginia by W. Crashaw B.D. and Preacher of the Middle Temple, March 19th 1610."

Lord De la Warre finally started on April 1st, 1610, and reached the settlement on June 9th of that year, to find that the company in the admiral's ship had been saved, and had brought succour to the colony; but this had been in vain, and all had already started homewards, while yet there was provision enough to let them reach Newfoundland.

A series of miracles seems to have happened. Of the nine boats sent out by the Council of London, only the pinnace perished. The *Sea-Adventure*, or at least its company, had not been so hapless. They had been living through a great epic poem of the sea. They had lost sight of their party on the 25th of July, 1609; had been driven through the gates of death to a haven of hope; had saved all their party and much of their property; had been sheltered, fed, and encouraged in the Island of Devils (the Bermudas) to build two pinnaces under Sir George Somers' direction; and had escaped to

[1] Was Crashaw thinking of *Eastward Hoe*? And was he yet to learn to think of Chapman in another light?

the settlement, and found themselves there in much better condition than either the settlers or the voyagers in the seven other ships. The general hopelessness depressed even the leaders, and they planned, as we have seen, to save the lives of the men and sacrifice the colony.

Lord De la Warre was just in time to stop them. He made them all turn their boats back to the fort, and sent Sir George Somers and Captain Argall in their new-built ships back to the Bermudas for an immediate supply of food, and Sir Thomas Gates back to England for many urgent necessaries. The governor, by that ship, sent an official letter narrating the circumstances, written by his secretary, W. Strachey, to Lord Salisbury, who endorsed it "received September 1610." Thus the country first heard a little of the tempest. Sir George Somers knew the difficulties he had to encounter, but agreed cheerfully (it is said he suggested it) to go in search of food for his company. He again encountered storms, and had some difficulty in forcing his way into the island that he never expected to see again. He was not young, he overstrained himself in the efforts he made to fulfil a duty so urgent; he died there, and the island became his monument. His nephew and followers forgot their duty to the colony and returned home in his ship, leaving the island with but three men on it, while they carried the admiral's body home to bury it in his native place of Whitchurch, Dorset[1].

Captain Argall had missed finding the Bermudas altogether, but returned home with supplies that he had secured elsewhere. Not long afterwards Lord De la Warre fell ill, appointed Sir Thomas Dale president until the return of Sir Thomas Gates, went to the wonderful bath in the West Indies to refresh himself, and returned home. His speedy reappearance much discouraged the Company, seriously strengthened the evil reports of the colony's condition, and hampered home effort. But his Lordship gave a public oration on the charms and opportunities of Virginia, and on his own intention of going back to end his days there, and that restored hope.

The literature of the period is extremely interesting, especially to those who search for contemporary events which throw light on Shakespeare's plays. Shortly after the return of Sir Thomas Gates

[1] Purchas, XVIII. 528; XIX. 85.

the London Council drew up a declaration of the wonderful deliverance of the party in the *Sea-Adventure*, and the advantages to be expected from the improving state of the colony. This was dated 1610, but it must not be forgotten that the year then ended on the 25th March, so it is quite probable this meant March, 1611. Silvester Jourdan, one of the passengers on board the *Sea-Adventure*, came home with Sir Thomas Gates, and, hurrying to reach the ears of the public first, hastened to dedicate his MS. to "Master John Fitz James Esquire, Justice of the Peace in Dorsetshire," probably a friend of Sir George Somers. He did not risk taking out a licence, in case he would be stayed, and he dates his little quarto 1610, but of course that also might mean any date before 25th March. Now, Malone thought that he had *discovered* these two publications, and by them he fixed the date at which Shakespeare must have secured his ideas for *The Tempest*. He explains this in a little quarto privately printed by himself in 1808, and this is reprinted in the Variorum edition of Shakespeare's works in 1821[1]. This view has been held by many writers since; but is quite insufficient to prove Malone's statement that Shakespeare's *Tempest* was probably completed in the spring of 1611; and Jourdan's account was insufficient to originate Shakespeare's vivid pictures in his early scenes.

[We have no definite proof that Southampton carried on in his busier years the active interest in Shakespeare which he had felt in his youth. Neither is there anything to set against a possibility that he did continue this interest, though their meetings must necessarily have been at rarer intervals. Such a suggestion seems to arise in relation to this very question. Shakespeare may have read Silvester Jourdan's narrative early in 1611, read it with interest, and might have taken notes. But it was not Silvester Jourdan who inspired him to the writing of *The Tempest*. It was the writing of another, who also had shared in the dangers of the *Sea-Adventure*, but had not come home with Sir Thomas Gates—a writer whose work was not published till 1625. How then did Shakespeare know of it? None of his fellow-writers knew of it—not Chapman, nor Daniel, nor Drayton, nor Jonson; how then did he find his inspiration? It evidently was from a private letter written by this

[1] Vol. xv. 385.

William Strachey, secretary to Lord De la Warre, and afterwards appointed Recorder of Virginia, the very man who, a few years afterwards, described Southampton's work on the colonies in such glowing terms as have been recorded above. This private letter was addressed to an "Excellent Lady" whose name is not given. A "Noble Lady"? There were many "Excellent Ladies" in England. Who was *this* lady? Much depends upon that. It might have been Lady Cecily, daughter of Sir Thomas Sherley (sister of the three adventurous brothers who made the world their home) and wife of Lord De la Warre. Or the letter may have been written to Elizabeth, Countess of Southampton, as likely to be interested in the accidents of the voyage as well as the affairs of the colony. She was the "most-honoured Lady" to whom Anthony Gibson dedicated his *Defence of Women*, and the "Gracious Lady" later addressed by the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge. The position of her husband in regard to the colonies makes this quite possible, and the fact that the letter was not published until she was winding up her husband's affairs in 1625 rather strengthens than weakens the probability of the attribution.

Whether Strachey's letter reached Lady De la Warre or Lady Southampton, Southampton himself would be sure to have seen it. And it is more than possible, it is even likely, that, after others concerned had perused it in the leisurely way of those days, he might secure it to lend to Shakespeare. This would probably be early in 1611. Strachey himself came home at the end of 1611, and he might well have met Shakespeare, gossiped with him, and, finding his keen interest, might have shown him his draught copy of the letter. At least, in some way or other, Shakespeare saw that letter, and he could not have written his play until he had done so. To the spell of Strachey's impassioned word-painting Shakespeare surrendered himself; he could see through Strachey's eyes, and he conveys to us the visions he sees through Strachey's words and phrases.

The Heavens looked black upon us, not a star by night not a sunbeam by day....The winds singing and whistling through the shrouds....The sea swelled above the clouds, and gave battaile unto heaven....Windes and seas were as mad as fury and rage could make them[1].

[1] Purchas, XIX. 6.

He describes the labours at the pumps, the hopeless efforts continued only through custom, the recourse to the "strong waters."

Prayers might be in many hearts and lips, but were drowned by the out-cries of the officers....Nothing was heard that could give comfort....Nothing was heard that might encourage hope[1].

They saw

an apparition of a little round light, like a faint star trembling, and streaming along with a sparkling blaze, half the height of the maine mast, and shooting some time from shroud to shroud...three or four hours together[2].

When they were driven ashore, it was not on the rocks but *between* the rocks; and the miraculous calm came, and all on board landed on the "little sandy bay." It is in that letter Shakespeare discovered his "island far away."

We know that Southampton discussed literary questions with Shakespeare in his youth—"Thou art all my art." It is possible that he did so now. Let us imagine it.

I took that letter to the Prince and Princess, Will; it moved them more than aught else that ended well. You must get these conceits somehow into the play you will write for her wedding. She will understand. They have not settled the Bridegroom yet. I feared that there might be some Spanish blood enriched. But the Prince has sworn to me she shall not marry against her own sweet will. That settled, I know whom she will choose. The Palsgrave of the Rhine, young, like herself, fair, true, and debonair. But that matters not for the substance of your play; whoever he be, he must come over the sea to win our precious Island Princess. Suit her, never mind him at present. I'll find up some new-old legends to help your plot, and I had a bundle of books ready for you, amongst them one by a Scotchman. In spite of their bare rocks some of them can produce rare flowers of poetry. Hear him:

"These golden Palaces, these gorgeous Halls.
Evanish all like vapours in the air."[3]

And, Will, bend thy proud soul to the new fashion of Masques. You can do them too—none better, for *her* sake. When is *Pandosto* coming out? Were old Robert Greene alive, he would have more to say of "*borrowed feathers*." I am glad you saved Bellaria in your play. That was a rare conceipt of your Paulina—a noble woman indeed. But, I forgot, Will. If ever

[1] Purchas, XVIII. 403.
[2] The Greeks called the light "Castor and Pollux," the Italians "St Elmo's Fire."
[3] *Darius*, by William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, 1603.

you send more royal babes out in boats again to seek their fortune, do not let the bears eat up their guardian. Do not try an *Infans Mirabilis* again. Fawnia might inherit her mother's nature and beauty, but she would not inherit her language, her manners, her thoughts—without example and without instruction. (Don't I know with my own?) And, Will, if you could give some faint reflection of the Sieur de Montaigne, it would please the Queen, and me, and my dear old tutor himself, the resolute John Florio. Begin at once, soul of invention!

The *Winter's Tale* came out that spring; Forman saw it at the Globe in May, and the poet turned to the wedding play. A work so full of art, philosophy, and characterisation could not have been written in a hurry. Malone says he was *certain* it was produced in 1611, but you may search his works in vain for any proof further than that he had *discovered* Jourdan's book[1], and the Council's "Declaration," published in 1610, and therefore (not even thinking that the year ended on 25th March) that the poet must have done his work in a hurry, for no particular reason. Cunningham believed that too, but the three play lists of the seventeenth century make so many errors that we are not bound to believe they happened to be right on this one statement[2]. Shakespeare's play was ready in time, and awaiting the Princess; but she had to wait, not for the bridegroom, but for her brother. He died, and all the nation mourned. Plays were held back till February, 1612–13. Then Chapman wrote his long-winded *Epicede on Prince Henry*, and *his* version of *The Tempest* in the passage beginning "The poor Virginian miserable sail." Then Daniel set on his *Masque of the Virginian Priests of the Sun* Then Shakespeare produced the wonderful creation miraculously initiated by the storm,

> A contract of true love to celebrate.
> And some donation freely to estate
> On the bless'd lovers.
>
> (*Tempest*, IV. I.)]

[1] See his *Incidents of The Tempest*, 1808; also vol. XV. *Shakespeare*, p. 404, edit. 1821.

[2] Extracts from Revels Books, 1842. Shak. Soc. Public. *Times Lit. Supp.* Dec. 2nd, 1920, p. 798, and Feb. 24th, 1921, p. 127.

CHAPTER XXII

THE OCCURRENTS IN ENGLAND

THERE was trouble among Southampton's elder relatives in 1607. The Dowager Lady Montague was very ill. Lord Shrewsbury wrote to Salisbury "very early on Thursday, 16th April, 1607,"[1] asking him to see that "order be taken that day for the old Lady Montague his kinswoman, or it would be too late." She was a very fervent Catholic, and her house at St Mary Overies was a residence and rendez-vous for priests. Yet powerful influence favoured her. "When under notice of search for the powder-treason, she obtained letters from the King's Council 5th April 1606...that none besides four by herself named should search her house."[2] Again she was sued for not going to Church, and she received protection. The King's Council, by letters addressed to the Attorney-General on 19th April, 1607, commanded that no sentence should proceed against her as to her true allegiance to the King.

Probably reminded of her mortality by these dangers, the Countess Dowager of Southampton made her will on the 22nd of April, 1607. This document is too important to the family history to be passed by without some analysis.

In reasonable estate of body and perfect memory she willed her body to be interred..."as near as may be to the body of my dearly loved husband Henrie late Earl of Southampton in the church at Tychfield. My executors to see to this, inhibiting them to use any pompe, vain ostentation, ydle ceremonie, or any superfluous charge at or about my funerall; neither more blacks to be bestowed than on my household servants....I leave to my Honorable and deare sonne Henrie Earle of Southampton Ten pieces of hanging of the Story of Cirus: Six pieces of hanging in which the Months are described, Two pieces of hangings with gold wroughte in them and Sir Thomas Henneage his Armes. A Scarlet Bedde with gold lace, with all the furniture, stooles, chayres and cusshions, and all other thinges belonging to it; and a white Satin Bedde embroidered, with the Stooles, chayres, cusshions, and all other furniture. All my chayres, Stooles, and Cushions of greene

[1] *Cecil Papers*, cxx. 166.
[2] *Life of Lady Montague*, by her Confessor.

Clothe of Golde. Two of my best down beddes, with bolsters, pillows & Blanckets, Four of my best Turkey Carpets, whereof one of them is silk. Two of my best and fayrest basons and Ewers of Silver, with 4 pottes of silver belonging to them: Sixe of my best and greatest candlesticks of silver, and a ringe of gold with a fayre table diamond in it, which Sir Thomas Heneage had of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sixtene loose diamonds, which my desire is that my said deare sonne should set in a George of gold, and weare in memory of me, his loving mother. Also I give to my good and loving daughter-in-lawe Elizabeth Countess of Southampton, my double rope of round pearls which myself did accustom to weare about my necke; my best Tissue Kirtle, and 6 paire of my finest sheetes, with twelve pillowbeers. Also I bequeath to my good daughter the Ladie Arundell, wife unto the Lord Arundell, my jewell of golde sett with dyamentss, called a *Jesus*, yf she happen to be living at the time of my decease. I give to Katharine Poole, one of my waiting gentlewomen, one hundred pounds in redie money, within a year after my decease, and to the saide Katharine Poole, and Katharine Gates my other wayting gentlewoman, all my wearing apparel (except my garments of tissue, and such as have pearles in them) and all my wearing linen to be divided betwixt them. To John Brooke my servant £20. Among the rest of my servants men and women £40 to be distributed. To George, Lord Carew, Baron of Clopton, one gilt christening cup with a cover to it. All the rest of my goods and chattels, household stuff and estate, to my deare and well-beloved husband Sir William Harvey, whom I make sole executor of this my last will and testament, praying him as an argument of his love to me, that he will be careful of my page Robert Jones, his sister's son, and in his discretion, at my request, to provide for him that he may be enabled to live, and to know that I had a care for him.

Lastly I appoint my good and loving friend George, Lord Carew, Baron of Clopton, to be the Overseer of this my last will, desiring him in a friendly care and assistance to see this performed. I have set my hand and seal to this on 22nd April 1607.

M. SOUTHAMPTON.

Memorandum. I leave my deare son, all the pictures in the little gallerie at Copthall.

M. SOUTHAMPTON[1].

Probatum fuit 14th November 1607, by Sir William Harvey, Mil.

This will reveals much of the personal character of the testatrix. She was unostentatious in a prudent way, because she was relatively poor, and had to be economical, if she wished to help her relatives. She was affectionate in disposition and forgiving in heart. One has only to compare her will with that of the husband who left

[1] P. C. C. Huddleston, 86.

her "as bare as he could," to realise these points in her character. Her son had not pleased her at one time, but there is no reminiscent note of offence. He would naturally receive back the family property tied for her dower, and she was eager to keep up the family dignity through him, by bequeathing to him all her best and most showy furniture. At the same time, she is anxious to help her present husband, because he needed money help. He would understand just why she acted so, and the world would understand. Court gossips wrote of her, "the old Countess of Southampton is dead, she hath left the best part of her stuff to her son, and the most part to her husband."

On the 2nd of May, 1607, Gervase Markham, who had been exiled to Belgium for complicity in Lord Cobham's treason, appealed to Salisbury from Brussels. He

had been cleared at the Bar....Mr Walton and Mr Brooke had hatched that unfortunate action. I could never be wonne until my Lord of Rutland had gotten from me those unfortunate packes which so much blinded my understanding as made me then be touched with a beastly, blind, inhuman humour which hath ever since made me odious to myself. My Lord Cobham and his brother had nothing taken from them, my Lord Gray had a book prepared for him, Sir Walter was displaced, but with recompense....I only had all taken from me...by the favour done me in dooming me banishment....I have had no opportunity to shew my sorrow for my fault[1].

He prays for mercy and pardon.

In the following month he wrote again (24th June, 1607)[2]. He had lost both his father and his father-in-law, and through them £280 per annum. He again entreats pardon, that he may return and earn some money to live. His enemies here prevent him from doing so. (These appeals seem to have been in vain; he writes again in the same strain on 31st March, 1608[3].)

Salisbury, writing to Sir Thomas Lake, explains that he has been to take a last look at Theobalds before it passes to the King. The owners of the neighbouring lands are to meet him, to compound for enlarging the Park. The Earls of Suffolk, Worcester, and Southampton met him at Hatfield to discuss the site of his future habitation[4].

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CXXI. 23.
[2] *Ibid.* CXXI. 101.
[3] *Ibid.* CXXV. 69.
[4] D.S.S.P. James, XXVII. 7.

The King had always greatly admired Theobalds, the residence of the Earl of Salisbury, and wished it had been one of his own palaces[1]. The prudent Secretary gratified his master's wish, and formally handed it over to the King on 22nd May, in exchange for Hatfield. There were great doings at the delivery of Theobalds to the Queen, with a masque by Ben Jonson.

Southampton's only sister, the "sweet Lady Arundel" of Court gossip, died on 27th June of that year; so she probably did not receive the legacy left her by her mother. Her brother would certainly attend her funeral at Tisbury, Wiltshire.

The Grooms of the Chamber note their expenses in making ready Beaulieu Church and the Earl of Southampton's house at Beaulieu for his Majesty in July, 1607[2]; also "for making readie the house of the Dean of Salisbury, July and August; for making readie two severall houses for his Majestie to dine at the Earl of Pembroke's at Wilton, and Mr Corrantes at Cranborne Chase, Aug. 1607."

For the King was back again that year, to see sport in the New Forest. On the 5th of August Sir Thomas Lake wrote to the Earl of Salisbury from Winchester:

> Concerning the Proclamation sent from my Lord of Southampton, because his Lordship doth so earnestly in his letter desire that his Majesty would take an exact view of it, his Lordship hath putt off the consideration of it until his being at Beaulieu. This day being a festival day here, his Majesty was attended here this day by the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery and others of the ordinary trayne, and besydes with the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Sandys, and the Lord Chief Justice and some gentlemen of your country, who have been fayne to scatter for their dynner. Wherewith his Majestie was much offended, that upon such a time for a meale there had not been a table for the receipt of the noblemen and gentlemen resorting to the Court[3].

Among the State Papers is preserved a List of Abstracts of Letters received by Salisbury, probably drawn up for him by his clerk. One of these notes runs:

> The Erle of Southampton 10 August. His debt was for arrerages of subsidy in the Queen's Time, part of which he will pay this next Terme,

[1] Nichols' *Prog.* II. 128.
[2] Dec. Acc. Treas. Ch., Audit Off. 389, 46.
[3] *Cecil Papers*, CXXI. 168.

other parts he can soon make appear no way to concern him. The rest of his debt is upon a forfeiture of a bond, for 1000 marks for woods, for which he desires forbearance until next Terme, and then he will submit himself when he shall speak with your Lordship to make order as your Lordship shall set downe[1].

On the 10th of August the King was at Beaulieu; by the 20th he was visiting Salisbury[2]. On the 16th of September the King's daughter, Lady Mary, died, but little notice was taken of the event[3].

Southampton wrote to Salisbury in November:

My Lord, the Bearer, Captain Gosnell, having latelie returned from Constantinople in his journey hath lost his companion Captain Sasy [?] who died in the way homewards. He had a pension of the King of 3/ a day, the which the bearer thinketh will bee easily procured by your Lordship's meanes, though for my part I am not of his opinion, yet can I not deny him my letter, which he will neades have. All that I can say for him is that I thinke he both hath, and may hereafter depose as much, and if he had it I should be very glad of it. Thus recommending unto your Lordship my best wishes, I rest your Lordship's most assuredly to doe you service

H. SOUTHAMPTON[4].

2nd Nov. [1607?]

Chamberlain, writing to Carleton, starts the news of the following year on the 5th of January. "All the holidays there were plays, but little company to them." On January 8th "there was golden play at Court. Nobody brought less than £300," and he records their losses. Southampton's name was not among the gamblers.

The Thames was frozen over that winter, and long remained so.

The Queen's second great Masque of Beauty, which had been prepared for Twelfth Night, was postponed until 14th January, when it was performed at Whitehall. Ben Jonson in his Introduction explains that the Queen had "intermitted these delights for more than three years." Ben Jonson had another masque ready for the marriage of Viscount Haddington and Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe[5], on Shrove Tuesday at night.

[1] D.S.S.P. James, XXXVI. 48. [2] Rymer's *Foedera*, XVI. 663.
[3] Nichols' *Prog.* II. 134. *Cecil Papers*, CXCIV. 19.
[4] If the date is correct, this cannot be Captain Bartholomew Gosnoll, who died in Virginia 22nd August, 1607. But he is known to have had a brother of like tastes. [5] Nichols' *Prog.* II. 164.

On the 19th of April, 1608,

the Earl of Dorset being Lord Treasurer departed out of this world as he sat at the Council Table with the rest of the Lords, about three or four o'clock in the afternoon[1].

On the 6th of May following Lord Salisbury was appointed his successor in the office of Lord Treasurer, though he retained his secretaryship also.

The Venetian ambassador wrote his official letter on May 21, 1608, in which he said:

They are very anxious here about Irish affairs, and beside the provisions already reported, they intend to send over with the title of Commander-in-Chief the Earl of Southampton, an officer who has fought with distinction on previous occasions in that Island[2].

But that proposition, as so many others concerning him had done, took no effect. People were anxious about the prospects of the harvest, and a proclamation was issued on the 2nd June to give orders how to deal with it.

James wrote an extraordinary letter to Salisbury on 5th August, while he was on Progress. He addressed the new Lord Treasurer as "My little Beagle,"[3] and while speaking of the Councillors who managed "a feminine Court" in his absence, added:

For your part, Maister *10*, I cannot but be jalous of your greatness with my wife, but most of all am I suspicious of 3...never having taken a wife in his youth.

This seems to refer to Lord Henry Howard in "his grey hairs." Fulke Greville had also lived unmarried, but was little likely to be suspected in that way. I notice this because it seems to imply some allusion to the suggestion made against Southampton in 1604. Southampton made a claim through Salisbury to the half of La Motte's ship as Vice-Admiral[4].

The Earl of Southampton was much affected by the dearth. He wrote to Salisbury on the 25th of September, 1608:

The Skarsity of corn is so great in this Countrey that mayny are driven to supply themselves with seede for this sowing time out of other partes it

[1] Privy Council Register, Add. MS. 11,402.
[2] Vol. XI. p. 255. [3] Nichols' *Prog.* II. 203.
[4] D.S.S.P. James, XXXV. 63, 23rd September.

being not heere to be had....There hath been payd at Hampton (i.e. Southampton) within these six weekes past out of the country the summe of £14,000 in redy money unto strangers for corne brought thither by them, as I am enformed by the Mayor[1].

On the 24th of October Southampton had a request to make:

My Lord, I was purposed ere this to have attended upon your Lordship myself which caused me hitherto to forbeare to write; but having now occation to stay somewhat longer then I determined, and my rent daye drawinge neere, I must bee bowld to putt your Lordship in remembrance of my losses att Bristow by reason of Purveyance, to enquire whereof you were pleased to direct a commission, which hath accordingly been proceeded in, and I perswade my self the witnesses that weare by vertue of it examined will testify for me that my complaint is just, for I protest unto your Lordship uppon my fayth and honesty I have abated it out of the rent I receave for that porte, as the farmer hath and will att any time bee redy to affirme upon his oath, wherfore I humbly beseech your Lordshippe to bee favourable to mee in allowinge it, which though it bee a matter of small vallew with the kinge yet is it a greate somme in my purse, and much more then out of the meanes of my fortune I can spare. I have also another sute unto your Lordship, which is that, if any in the behalf of the marchantes trouble you aboute the allowance for leakage which they desier, you will bee pleased to deferr any proceedings in it untill I may my self wayte uppon you which I purpose God willing shall be shortly. Thus recommending you &c I rest

H. SOUTHAMPTON[2].

23rd October [1608? endorsed].

Mr Adam Newton, the Prince's tutor, as secretary for the Prince communicated to Lord Salisbury:

His Highness hath commanded me to signifie his heartie thanks for your Lordship's three fold courtesies. First for the ger-falcon...a present fit for a Prince...next for the scarf and gloves wishing to the parties *propitiam Junonem pronubam* (to use his own words) for both their fathers' sakes whom he hath cause to love. And last, for the message sent by my Lord of Southampton which (as his Highness sayeth) was nedeles, he having given but a small token of his love unto him, who he is desirous should remember him in his absence, and expect another day from him greater testimonies of his affection.

From the Court at Thetford. 1st December 1608[3].

[1] D.S.S.P. James, XXXVI. 34.
[2] *Cecil Papers*, CXLV. 54.
[3] *Ibid.* CXXVI. 76.

Affixed to this letter at the side are some lines added in Prince Henry's own handwriting:

My Lord instead of thanks, I send unto you the topps of half doson of those Herons your Ger faulcon hath killed, to make you a feather for St George's Day hoping you will not think me one of them *quorum amor pluma gratia est.*

HENRY.

The next news of the Prince are not so amiable. The Venetian ambassador, on December 26th, 1608, noted:

The Prince of Wales, who has been staying in the Country some distance from the King his father, complained to his majesty of the distance, and he was told that he might make what other arrangements he liked for himself. He sent to the Earls of Southampton and Pembroke to remove their households and their horses, as he desired to occupy their lodgings. They refused, and the Prince had them removed by his people, to the indignation of these gentlemen, who are of very high rank. This is a great proof of spirit on the part of the Prince, who, though only fifteen years of age, gives the highest promise in all he does[1].

It does not appear how this breach of good manners was atoned for; something must have been done (if it were true) either by the Prince or his father to soothe the wounded feelings of these two proud noblemen.

The Prince settled a yearly pension on Mr Silvester on December 28th, 1608. In February he gave to Izaak, the painter, for his Highness' picture given to Sir Robert Douglas, £5. 10*s.*; to Mr Lidgate, the Chronicler, at his Highness' command, £26. 13*s.* 4*d.*[2] On January 6th the Prince gave to the Schoolmaster of St Martin's, who presented the King's Book on Emblems and pictures to his Highness, £5, and on February 1st for the great Spanish Bible he paid £20, and for a ring with 32 "dyamants" given to Sir John Harington £100.

Early in January, 1608-9, Chamberlain wrote: "We have had a dull and heavy Christmas, no manner of delight or lightsome news, only there were plays at Court."

The Masque at Court was put off till February 23rd. It was the Masque of Queens by Ben Jonson, with a magnified Witch Scene, which Inigo Jones helped to devise; and the Vision of the twelve

[1] Vol. XI. p. 393.
[2] Prince Henry's expenses

famous Queens of History, of whom the twelfth and last was the best, Bel-Anna, the present Queen of Britain.

On February 25th Robert, the second Earl of Dorset, died at Dorset House (soon after his father); and, two days afterwards, his son Richard, the third Earl, married the celebrated Anne Clifford, daughter of George, Earl of Cumberland. On the 8th of April Magdalene, the old Viscountess Montague, who had been struck with paralysis in the intense cold of the previous winter, died in the odour of sanctity.

It is evident that the Earl of Southampton had remained Vice-Admiral[1]. After a long and unavailing search through privy seals and patents I discovered that he had been appointed to the office by the trustee of his childhood, Lord Charles Howard, Lord Admiral. Southampton appointed as his deputy Vice-Admirals Edward Quinby and Edward Jennings, and sealed their patents with his own family seal in 1609.

The Earl of Southampton to the Earl of Salisbury:

My Lo: I have sent your Lo. by this bearer a couple of howndes for the hart deere, wherof the one wch is the dogg I know to bee a good one, beeinge bredd and made in my owne grownd: the bich is geeven unto mee, and much recommended by some that understand those kind of creatures better I thinke then all the officers of the Exchequer, and therfore beleeve well of her, the time of the yeare beeinge such as I can make no triall of her; I should be gladd to doe you some better service wch till I may I hope you will be pleased to accept of this. I must now putt your Lo. in mind of a letter you wrote unto mee, this winter past about timber for the reparation of Hurst Castle, wch your Lo. was willinge to bee enformed whether it mought bee spared of the Kinges in the Ile of Wight, unto wch I made answer that it was a commodity very skarse there, from whence if there should bee any taken there beeinge much use of timber for the maintayninge of his Maties howses in the Iland, wee should ere longe find want our selves: wch I dare now more boldly affirme havinge since more particularly enquired of it: your Lo. then seemed to bee satisfied with it, & towld mee when I was att London that you had appointed it to bee taken other where: yett since my cominge hither I am enformed that the commissioners appointed for the reparations of Hurst Castell, have geeven their warrant for the takinge of timber to his Maties use in the Iland, and have caused certayne trees to bee marked uppon Mr Worseleyes [interlined: "his Maties ward"] land, & would have felled them but that I have caused stay to be made therof untill

[1] B.M. Lord Frederick Campbell's *Charters*, VII. 11.

your Lo. bee acquainted therewith, wch I thought fitt, it beeinge strangely apprehended in that contry where in no mans memory was ever knowed any purveyance to bee allowed, wch makes them greately affrayed of this beginninge wherfore I humbly beseech your Lo. bee pleased to deliver us from this scare, & suffer not more to bee imposed uppon us now then hath been in former times & wee shall have cause to pray for you thus ever wishing &c.

The 14 of June.

I beseech your Lo. be pleased to signify your pleasure unto mee concerninge this particular att the return of this bearer[1].

[Endorsed "1609."]

On the 17th of July the Council granted a pass to Thomas Coryate to travel to parts beyond the sea, and the great walking tour was begun which resulted in his *Crudities*[2].

[One event happened in 1609 which should be specially noted. "Shakespeare's Sonnets" were entered on the Stationers' Registers on May 20th. It is clear that they were not published by the poet himself, or it would have read "Sonnets by William Shakespeare." It is equally evident that they were not published by the Earl of Southampton. Thomas Thorpe takes the responsibility of editing them. He dares not *dedicate* them to anybody, but he "wishes" something, which, read in ordinary prose, is quite clear. "Thomas Thorpe, the well-wishing adventurer, in setting forth wisheth Mr W. H., the only begetter of these ensuing sonnets, all happiness, and that eternitie promised by our ever-living poet." A great deal of conjecture has been written about Mr W. H., with none of which I agree. By far the most probable solution is the simplest, which I have often "set forth." There was one faithful friend of the family, known to have been associated with the Countess before the days of the young Earl's trouble with Lord Burleigh about his objection to being married against his will; this faithful friend became the Countess's third husband and consequently the Earl's step-father. She, as we have seen, left "the best part of her stuff to her son, and the most part to her husband" and executor. The Countess of Southampton died in 1607. After winding up her affairs, her widowed husband was married again in 1608, to Miss Cordelia Annesley of Lee, Kent. In the course of preparing his house to receive her, he could hardly fail to find a

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CXXVII. 79.
[2] Privy Council Register, Add. MS. 11,402.

manuscript copy of "Shakespeare's Sonnets," written either in his own handwriting, the poet's, or the Earl's.

Now, as it is exceedingly probable that it was he who suggested to Shakespeare to pitch his *Sonnets* in the Arcadian key, urging the youth to matrimony, he looked at the collection with a critical eye, and thought "these are too good to let die." Thereupon he handed them to Thorpe and washed his hands of them. The grateful Thorpe published them, sending a copy, somewhat as a wedding present, wishing him "all happiness, and that eternitie promised by our ever-living poet"; which means

> Then what could death do if thou shouldst depart
> Leaving thee living in posterity?
>
> (*Sonnet* VI, and others.)

a very happy prospect for a childless widower who weds a young wife. There is no objection in the use of "*Mr* W. H." "Sir" was not a title in the same way as Earl or Baron. Lady Southampton always called her husbands in correspondence, "Master Heneage" and "Master Harvey," though both of them were knights. The late Dr Furnivall was argued into agreeing that though my theory was not absolutely certified, it was the best which had ever appeared. Dr Brandl has accepted it in his translation of the *Sonnets*.]

The young Earl, we have seen, had been made free of the town of Southampton in 1591[1]. Among his fellow Burgesses were the worshipful Roger Manwood, one of the Queen's Majesty's Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, appointed in 1577[2]; Fulke Greville, Esq., son and heir of Sir Fulke Greville, on 27th January, 1580; Martin Furbisher, gent., 17th March, 1581; Sir Walter Raleigh, 10th September 1586; the Right Hon. Sir Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, and the Earl of Hertford, 4th June, 1588; Right Hon. Robert, Earl of Essex, 13th August, 1589. Then come the Earl of Southampton on 9th January, 1591; Don Antonio, King of Portugal, 11th May, 1591; Right Hon. Ferdinando, Lord Strange, 3rd October, 1591; Sir Christopher Blount in 1594; William, Earl of Pembroke, 21st October, 1603; James, Lord Wriothesley, son and heir of Henry, Earl of South-

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* XI. App. III. p. 21.
[2] Original Corporation Books.

ampton, 6th January, 1623–4; Thomas Wriothesley Esq., on the same date.

The Earl's name had been temporarily removed from the books when he was convicted in 1601, but was replaced in 1603. In 1605 the Earl started ironworks in his property, as his grandfather Viscount Montague had done in his[1]. But the Court Leet Jury complained that the chief master of them, Chamberlain, was engrossing the woods and underwoods which were formerly rented to the town (Court Leet Records, 1605). In 1508 one Timperley applied for a lease of the sweet wines from the port, but the corporation refused him, saying if they let them to any, it would be to their good lord the Earl of Southampton. However, that was never settled; another had the grant. The corporation entertained the Earl and other Knights of the Musters on 2nd August, 1608.

In the summer of 1609 the Royal Progress passed again by Farnham, Salisbury, and Basing to Beaulieu. On the 3rd of August Sir John Drummond, Usher to the King at Beaulieu, wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen of Southampton to send twenty strong men to wait on the King in Beaulieu by 5th August[2]. This was thought a very strange request and strangely couched. Drummond evidently did not know the jealousies that existed between the town and the county, and a messenger was sent to enquire what was the meaning of the demand. But the Earl of Southampton had heard of it, understood the position, and, with Sir Thomas Lake, discharged the town from the order and found the necessary men in the shire.

From the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber we find that he paid

To Walter Alexander gentleman usher one yeoman hanger, 2 groomes of the Chamber two groomes of the Wardrobe, and one groom porter...for riding, waiting and attending his Highness into the Isle of Wight to Carisbrook Castle, from thence to Tichfield, the Earl of Southampton's House, and so back again to Bewly, the space of 8 days July & August[3].

This would seem to refer to an unrecorded flying visit of the Prince. Among the Prince's expenses for August occurs the item:

[1] Assembly Books, Southampton. J. W. Horrocks, pp. 373, 430.
[2] Southampton Books, Town Clerk John Friar.
[3] Dec. Acc. Treas. Ch., Audit Off. 389, 46.

"To my Lord of Southampton's man with cheese and oysters. To my Lord of Southampton's Coachman £1."

Occasionally the Earl of Southampton could give good advice to the Earl of Salisbury, as when, on 15th December, 1609, he wrote:

My Lord, Uppon Wednesday morning I went to Newmarket and before the Kinge went to dinner I delivered unto him what I received from your Lordship concerning the proiect of leasinge the Copps in Whittlewood; he gave me a very patient and silent hearinge while I tould him with what caution your Lordship had proceeded, and answered nothing untill I sayd that notwithstanding what was done yet, your Lordship's end being chiefly his satisfaction, you had forborne to perfect any thinge in it untill it had received his approbation, as best able to judge of the fittness of it, and therefore resolved that the lease should pass without his owne hand unto it, then as it seemed I touched the right stringe and he answered mee unto that very ioyfully that therein you had done exceedinge well, addinge that the old treasurer was wont to let such leases without ever acquainting him with them. I tould him your Lordship respected too much the pleasing of him to lett any of this nature without his own allowance. In conclusion, for it would be too longe to relate all that passed between us, hee approved all your proceedings in this business, and spake of you as hee useth to doe when hee is best pleased, yett my Lord, if you will give me leave to tell you my conjecture, I thinke you will finde him very adverse to the letting of any lease of woodes in his forrests, for soe hee declared himself unto mee, unto which I tould him my opinion, and so left to dispute it further as a thinge not belonging unto mee, only I thought fitt to let your Lordship know what I found. I have also since my coming hither enquired how the King came to know of this matter and finde that Sir Robert Knowles coming lately out of these partes to the Courte spake ordinarily of it, as by that meanes it came to the Kinges eare all that my Lord Gerrard said was only that he heard of such a course intended, wherein if he committed an error in this respect towards your Lordship's privity it was not malliciously, for he acknowledgeth himself bound unto your Lordship in many wayes and especially for that forrest, for by your meanes he confesseth to have procured the custody of it, and therefore I should bee very gladde you would not continue your offence taken against him, and thus wishing a long continuance of your Lordships happy fortune I rest your Lordships most assuredly to doe you service,

H. SOUTHAMPTON[1].

To this Southampton adds a happy thought, that the King had heard of the Virginia squirrels and would like one very much, and

[1] D.S.S.P. James, L. 65.

advises Salisbury to make enquiries and get one, to bring to the King the next time he came to Court[1].

A contemporary diarist lets us know what people thought of Southampton as Governor of the Isle of Wight.

When this island was fortunate, and enjoyed the companie of Sir Edward Horsey, my Lord Hunsdon, or my Lord of Southampton, then it flourished with gentlemen. I have seen with my Lord of Southampton on St Georges Downe at Bowles from thirty to forty knights and gentlemen, where our meetings were then twice every week, Tuesdays and Thursdays, and we had an ordinary there, and cards and tables. *Mutamur*. The gentlemen which lived in ye Island in the 7th yere of King James his reigne all lived well, and were most commonly at our ordinary....His just, affable, and obliging deportment gained him the love of all ranks of people, and raised the island to a most flourishing state[2].

Southampton found the castles in his charge very much dilapidated[3]. He appealed for £1000 for restoration, but acknowledged that much could be done for £300[4]. Salisbury instructed the Receiver for Hampshire on July 9th to pay £300[5] to Southampton for repairs at Sandham and Yarmouth Castles. But the money was not forthcoming and Southampton advanced it, and wanted it refunded. A privy seal was granted to allow the money on 20th March, 1609–10; two particular books were made out, the one subscribed by Sir John Menny, and the other by Sir John Leigh. But still there was delay, examination, and re-examination before it was settled.

Also allowed for repairs of Yarmouth by making of two buttresses to stay up the walls of the said Castle, footing the north west corner of the Castle and the foundation thereof between the same buttresses and the sea having worn away the ground, and divers coynes from thence; repairing the old wall at the east end of the Castle, facing of it with Ashlar that the sea may decay it no further[6].

On October 7th, 1609, Southampton asked Salisbury to stop sealing certain warrants to the King's tenants in the Isle of Wight, as it was better that he should deal with the contractors himself[7].

[1] Given in Chapter XXI.
[2] Sir John Oglander's *Diary*, p. 22.
[3] D.S.S.P. James, XLVII. 4.
[4] *Ibid.* XLVII. 21.
[5] *Ibid.* XLVII. 22.
[6] Dec. Acc. Treas. Ch., Audit Off. 2515.
[7] D.S.S.P. James, XLVIII. 89.

Again a warrant was issued for payment of that £300[1] and new items.

Mathias Brading, Mason, for his travell and charges in providing of stone to pave the platform 66/8. More to him for his travel to Salisbury and attending the Earl of Southampton 4 dayes, with a particular charge of the said reparation and to know his Lordship's pleasure and directions 10/. More for his travel to Bewly and Tichfield to acquaint the said Earl with the proceeding of the work 5/ & for 4 daies travel to Sandham & work there £4 17/.

The Venetian ambassador noted on 24th December, 1609:

The Prince is to run the lists (*combatter una bariera*) on Epiphany. He will be the Challenger, backed by 5 comrades, three English, who are the Earl of Arundel the Earl of Southampton and Sir Thomas Somersett, and two Scotch, the Duke of Lennox and Sir Richard Preston. The Venturers are about forty in number. The Council arranges all[2].

Prince Henry was a youth ambitious of knightly glory, and he had arranged for Twelfth Night, 1609–10, a famous tournament called "Prince Henry's Barriers."[3] He and six assistants were to challenge fifty-six defendants, so that each challenger had to fight eight times. He chose for his assistants the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Southampton, Sir Thomas Somerset, the Lord Hay, and Sir Richard Preston (shortly afterwards created Lord Dingwall). Though the Prince would not be sixteen years old until the 19th of February, he shewed great agility and skill. He feasted his company afterwards all night until the morning, which was Sunday. The next day, 7th January, there was a great feast, at which the best deserving among the defendants received prizes. These were the Earl of Montgomery, Sir Thomas Darcy, and Sir Robert Gordon, who obtained two. Speeches written by Ben Jonson were interwoven with the festivities, of which the first was *The Lady of the Lake*.

On February 23rd there was trouble in Parliament about the King's debts. There is little wonder when we see how much went in such festivities, how irregular the grants had been, and how much he had had to pay up.

The privy warrants on the Exchequer of 1st March, 1609–10, should be noted: among these, that of £8000 to Sir Walter Raleigh

[1] D.S.S.P. James, VIII. 115. Warr Bk, II. p. 114.
[2] *Venetian Papers*, vol. XI. p. 744.
[3] Nichols' *Prog.* II. 264.

for Sherborne. Elizabeth took all her "traitor's" lands; Lady Essex and her children were left with but £40 a year, according to one State Paper. James was more considerate.

Chamberlain, in a letter to Winwood on 2nd May, 1610, tells him that Salisbury meant to send abroad his son, Lord Cranborne (who had just been married).

> The Lord Treasurer hath sent over his secretary Kirkham to take order to furnish the Lord Cranborne with all necessaries to follow the French King in the journey. More of our court gallants talk of taking the same course if the voyage hold. Indeed it were fitter they had some place abroad to vent their superfluous valour than to brabble so much as they do here at home, for in one week we had three or four great quarrels, the first twixt the Earls of Southampton and Montgomerie, that fell out at Tennis, where the Rackets flew about their ears; but the matter was taken up and compounded by the King without further bloodshed[1].

The "brabbles" of the other combatants were not so easily pacified.

Lord Cranborne's plans were interfered with, for that very month of May rang with the dreadful news of the murder of Henry IV of France by Ravaillac[2]. This event gave a great scare to King James, who had all suspected persons exiled; and his subjects, through the House of Commons, took anew the oath of allegiance[3]. It gave a great shock to Prince Henry, who, young as he was, seems to have grasped the meaning of the great schemes which the French King had in hand. The British Court went into mourning, and the King sent over a special envoy, with messages of sympathy for their loss, to the French Queen and the Dauphin.

But the festivity which had been planned went on. Prince Henry was to be made the twelfth Prince of Wales. He was to go to Richmond and return on Thursday, the last of May, 1610[4]. The Mayor and Aldermen of London planned to proceed by water to meet him at Chelsea and present an aquatic spectacle called "London's love to the Royal Prince Henry." An address was delivered by Corinea riding on a whale, and Amphion on a dolphin saluted the Prince with music. There was not room on the river

[1] Winwood, *Mem.* III. p. 154.
[2] Howes Chronicle, p. 995. Nichols' *Prog.* II. 310.
[3] Proc. James, 2nd June, 1610.
[4] Nichols' *Prog.* II. pp. 315, 346, and other histories of the time give full accounts.

for all the boats that day, but they opened to let the Prince's barges pass. The King and Queen were watching the order of the show from Whitehall, and the Prince landed to salute them and then withdrew to rest.

On Sunday, June 3rd, there were twenty-five Knights of the Bath created. A water-fight with pirates was intended to take place, but it was postponed till Wednesday. On Monday, June 4th, the Prince was invested. The elder noblemen were in chief attendance on him, but others were present at the ceremony, including the Earls of Southampton, Bedford, Pembroke, and Montgomery. After the ceremony the King dined privately, but the Prince in the Great Hall, surrounded by all the eminent statesmen. The Earl of Pembroke was server, the Earl of Southampton carver. On the 5th the Queen produced a "glorious masque," "Tethys or the Queen's Wake," devised by Samuel Daniel. On Wednesday there was a tilt, then the sea-fight with the pirates, winding up with fireworks.

Immediately afterwards the King went on Progress to Holdenby; on the 24th of August he was at Woodstock. On September 20th he was at Theobalds, which he left to see the launch of his new man-of-war. There was some hitch in the arrangements, and the launch did not take place till the next morning. The Prince was greatly interested in the Navy, and was having a ship built for himself.

The affairs of the Lady Arabella received much attention in the Privy Council till the end of the year[1]. The last entry of the copy of the Council Register was a comforting one. There was plenty of barley and wheat in Sussex; prices were under the rate, and wheat might be exported. Therewith the copy abruptly stops, and is not commenced again until 1615.

Upon New Year's night 1610–1, the Prince of Wales and twelve others gave a very stately masque of "Oberon or the Fairy Prince," by Ben Jonson[2], and later the Queen gave two, also by Ben Jonson, "Love freed from Ignorance and Folly," and "Love restored."[3] These were performed by gentlemen the King's servants.

Southampton's anxiety that his farm of sweet wines would be impoverished by the King laying a tax on the importation was

[1] Add. MS. 11,402. [2] Nichols' *Prog.* II. 376. [3] *Ibid.* II. 388.

soothed by his being granted on 11th June an annuity out of the customs on sweet wines to the amount of £2000 per annum[1]. Some irregularity in the wording of the grant necessitated a regrant at the end of the same year[2].

There is an entry in the Titchfield Register on 24th June, 1611: "The same day Titchfield Haven was shut out by one Richard Talbot's industry, under God's permission, at the cost of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Southampton."

A letter on the 27th of June states: "The Earl of Southampton hath been in speech to go Extraordinary Ambassador into France, but my Lord Wotton is now assigned."

Chamberlain writes on November 13th, in the same year:

> The Earl of Southampton is appointed to go into Spain to condole the death of that Queen, which will be a step to a Councillorship, the missing of which he took very unkindly.

He writes again on December 4th that

> The Earl Southampton's journey to Spain is laid aside, and the ceremony of condoling shall be left to the Ambassador resident there, as likewise the Masque that was preparing here is put off as unseasonable so soon after the death of a neighbour Queen.

This is accounted for by the Venetian ambassador, who, on 23rd December, 1611, explaining all the cross-embassies which had been caused by the Spanish coldness in regard to the marriage of Prince Henry, says:

> There is talk of sending an Ambassador Extraordinary on the excuse of conveying condolences for the death of the Queen. It is said that Lord Southampton hath excused himself, and perhaps to avoid talk they will content themselves with commissioning Secretary Cottington to deal with it who was long in Spain with Cornwallis[3].

It is quite likely that the Earl of Southampton did not care to go to Spain just then; but it is much more likely that Salisbury had given a hint that he did not wish him to do so.

Chamberlain begins the following year with telling what he thought a good joke:

> One Copley, a priest, domestic Chaplain to Lord Montague, falling in love with an ancient Catholic maid there that attended the children, they have both left their profession and fallen to marriage.

[1] D.S.S.P. James, LXIV. 16.
[2] *Ibid.* LXXI. 28.
[3] *Venetian Papers*, vol. XII. p. 398.

After that there are no news but of the Earl of Salisbury's health. He had been very ill the year before, but had recovered sufficiently to walk in his garden. But in 1612 the illness took a more serious turn. Anxious friends watched with him through the night. An undated letter of Southampton's to George, Lord Carew, I refer tentatively to this period.

My Lord, I have received a letter from my Lord of Salisbury whereof I assure myself you know the contentes, for to you I am directed to return my answer, which is this, that if you will come hether this night I will to Hatfield with you, God Willinge, to-morrow, otherwise if you will stay att London I will call you there to-morrow in the morninge and goe alonge with you to find Salisbury, but if you resolve upon that course, send your coach tonight to Waltham, whither mine shall carry us, for so wee shall despatch our journey the sooner. Thus in haste, &c. I rest. (This Monday 2 of ye clock.) I pray you if you come not hether tonight yourself fayle not to send one unto mee that I may know how to steer my course[1].

From Paris Beaulieu wrote to Mr Trumbull, Resident at Brussels, on May 6th, 1612:

We have been here a long time in Apprehension for my Lord Treasurer's Sickness, whereof we do now the more apprehend the danger, by reason of going to the Bath at this Time of the Duke of Bouillon's being here, and the Count of Hanaux, who have such important negociations in hand; and I will not conceall from you what Dr Mayerne the French Physitian, who is continually about his Lordship, hath lately written to my Lord of the Nature and State of his Desease; which is "*que c'est une disposition à l'hydropsie compliquée avec le scorbut, Lesquels sont deux mauvaises hostes en un corps faible et delicat: mais par la force de son courage invincible, nous ne laissons pas d'avoir espérance de sa guérison, bien qu'elle soit longue et difficile.*" Whereby you may see what slender hopes he doth oppose to the force of such Evills. Of his Lordship's miscarrying, I do not doubt but you apprehend the Inconvenience as well as we, for the great Loss which the King & the State should have in his Person, and the particular Interest which my Lord Ambassador should have therein, especially at this time of his Absence, which could not be but very prejudiciall unto him: But *Deus...meliora dabit*....In that confidence I remain your most loving &c

JOHN BEAULIEU[2].

Mr Fynett wrote to Mr Trumbull the whole sad story from Hatfield on 28th May, 1612:

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CLXVII. 141.
[2] Winwood, *Mem.* III. p. 367.

We left *London* the 27th of *April*, with small hopes and less likelihood that such a journey could profit, otherwise than in his Lordship's Willingness (not the least part of cure in sickness) to undertake it. By the way of our six night-Baytes (at Ditton my Lord Chandois's, Caussam my Lord Knowles's, Newberry Mr Doleman's, Marlborough Mr Daniel's, and Laycock my Lady Stapleton's) his Lordship made many stops and shifts from his Coach to his litter and to his Chair, and all for that Ease that lasted no longer than his imagination....The third of May he arrived at *Bath*, and upon his first Tryals (wherin as in the rest, he spent once a day but one hour of Time)... he discovered such cheerfulness of Humour, Riddance of pains, recovery of Sleep, Increase of Appetite and decrease of swellings....After some days' joy for such blessed Effects, the Disease, that had taken Truce not Peace, began again to discover its malignant Qualities, brought new melancholly Faintings and other dangerous Symptoms, so frequent as the Intermissions were interpreted but for *lucida intervalla*. The *Bath* was no more used (as that which afforded the utmost virtue it had in making a kindly humour in his leg for the drayne of the Humour) but was thenceforth, in the speculation of his Lordship's then attending Physicians, Dr Atkins and Dr Poe, held hurtful rather than profitable. So after some sixteen days' Abode there and three or four severall Affrightings, that we should there have lost him, his Lordship was resolved to return to London, with all his weakness; and so did, the Thursday before the Sunday (the 24th of May) *that he died at Marlborough*. His sickness...had been long, and painfully lingering. *In all that time his incomparable judgement and memory never failed him* (now and then only nearest his End, and in the extremities of his Fits letting fall some wandering words, but far from distracted passion, or any way offending) his soul and mind for heavenly resolution so settled, and his Profession that way (expressed in often Conferences and Prayers with Mr Bowles, his household Chaplain) so clear and Christian, as brought Joy in our Sorrow, and in our greatest Discomfort full assurance of his best Happiness. I must not forget to tell your Lordship, that the day before our Departure from Bath, my Lord Hay arrived there sent purposely from his Majesty (who not long before had received some hopefull likelihoods of his recovery) with a Token, a fair Diamond set or rather hung Square in a gold ring without a Foyle and a message accompanying it to this purpose; *that the Favour and Affection he bore him was and should be ever as the form and matter of that Ring, endless, pure, and most perfect.* From the Queen he received by the same hand another gracious message and *a Token*, and at the same time the like Remembrance from *the Prince's Highness* delivered by Sir John Hollis; *all comforts, and confirmations of his never otherwise than most faithfull and best deserving service.*

My Lord of Cranbourne, (now Earl of Salisbury) posted down upon the news of his irrecoverable estate, having been in obedience of my Lord's pleasure till then absent, and had the unhappy happiness of a Son to be at

the closing of the Eyes of his most happy Father. The Body is this day brought with the Attendance all the way of some thirty or forty *of us his servants* to Hatfield, where the Funerall, according to his will, is at fit time to be solempnized[1].

Salisbury, on the 8th of May, had written from Bath to his son, Lord Cranborne[2], about his illness (his last letter to him).

There is another account of that tragic journey preserved, written by his chaplain, John Bowles[3].

Salisbury had made his will on the 17th of March, 1611–12[4], adding a codicil on the 4th of May. It was proved on the 6th of June, 1612. There was no remembrance of any kind of Southampton in the will, and his name is not mentioned among those who attended the relatively quiet funeral at Hatfield that month. It was but shortly after he and the rest of the Virginia Company obtained their new Charter that year that he departed, and it seemed fit that the two chapters of historical events should be brought up to an even date.

Gossip was busy about the departed. Chamberlain wrote on May 27th:

Some think he hastened homewards to countermine his underminers, and cast dust in their eyes. As the case stands, it was best that he gave up the world, for they say his friends fell from him apace, & some near about him, and howsoever he had fared with his health, it is verily thought he would never have been the same man again in power or credit. I never knew so great a man so soon & so generally censured, for men's tongues talk very liberally and freely, but how truly I cannot judge....It is generally thought that the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Sheffield shall be shortly sworn of the Council. Upon the Earl of Pembroke's preferment to that place, the Earl of Southampton retired himself into the country, but his spirit hath walked very busily about the court ever since.

The Earl of Dorset, on June 23rd, 1613, adds: "When great men die, such is either their desert or the malice of people, or both together, as commonly they are ill spoken of, and so is one that died but lately, more I think than ever anyone was, and in more several kinds."

In 1598 George Chapman published the first two and five other Books of his Translation of the *Iliads* and dedicated them to the Earl of Essex. Some years later—not earlier than 1609—he published his *Homer...in twelve Bookes of his Iliads*, dedicated to

[1] Winwood, *Mem.* III. 367.
[2] *Cecil Papers*, CXXIX. 106.
[3] Add. MSS. 34,218, f. 125.
[4] *Ibid.* f. 138.

Prince Henry. At the conclusion he added fourteen sonnets to likely patrons. Among these is included one

To the right valorous and virtuous Lord, Henry, the Earle of Southampton.

In choice of all our Countries noblest spirits
(Borne slavisher Barbarisme to conuince)
I could not but invoke your honored merits
To follow the swift vertue of our Prince.
The cries of Vertue and her Fortresse Learning
Brake Earth, and to Elysium did descend
To call up Homer; who therein discerning
That his excitements, to their good, had end
(As being a Grecian) puts on English armes
And to the hardy natures in these climes
Strikes up his high and spiritfull alarmes,
That they may cleare earth of those impious crimes
Whose conquest (though most faintly all apply)
You know (learn'd Earle) all live for, and should die.

This evidently refers to Southampton's interest in colonisation. If Chapman really is "the rival poet" of Shakespeare's Sonnet, we cannot wonder that the patron continued to prefer Shakespeare's more mellifluous praise.

The whole of the Works of Homer were published in 1616 dedicated *to the Memory of Prince Henry*. In this some of the adulatory sonnets were removed, but Southampton's remains.

George Wither also addressed him in his Epigrams in tentative lines, which seem to seek a patron. They begin

To Henry, Earle of Southampton.

Southampton since thy province gave me birth
And on these pleasant mountains I yet Keepe,
I ought to be no stranger to thy worth[1].

I have looked up all the Cambridge Subsidy Rolls and Court Rolls, all the Inquis. Post Mortems, but in vain, to account for Southampton's residence at Little Shelford. It evidently was to be near the King's hunting box at Royston. Mr H. W. Eadon kindly tells me that the Earl gave a bell to the Parish Church of Little Shelford, on which appears "Ricardus Hitchfield me fecit. +13: Henry Wryesle, Earl of Southampton 1612."

[1] At end of *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, 1612.

CHAPTER XXIII

A NOBLE GIFT TO ST JOHN'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

THE feelings of the Earl of Southampton on the death of the Earl of Salisbury must have been strangely mixed. He had lost a friend, not only in the eyes of the world, but in private life—a friend to whom he owed even life itself. The memory of his great debt must have pressed heavily on him at times, "so burdensome, still paying, still to owe." He was his *own man* now. To no other did he owe any obligations more than he could pay as an equal and a free man, to none did he owe any allegiance save to the King and his family. It was one of the great crises of his life, but unfortunately we have nothing to tell precisely how it affected him.

By June, Chamberlain had discovered that the King was much troubled by competitors for the Secretaryship. On the 17th he wrote to Carleton:

> Sir Henry Neville will never see you wronged....Too much soliciting hath hindered him; and the flocking of Parliament men about him and their meetings and consultations with the Lord of Southampton and the Lord Sheffield at Lord Rochester's Chamber hath done him no good. So the King says he will not have a Secretary imposed upon him by Parliament, and the Earl of Southampton is gone home as he came without a Councillorship. In the meantime the King himself supplies the Secretary's place and all packets are delivered to the Lord Chamberlain as to the King[1].

At Whitsuntide there were four priests hung at Tyburn; "the Earl of Arundel and his young son were present, and the Viscount Montague with divers ladies in coaches, yet it was early, between 6 and 7 in the morning."[2]

About the middle of June, Prince Henry was preparing a new toy. He was passionately fond of ships, had just had a great one of his own built, and had commissioned Phineas Pette, the famous ship-builder, to shape him a small new boat as a pinnace to

[1] D.S.S.P. James, LXIX. 71. [2] *Ibid.* LXIX. 67.

it. The King had been planning an extensive new Progress, and left Theobalds on the 20th July. On the 1st of August Sir Charles Cornwallis began to refer to the Prince's indisposition. "He was subject to many strange and extraordinary qualms, which bleeding at the nose frequently relieved." Few noticed it at first; everybody was talking about his sister's intended marriage. He had always favoured the Palsgrave above the other competitors, and he was now eagerly looking forward to his arrival, and to the plays and jousts which would be associated with the marriage festivities.

A sudden coolness had gathered round his own projected Spanish marriage, and the Prince did not seem to care. Some indefinable change had taken place in him; his natural enjoyment of life, exercise, and study seemed to have departed. Everything he did required an effort; yet he refused to give up engagements, though he was unfit for them. He went to Richmond, and would walk late in the mists and dews by the river, which was then thought very dangerous. He did worse. He would go out bathing after supper, and would practise swimming at night in the river. His father had commanded him to join him at Belvoir Castle on August 7th; he put off the journey till too late, and then had two days of forced riding in order to arrive at the Court in time for the date appointed. The Earl of Rutland was not then Roger, the Earl of Southampton's friend and connection. *He* had been carried out of the Castle to the family vault at Bottisford on July 22nd, and his brother Francis was Earl in his stead. So soon had festivities followed on the heels of woe. The King left Belvoir on the 10th of August, hunting as he went. Apparently the Prince was with him. On the 26th of August the King and Queen, with a full Court, met at Woodstock. At that Palace, which belonged to the Prince, he entertained his father and mother from Wednesday until Sunday the 30th. The next day he went to Richmond, that he might be ready to meet the Count Palatine. But the young wooer did not arrive then; it was the 16th of October, Friday night at 11 o'clock, when he reached Gravesend. His first welcome was delivered next day by Lord Hay for the King. On Sunday, as he passed up the river to pay his first visit, thirty great guns saluted him from the Tower, and gave notice to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Sussex, Southampton, and others to wait upon the

Duke of York at the Stairs at Whitehall, there to receive him and conduct him to the presence of the King, the Queen, the Prince, and the Princess. His reception was very cordial, and he shewed due appreciation of it. "He becomes himself well; and is well-liked of all," said Mr Fynett. There was talk of nothing but masques, tilts, and barriers, but the Count Palatine did not seem to care so much for these subjects, as for conversation with the Princess. Poor young lovers[1]. Already a dark shadow hung over their horizon.

Thomas Dekker was employed for the pageant on Lord Mayor's Day. The Palsgrave dined in the Guildhall, and the Archbishop talked to him in Latin.

Prince Henry was sick and unable to come. Doctors had long been consulted; some were obeyed, others defied. The Prince resented his loss of strength at such a time. He loved his sister dearly; he had looked forward to honour her as much as he could; he had intended to escort her, heading a guard of honour to the utmost confines of the States' dominion. Just at the beginning of the usual season of festivities, on November 1st, his illness became serious[2]. He often called for his sister—"Where is my dear sister?" She tried to be with him and comfort him, but they kept her back, lest there might be infection in this strange disease. All efforts to help him failed, and he died on the evening of November the 6th—"the expectation of Europe, the hope of all Britain, the pride and glory of his parents." He was torn away from all, and the page of history he had hoped to fill remains a blank.

Southampton must have felt the death more than many; he had been much about the Prince and had been associated with many of his plans. In watching the youth develope into manhood he must have thought of his own son James and hoped that he might grow up a fit peer for such a Prince; but it was not to be. The mourning at the funeral on 7th December, 1612, was real mourning, not merely "inky cloaks."[3] Prince Charles, now heir-apparent, was chief mourner; Southampton was one of the twelve Earls assistants to the

[1] The date of the Princess's birth was August 13th, 1596, that of the Palsgrave three days later.

[2] The whole history of the period can be found in Nichols' *Progresses*, II. 446–526.

[3] See as to Southampton's mourning, L.C. IX. 6.

chief mourner. At the offerings after the funeral, the late Prince's helmet and crest were borne by the Earls of Southampton and Pembroke. Princess Elizabeth was much afflicted, for she and her brother were special friends and alike in tastes. Of course, all plays and festivities were stayed, and the marriage was postponed until May Day. It must have been a peculiarly trying time to the Count Palatine, but he seems to have conducted himself well.

Chamberlain had written on 6th November about some of the Court intrigues, and added, "Sir Henry Neville takes great pains to reconcile all, yet there are exceptions taken to him that he cannot come in himself but he must bring his man, Sir Ralph Winwood, and his champion, the Earl of Southampton, and whosoever he thinks good." On the 12th he speaks of the illness and death of the Prince: "the world here is much dismayed and the doctors blamed. Raleigh hath lost his greatest hope through him." On December 17th he found time to write "Sir Francis Bacon hath set out New Essays, where, in a Chapter of Deformity, the world takes notice that he paints out his little cousin [Salisbury] to the life."

The Queen had been against the marriage at first, not thinking the Elector Palatine a magnificent enough match for her daughter. But she had learned to like her son-in-law, and possibly this was the reason that an earlier date for the marriage was fixed, and the solemnities relaxed with the New Year. "The affiancing of the Palsgrave and the Lady Elizabeth took place on Sunday 27th December 1612 (St John's Day) in the great Banqueting Room, before dinner," says Chamberlain. He wrote again on February 4th, "On Sunday last, and on Candlemas Day, the Prince Palatine and his Lady were solemnly asked openly in the Chapel, and next Sunday will be the last time of asking....The Prince Palatine goes to be installed at Windsor on the 7th. The time of their departure is prefixed to be on the 8th of April, after Easter. They go attended by the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Arundel, Viscount Lisle and Lord Zouch. Lord and Lady Harington accompany them."

They were married on St Valentine's Day, 14th February, 1612-3, in the Royal Chapel at Whitehall. Her tutor, Lord Harington of Exton, preceded the bride, who was led between her younger brother, Charles, and the Earl of Northampton, the

youngest and oldest bachelors at Court. She was dressed in a richly embroidered gown of white satin, and wore a coronet of gold set with pearls and diamonds shining above her amber-coloured hair, which hung down plaited to her waist, between every plait a roll of precious stones. Her train was carried by sixteen ladies, dressed in white satin adorned with jewels. The King was in a sumptuous black suit, the Queen in white embroidered satin. Chamberlain says:

> There was excessive bravery, the Lady Wotton had a gown that cost £50 the yard for the embroidery, the Earl of Northumberland's daughter was very gallant, and the Lord Montague, that hath paid reasonably well for his recusancy, bestowed £1500 in apparell for his two daughters....There was running at the ring....The Lords' Masque, and another less fortunate.... Sir Francis Bacon was the chief contriver of the Masque of Gray's Inn *The Marriage of the Thames and the Rhine*....By what ill fortune I know not, they came home as they went, the King was too tired to wait up longer.

It was attempted again on the 24th, more successfully.

One may wonder how the Rev. William Crashaw viewed the "Maske of the two houses, Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn," on the 15th of February, by George Chapman, the very man who had scoffed at Virginia in *Eastward Hoe*, who now gave his chief maskers Indian garments, while their priests were elevated into being the Priests of the Sun; also whether, by any chance, his friend Strachey confided to him his satisfaction that the poet Shakespeare had used his letter in planning the gorgeous play of *The Tempest*, "a contract of true love to celebrate."

Southampton seems, long ere this, to have lived in open conformity with the Church of England. But he was unable to shake off old ties with recusants, and remained a permanent believer in the right to freedom of conscience, as advocated by Essex. He sometimes got into trouble through his friends (perhaps Lady Southampton remained a Catholic), and one case crops up here. A certain pamphlet entitled *Balaam's Ass* was found, dropped purposely in the Court on 28th April. It was supposed to be meant as an answer to the King's book, *Monetary Preface, an Epistle*, and was supposed to refer to the King as Antichrist. A recusant named John Cotton was accused, was proclaimed on 11th June, and seems to have been secured at once, for his first examination was at

Lambeth on 14th June. He stated his age to be 53; he denied writing the book. He had been at Southwark and went over the water to go to my Lord Southampton's. In the boat he was very heavy, yet he proceeded on his way towards Southampton House, whither he went very warily about 4 o'clock. He landed at Temple Stairs, went to Mr Wotton's house in Chancery Lane, where his brother Richard and Mr Wakeman were. They went with him to Southampton House, where he was shown the Proclamation. He had been at Douay; his kinsman, Mr Anthony Copley, told him of *Balaam's Ass*. The Earl of Southampton wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury a letter undated, queried May? 1613:

I have sent your Lordship by this bearer the paper bookes found in John Cotton's Study (none of which, as his brother Richard assures me, to whom I shewed them) are written with his own hand. Hee can give no assurance, as he says, of bringing up John Cotton, for he still protesteth he knoweth not where he is, but he hath as he tells me sent to seek him, and doubteth not, if his messenger find him, he will readily come. This is all I have had from him this morning, whereof I thought fitt to advertise your Lordship that seeing there is no certaynety in this course, you mought not delaye what otherwise in your wisdom you woulde think fitt to be done. P.S. Your Lordship may boldly commit anything that concerns him by word of mouth to bearer[1].

It may be noted that Southampton is not recorded as being present at the royal marriage. He may have been on duty at the Isle of Wight, or he may have purposely absented himself, through some feeling of offence, or his name may simply have been omitted by accident from the accounts of the proceedings. As already shewn, he was supposed to have been disappointed at not being made a Councillor. Pembroke had been offered the honour, though his family nobility was no older than Southampton's, while in age he was seven years younger.

It was not until after Easter that the bride and bridegroom set out to their home, with an escort of honour headed by the Duke of Lennox, the Princess, however, with very few personal attendants (and all of them Scots). Lord and Lady Harington accompanied her to her new home as guests for a visit. They travelled leisurely, so that the Princess might see the towns and the people might see

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Earl of Ancaster's MSS. p. 362.

her. It was the 6th of June before she arrived at her husband's Court at Heidelberg, where his mother and sister were waiting to receive her. There was much display of grandeur. A thousand knights and gentlemen escorted her, and tiltings and banquets formed part of the renewed wedding festivities.

Now, it is rather strange to find that Southampton also was on the continent that summer. It seems possible that he may have combined a visit paid ostensibly to the Spa with the fulfilling of Prince Henry's wish to escort his sister to the very bounds of the States' dominion, or to pay her a bridal visit of respect as soon as she was installed in her beautiful home at Heidelberg. At any rate, he was in the States and was returning from some port on the North Sea coast by August.

Meanwhile, it had become known to nearly everybody that the young Earl of Essex had not been happy in his marriage to the Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk. She had now taken a fancy to the King's favourite, desired to marry him, and had had the audacity to make out a case against her husband for nullity of marriage. The public were also very much interested in the affair of Sir Thomas Overbury, who had been secretary to Lord Rochester and disapproved of this proceeding.

The Progress was expected to begin on the 12th of July by Farnham, Basingstoke, and Salisbury to the Earl of Southampton's at Beaulieu, where the King was to stay twelve nights. The owner of Beaulieu was waiting fair winds when he wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood on August 6th, 1613:

Sir,

I perceive by your last Letter that you have been of late particularly advertised of the Proceedings in *England*, and how the Busyness of which we desire so much to hear the Conclusion, is still in suspence. The Difficulty alledged is the not having as then accommodated the Matter of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, which many times bred Disturbance and *hindred the Performance of the Resolution taken; and it is in vaine to hope for any good Issue of the other untill that be settled*, which I thinke to be done long ere this after this manner; that upon *his Submission he shall have leave to travail, with a private Intimation not to return untill his Majestie's Pleasure be further known*: And much adoe there hath been to keepe him from a publique Censure *of Banishment* and loss of Office, *such a rooted Hatred lyeth in the King's Heart towards him*; and that Blocke being now removed, I find the same Confidence that I left

THE THIRD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON IN HIS PRIME
(Attributed to Rubens; Mrs Holman Hunt's collection)

touching Sir *Henry Neville*; which I shall be as glad of as any, but (as I wrote before) this often deferring hath made me doubtfull.

Of *the Nullity*[1] I see you have heard as much as I can write; *by which you may discern the Power of a King with Judges, for of those which are now for it, I knew some of them when I was in* England *were vehemently against it, as the Bishops of* Ely[2] *and* Coventry[3]. For the Business itself, I protest I shall be glad, *if it may lawfully*, that it may go forward; though *of late I have been fearful of the Consequence, and have had my Fears encreased by the last Letters which came to me; but howsoever, the manner of interposing gives me no cause of contentment.*

I stay here only for a Winde, and purpose (God willing) to take the first for *England*, though, till Things be otherwise settled, I could be as well pleased to be any where else; but the King's coming to my House imposeth a Necessity at this time upon me of returning. When you come over I assure my self you will not so soon go back, but that I shall have opportunity to see you often. In the mean time recommending my best wishes to you, I rest, etc.,

H. SOUTHAMPTON[4].

There was a postscript of introduction of Captain John Tubbe, a man of extraordinary learning and valour, who had been abroad with the Earl; but unfortunately this has not been printed with the letter. Captain John Tubbe's elder son, Henry, had the Earl for godfather, while his younger son, Robert, had the Earl of Essex, and both families favoured the lads greatly[5].

Southampton did catch the fair wind which would carry him direct to Beaulieu in time for the King. He could not afford, at that time, to offend his easily-excited Sovereign, who always enjoyed the attention of his host at Beaulieu.

The next information we have is through the Venetian ambassador on 27th August.

I set out early for the Court, reached Kingston the same evening, Winchester the following day, and came on Sunday to Beaulieu where the King was....He said he knew that the Spaniards had a hand in some of the Irish affairs. They foment but are not able to do much, there or elsewhere. The

[1] The suit brought against the young Earl of Essex by his wife.

[2] Lancelot Andrewes, afterwards translated to Winchester in the year 1618.

[3] Richard Neyle, translated to Lincoln on the 5th of December in this very year.

[4] Winwood, *Mem.* III. 478.

[5] J. C. Moore Smith's *Life of Henry Tubbe*, born at Southampton, 1619.

King wished me to go to Scotland. Tomorrow I shall set out for the Baths to take leave of the Queen there, and then shall continue the journey[1].

In another letter written on the same day he says:

The King spoke of the affairs of Germany. The Count of Schomberg is expected in a few weeks on behalf of the Elector Palatine....The King decides on most matters for himself. In the execution of them he makes considerable use of the Viscount Rochester and another. Since the death of the Earl of Salisbury, affairs have been conducted with more secrecy[2].

The King must have found his prudence rewarded when he received a very secret letter from his ambassador in Spain (Sir John Digby), dated September 9th, 1613[3]. This disclosed the embarrassing secret that not only the late Lord Salisbury, but other living members of his Council, with Sir William Monson, who was Admiral of the Narrow Seas Fleet, had been and were still receiving pensions from Spain. Sir John Digby proved his statement correct by later letters. The cipher name of Salisbury was *Beltenbras*, but later information, and the memorials of Villa Mediana, give the name of the pensioner as well as the date of his death. Did Southampton hear it from the King? It is not clear, but the King sometimes poured out his thoughts to him about other men.

Lord Rochester was created Earl of Somerset on the 4th of November, 1613; Lord Pembroke carried the sword of honour and Lord Southampton the cap of estate. Somerset's marriage quickly followed. On St Stephen's Day, December 26th, Lady Frances Howard had her second wedding festivity, and again a masque was presented before the company. There is no record of the Earl of Southampton having been present. It is possible that he was in town at the beginning of February, 1613-4, when Mrs Jane Drummond, one of the Queen's maids of honour, was married to Lord Roxburgh, and many great people were present. "The gentlemen servants belonging to the Earls of Pembroke, Worcester, and Southampton waited. On the morrow the Queen gave them a feast, and her hand to kiss."

[1] *Venetian Papers*, vol. XIII. p. 31. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 32, 33.

[3] Dr S. R. Gardiner discovered the letters of Sir John Digby, and gave the contents in his *History of England*, 1863, and the enlarged history, vol. I. chap. I. p. 215. Zuniga noted how, since the death of "Beltenbras," the English match had grown cold. He was the only furtherer. Zuniga in March told the Spanish Secretary that the pension list would only have to be altered because of withdrawing that of the Earl of Salisbury.

The Register at Titchfield records the death of "Edward Quinby Esquire, Steward to the Right Honorable the Earle of Southampton 27th day of Januarie 1613-4." This was one of the gentlemen whom he had appointed Deputy Vice-Admirals in 1609.

Early in March the King had news that his daughter Elizabeth had brought the Palsgrave a son, which rejoiced the royal grandfather not a little. The child was christened on 6th March, 1613-4, at Heidelberg under the names of Frederick Henry. On the 15th June of that year died Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, "the oldest bachelor," who, with her brother, had led the Princess to her wedding.

The Queen's brother paid her a surprise visit on 19th July and brought her great joy and excitement, for they were very much attached to each other. He professed to have no political intentions, or plans of his own to serve: he just came from pure love to see his sister. But it has been conjectured that he had an intention of expostulating with James on the slights thrown on his sister by the Earl of Somerset. Finding that the favourite's power was decreasing and grave suspicions were abroad, he thought it better to be silent. James, like his Tudor predecessors, was very susceptible to personal beauty in man or woman. In his first favourite he found not only that attraction, but had been moved by the feeling of warm sympathy for young Car's accident, and a recognition of his, and his family's, support of the claims of Queen Mary. As Miss Strickland says, "If it was not in the power of James to revenge himself on his mother's foes, to do him justice, he never forgot her friends." Car, as he rose in favour, grew insolent, and James, though more blind than Elizabeth in spoiling favourites, had begun to tire of him.

During that year Southampton received the dedication of a peculiar book of history, written by a remarkable man—*The Scholar's Medley*, by Richard Brathwait, 1614.

To the Right Honorable, Henry Lord Wriothsley, Earle of Southampton, Learnings Select Favourite; Ri. Brathwait wisheth perpetuall increase of best meriting Honours.

Right Honorable,

So rarely is Pallas Shield borne by the Noble, or supported by Such whose eminence might Revive her decayed hopes; as *Brittaines Pernassus* (on which never were more inhabitants planted, and *Homer-like*, more usually expulsed) is growne despicable in herselfe, because protected by none but

herself. *Hinc ferrea Tempora Surgunt...*: wanting their Cherishers (those Heroicke Patrons) whose countenance in former times made the studies of the Learned more pleasant (having their Labours, by such approbation, seconded). Yet in these times (*my Honourable Lord*) we may find some royall Seedes of pristine Nobility (wherin we may glory) reserved, as it were, from so great ruines, for the preservation of Learning, and the continuance of all vertuous Studies; amongst which your Noble Selfe, as generally reputed learned, so a profest friend to such as be studious of Learning: a character which ever held best correspondency with honour, being a favorite to them who can best define honour: expressing to the life, what proprieties best concord with so exquisite a Maister-piece.

It is observed, that all the *Roman* Emperours were singular in some peculiar *Art*, *Science*, or *Mystery*: and such of the *Patricians* as could not derive their native descent (with the particular relation of their *Ancestours most noble Actions*) were thought unworthy to arrogate any thing to themselves by their Vertues. These *Romanes* were truely *Noble*, bearing their owne *Annals* ever with them, eyther to caution them of what was to be done, or excite them to prosecute what was by them commendably done: nor knew they *Honour* better limned, or more exactly proportioned, then when it was beautified by the internall Ornaments of the mind. Many I know (*my good Lord*) whose greatnesse is derivative from their *Ancestours* unto themselves, but much Eclypsed by their owne defects: and *Plants* which had a *Noble-Grafter*, use now and then to degenerate. But so apparent is *Your Lustre*, it borroweth no light but from *your-Selfe*; no eminence but from the Lampe of *Your Honour*; which is ever ready to excite the Vertuous to the undertaking of *Labours* wel-meriting of their *countrey*, and generally profitable to all *Estates*. In Subjects of this nature (*my Honourable Lord*) I cannot find any more exact than these *Surveies of Histories*, many we have depraved: and every lascivious *Measure* now becomes an Historian. No study in his owne nature more deserving, yet more corrupted none is there. O then, if those ancient *Romans* (*Mirrours of true Resolution*) kept their *Armilustra* with such solemnity, feasts celebrated at the *Surveyes of their weapons*: We that enjoy these *Halcyon* dayes of *Peace* and *Tranquillity*, have reason to reserve some Time for the solemnizing this *peaceable Armour of Histories*, where we may see in what bonds of Duety and Affection we are tyed to the *Almighty*, not only in having preserved us from many hostile incursions, but in his continuing of his love towards us. We cannot well dijudicate of comforts but in relation of discomforts: Nor is *Peace* with so generall acceptance entertained by any, as by them who have sustained the extremities of *Warre*. Many precedent experiments have we had, and this Isle hath tasted of misery with the greatest; and now revived in her selfe, should acknowledge her miraculous preservation, as not proceeding from her owne power, but derived from the *Supreame influence of Heaven*; whose *power* is able to *Erect*, *support*, *Demolish*, and *lay wast*, as he pleaseth: *Hinc Timor*, *Hinc Amor*!

Hence wee have arguments of *Feare & Love*! *Feare from us to God; Love from God to us*: Cause we have to Feare, that subject not our understandings to the direct *Line* and *Square* of *Reason*, but in our flourishing estate (imitating that once renowned *Sparta*) who was...*Nunquam minus fœlix, quam cum fœlix visa*...; Abuse those excellent gifts we have received, contemning the menaces of Heaven, and drawing upon ourselves the *viols of Gods wrath*, heavier diffused, because longer delayed. We should re-collect our selves, and benefit our ungratefull minds with these considerations: that our *present felicity* be not buried in the ruines of a *Succeeding Calamity*.

These *Histories* (*my noble Lord*) be the best representments of these motives. And in perusing Discourses of this *nature* (next to the *Sacred Word of God*) we are strangely transported above humane apprehension, seeing the admirable Foundations of *Common-weales* planted (to mans thinking) in the Port of security, wonderfully ruinated: grounding their dissolution upon some precedent *crying sinne*, which layd their *honour in the Dust*, and Translated their *Empire* to some (*perchance*) more deserving people. Here Civill Wars, the Originall causes of the *Realmes* subversion: There *Ambition* bred by too long successe: here *Emulation* in *Vertue*, the first *Erectresse* of a flourishing *Empire*: There *Parasites*, the *Scarabees* of *Honour*, the corrupters of *Royally disposed affections*, and the chiefest *Engineres of wrack and confusion*, buzzing strange motions in a Princes Eare, occasioning his *shame*, and their *owne ruine*. Here states happy before they raised themselves to the highest type and distance of *happinesse*. And generally observe we may in our *Humane Compositions*, nothing so firm as to promise to it selfe *Constancy*, so *continuate* as to assure itselfe *perpetuity*, or under the Cope of Heaven, any thing so solid as now subject to *Mutability*.

This *Survey* (*my Lord*) have I presumed to Dedicate to *your Honour*, (sprung from a zealous and affectionate tender) not for any meriting Discourse which it comprehends, but for the generality of the *Subject*: and Native harmony wherein *Your Noble* disposition so sweetely closeth with it.

Your Protection will raise it above it Selfe, and make me proud to have an *Issue* so highly *Patronized*: It presents it Selfe with *Feare*, may it be admitted with *Favour*: So shall my Labours be in all duty to *Your Honour* devoted, my

Prayers exhibited, and
my selfe confirmed
Your Lordships
wholly

RI. BRATHWAIT.

One event of that year must certainly have impressed Southampton deeply. Lord Grey of Wilton died in the Tower, an unpardoned prisoner, on 6th July, 1614. He was unmarried, but the devotion of his mother was touching, and her efforts to secure

his comforts, if not his release, were unremitting. An elegiac poem was written on him, interesting for its sympathetic feeling, and some fine lines, though some of the facts stated in it are incorrect—*Tam Martis quam Artis Nenia, or the Soldier's Sorrow and Learning's losse*, by Robert Marston—"An elegiacall poem upon the ever admired life, and never sufficiently deplored death of Thomas Lord Gray, Baron of Wilton." It gives the legends of his youth, the great work of "the dread father of this daring son." The poet describes his return to Oxford and the Court, and the Queen's favour. There is an evident allusion to Southampton, who is possibly intended by the poet's phrase "an elder power" unless it be Essex, or Sir Francis Vere.

> Plumbean Saturne, dull malevolent
> Striving to crosse each peaceful exigent
> Moved an unkindly strife...
> Twixt Honor twyns faire emulation too
> Pointed att both, both dareing like to doe,
> Checked in his charge, though mateless in his mind,
> What best he might have held was there assigned
> Unto an elder power whose yeares beinge more
> At best but wrought as he had don before...
> Thyself sole patron both of Armes and Artes...
> The perfect test of matchless Chivalry.

Southampton must have meditated on his own sad imprisonment in the Tower, when he too was like to die without an heir, and thought how narrowly he had escaped. How soon after his release had his rival taken his place there, never to come forth alive, and now his "Arms" and his "Arts" had been wiped out by a prison sponge! In him his line became extinct. Southampton must have felt it all the more clearly because it was he now who was waging war on the Continent, near the scene of Lord Grey's exploits. He and the young Earl of Essex had joined Lord Herbert of Cherbury and other volunteers, on behalf of Count Maurice of Nassau in the old dispute concerning Cleves and Juliers.

Spinola had invaded the country. The Dutch, alarmed at his progress, led by Count Maurice, also entered the disputed territories, and seized Emmerich and Rees in the Duchy of Cleves. In September, 1614, an effort was made to induce James to send over an army to

help the Protestants, and, failing that, to encourage volunteers. The effort was ineffectual. Southampton and Essex, disappointed in the lack of support, came home. Spinola entrenched himself before Wesel; Count Maurice followed. By the command of his King Sir Henry Wotton mediated for peace, and with the help of the French ambassador arranged a pacification at Xanten on November 2nd, 1614[1]. Lord Herbert interviewed Spinola and offered to help him if he went to fight the Turks. Spinola refused, and Lord Herbert went to Italy.

George, Lord Carew, writing to Sir Thomas Roe in September, 1615, says: "The Ladie Arabella is dead in the Tower, and by night buried in her grandmother's tomb in King Henry's Chapple." In October of that year he tells the same correspondent:

> The King being at Beaulieu, the Earl of Southamptons house, Mr Secretary Winwood informed the King that by indirect and mallitious meanes Sir Thomas Overbury was poysoned in the Tower. The King, who is impartially just in all his wayes (although the information poynted at the Earl of Somerset) gave commandment for the enquiry of it.

The Earl of Pembroke was made Lord Chamberlain in 1615, an appointment which becomes important in many ways to Southampton in later years.

What may be called (for the standard of the times) rather a grudging dedication was, about this date, presented to the Earl by Joshua Sylvester, a native of the town of Southampton, prefacing his

Memorials of Mortalitie. Written in Tablets or Quatrains by Pierre Mathieu. The first Centurie. Translated, and dedicated To the Right Honourable HENRY EARLE OF SOUTHAMPTON by Joshua Sylvester.

> Shall it be said (I shame it should be thought)
> When after ages shall record thy worth
> My sacred Muse hath left SOUTH-HAMPTON forth
> Of her Record, to whom so much shee ought?
> Sith from *Thy Town* (where my Sarania taught)
> Her slender Pinions had their tender Birth;
> And all, the little all, she hath of worth
> Under Heav'ns blessing, only thence shee brought
> For lack therefore of fitter Argument,

[1] Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, v. pt 2, p. 259.

And lother now it longer to delay:
Heer (while the part of PHILIP's Page I play)
I consecrate this little monument
Of gratefull Homage to *Thy noble Bounty*;
And thankful love to (my deer Nurse) Thy County.
Humbly devoted, JOSHUA SYLVESTER.

It may be noted, in passing, that it was during the King's visit to Cambridge in 1615 that he first distinguished among his followers, a youth, George Villiers, who was fated not only to eclipse the Earl of Somerset, but to endanger the fortunes of the King and the safety of the country. With him came no other aids to grace beyond his own personal beauty and attractive manners. James saw in his face a likeness to one of the Italian masterpieces on his walls at Whitehall (a picture of St Stephen) and was strangely drawn to the owner, however unlike the soul beneath it was to that of the first martyr. The King, calling him "Steenie" (the pet name for Stephen), loaded him with favours. A further fact about Villiers is strange—that he had previously attracted the Queen and called himself her servant, and that, throughout James' life and after his death, Prince Charles also was devoted to him.

Some interesting episodes in Southampton's life are gleaned from the books of his own College. Perhaps it would be well to begin with the appointment of Owen Gwynne as Master of St John's College on 16th May, 1612[1]. That year the Prince of Wales and the Prince-Elector Palatine, with a numerous train of nobility, visited Cambridge. "A public Act was kept before them in which, Mr Williams (formerly the Master's pupil) being concerned, he came down upon that great occasion. Being an active man, and already in the eye of the court, part of the streams of its favours were turned upon his college." A full account of the entertainment is entered in the College books. Trumpets sounded from the tower to welcome the Princes; the Master's gallery was furnished with great magnificence for their reception; speeches were delivered and verses distributed. The King's and Queen's pictures were sent down on that occasion, and have ever since hung in the gallery. "The Earl of Southampton, (who had formerly been a worthy member of the society) assisted at the Solemnity, and, the Master

[1] Baker's *Hist. of St John's College*, II. 201.

being unacquainted with such ceremonies, Mr Williams bore the greater share, wherein he found his account." Two years afterwards the University was honoured with the presence of King James (in March, 1614–5) and he was so pleased with his entertainment that he came again in the May following, when he was entertained by the College at a cost of £500.

Mr William Crashaw, who had been admitted Fellow of the College[1] by mandate from Queen Elizabeth (the See of Ely being vacant) on 19th January, 1593–4, about the very date referred to as that of the King's visit, was engaged in a special transaction. There is some little mystery about it, the tradition being that Crashaw was so eager a bibliophile that he spent all, and more than all, of his money in purchasing books, and got into trouble. The Earl of Southampton came to the rescue. Apparently he purchased Crashaw's library, not to add to his own, but to leave it accessible, alike to Crashaw as to all the members of St John's College. There was one little hitch. The books were offered before any building in the College was ready to receive[2] them. There was a discussion how to make some of the Fellows' rooms fit for the purpose, but ere long a munificent donation of the Mr Williams mentioned above enabled them to build the library as we see it now. The following letters tell the rest, or at least much, of the story.

Salutem in Christo. Worshipful Sir, I will accordinge to my appointment with my Lord bee at Cambridge with you soon after Easter and then go forwarde God willinge in yielding my best assistance to his Lordship for the well managinge of that good motion his Lordship made to me for our librarye. And whilst I live it shall be my hartes ioye to do any service to the house; and for the present businesse you shall be furnished from me with 3000 volumes if so many be found needful, whereof over 2000 I will upholde to be as good books as are in any library in Christendom, and some such as are scarce in any other librarye of this land. And with some 500 Manuscript volumes (whereof I wonder you have none in your librarye) some very ancient, some very rare, and many never printed. Against that time his lordship desires you to consider of fitting the roome, and I am yet of mind Mr Hoordes chamber is better to be divided as it is, then put into the librarye; that so it may be as a private librarye for the small books and for many books of such

[1] Mr R. F. Scott, Master of St John's College, in *The Eagle*, vol. XXIII. No. 126, December, 1901.

[2] Baker MS. B.M. 8364, f. 110.

natures as are not fit to be obiects for every eye. But I leave that to your discretion. And do further desire, because you shall have no books from me but such or of such impressions as you have not alreadye, that therefore you would cause to be made an exact catalogue of all your books you have alreadye according to the manner of this note inclosed, so you shall have onely those you have not, and such as I have not fit for you may be fitt for some other librarye. So till then recommending my service and love to yourself Mr President and the rest of our good friends I rest

Your servant in Christe

W. CRASHAWE.

Ag. Burton
Mar. 23. 1614.

To the worshipful my very good frende Mr Doctor Gwynn the Master of St Johnes College in Cambridge or in the Master's absence to the president, haste[1].

In the May following Crashaw writes again:

Salutem in Christo. This noble Earl persists in his honourable intendment towards our Librarye and therefore willed me to write to you to sende up by the first the Catalogue of the Books you have alreadye and their impressions, and you are like shortly to have a faire parcel of bookes, some ancient manuscripts and others printed. So hopinge to receive it the next weeke (seeing I wrote out of the northe more than 2 months before that it might be readye) with my daily prayers and hartye endevours for the good of our house I take leave and rest,

From my Lord Sheffeylds house in St Martins in the fields May 5, 1615.

Your assured friend and servant in Christ

W. CRASHAWE.

To the right worshipfull my very good friends Mr Doctor Gwin the Master of St Johns College in Cambr. or in the Master's absence to Mr President, haste[2].

The replies from the College do not seem to have been preserved and Crashaw writes again:

Worshipful Sir, Having received your Catalogue I overviewed my Librarye exactly, and though you have good books, yet find I great store in mine that yours hath not, and for the good of the College am content to pick out such as you want. And to this end I have delivered alreadye into Southampton house almost 200 volumes of Manuscripts in Greeke Lattine English and frenche, and about 2000 printed books whereof you have not

[1] *The Eagle*, vol. XXIII No. 126.
[2] *Ibid.*

one in your librarye. You may therefore do well to have care to make your rowme fit, for his lordship intends to be very honourably bountifull to you in his kinde. But for my part I could wishe you would advise before you be at any cost whether some other part of the house were not a fitter place[1] than either will or can be, though you take in Mr Hoordes chamber. I will be with you God willinge this July, wishing I might do you any further service and with remembrance of my love do rest till then and ever your servant in Christ

W. CRASHAWE.

June 30th 1615. Sir I pray let one of your men deliver me this inclosed, for he hath a booke or two I would not misse.

To the Right Worshipfull my very good frend Mr Doctor Gwinn The Master of St John's College in Cambridge, haste[2].

The interval seems long before the next letter, and unbridged by any suggestion.

Salutem in Christo. Sir, since my coming to towne I was with my Lord Southampton who willed me to learne how you proceeded with your librarye, for that he desired first to sende the books he formerly promised, and after to do more as he findes your occasions and his owne intendments and abilitye to corresponde.

I am also a sutor to you for myself...for a lease....

Your assured frende and servant in Christ

W. CRASHAWE[3].

Whitechapell
June 11, 1618

The Countesse of Shrewsburye is againe committed to the Tower for the olde cause wherein she againe refuseth to answer. The later newes of Sir Wa. Raleighes unfortunate voiage you will see by the proclamation.

To the right worshipful My very good Frende Mr Doctor Gwinn the Master of St Johns Coll. in Cambr., these, haste.

A much longer interval elapsed before this transaction was completed, caused apparently by the recognition of the need of larger space for the College Library[4], and the attempt to begin to build,

[1] "Whereof the chambers near the Butterie were fitted up, but the books not delivered till 1626," Baker MS. XIX. 276*a*.

[2] *The Eagle*, vol. XXIII. No. 126, R. F. Scott. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] It may be remembered that Southampton kept a residence in Little Shelford. Now the fact that one of his servants was buried there in 1615 suggests that his lord was then in residence. If so, he would be sure to ride over to Cambridge occasionally to see how the library buildings were getting on, and thus by conversation save correspondence.

made easy for them by the munificent gift of another son of the College, referred to above, Bishop Williams, then Lord Chancellor[1].

It is interesting to realise that the Earl of Southampton seems to have made the acquaintance of William Crashaw through his connection with the Virginia plantation, as well as William Strachey, as may be found in my chapter on Virginia.

It has always seemed to me extraordinary that a private Puritan divine should have had such a large library, at a time when large libraries were rare, and especially that he should have had so many books which might be termed "recusants' books." His letters are, I think, open to another meaning than that which has been generally accepted, that *the whole* of the books which were designed for St John's had originally belonged to "William Crashaw." They certainly imply that the Earl of Southampton had agreed to buy (or compensate Crashaw for their loss), but they also imply that the Earl had arranged with him to take all the trouble of the transaction, in reading, naming, classifying, cataloguing, and comparing catalogues. By the latter process, 1000 books were weeded out of the gift, as the St John's Library already owned copies of the same. These might do for some other "library." How? By the Earl's gift or Crashaw's?

Now, while it appears almost too wonderful to be believed that William Crashaw should have become possessed of so extensive a library, especially of MSS., it would be very natural to believe that the Earl might have owned as large a library. There was more than one way in which he might have secured it. In the first place his grandfather, Thomas, founder of his title and fortune, had nearly a free hand in going through the freshly surrendered abbeys and priories at the Dissolution. He had no special literary tastes, but whatever books the houses owned would probably be left for him in Titchfield, Beaulieu, Quarr Abbey, and the branches of Hyde Abbey. Again, in 1596 Southampton had eagerly desired to go as a volunteer with his adored friend the Earl of Essex to the taking of Cadiz, and was only forbidden to do so at the last by the Queen's mandate. At the subsequent sacking of the city Essex had chosen for his share the contents of the library. Judging from the

[1] "The Earl of Southampton's picture in the Gallery is dated 1618." Baker MS. XIX. 276*a*.

characters of the two men, what would be more likely than that on his return the Earl of Essex should console his friend for his disappointment by giving him a share in the spoil? Thirdly, he had travelled in at least three countries, Ireland, France and the Netherlands, and he might have picked up many a prize, for he was known to be a patron of letters and rarities would be offered him. There are several notices of recusant books having been found in and confiscated from Southampton House, but now that he had himself given up the old ritual, and yet remained appreciative of the beauty and value of the old books, the Earl might wish to secure some of his prizes from future spoliation by enclosing them in the walls of St John's. From other examples we may infer that the Earl might wish to give Crashaw as much help and as much pleasure as he could in the transaction, concealing his own full share of the gift, content that the thing should be done, seeking no glory for himself other than was necessary. Therefore he might have sent packages of the books he had selected to Mr Crashaw's house to be read, digested, patched and trimmed if necessary, and then to be returned to Southampton House before their final exodus. Crashaw would feel justified in speaking of the combined collection as "my books." It seemed only fair to the Earl to point out this possible explanation of a very peculiar relation between the two men.

[While I have indulged in a little imagination on this subject, I may as well suggest another idea that has floated into my head. We have no knowledge of the relations that obtained between Southampton and his poet in the seventeenth century. Shakespeare had retired to his native town; Southampton was involved in many public duties that kept him out of town. They were not likely to be able to meet often, even if they had the will. The last time we *know* that Shakespeare visited London was on the 16th of November, 1614[1], because on the 17th his cousin, Thomas Green, wrote in his Diary, "My cosen Shakspeare commyng yesterday to towne, I went to see him how he did." We do not know how long he stayed, or what he did during his visit. But he *might* have called at Southampton House, on his patron's coming from the Low Countries, to "see him how he did," and to enquire if there were more news of

[1] My *Shakespeare's Environment*, p. 85 (Shakespeare and the Welcombe enclosures).

the young married pair whose "contract of true love" he had celebrated. Then, also, he might have heard of, and might have seen, some of the wealth of books Southampton was preparing to pour into the lap of his Alma Mater. This is, of course, pure fancy. But it is possible that my theory about the amassing of the books which helped to enlarge St John's Library and initiate its MS. collection may be discovered some day to be founded on fact.]

Southampton seems to have handed over some of these books himself. In the *Book of Memorials*[1] of those deposited in the Library is an acknowledgment of the receipt of 400 volumes worth £360, a catalogue of which is among the MSS. As an old student he was liberal. "Ego Henricus Comes Southamptoniensis admissus eram in Alumnum hujus Collegii D. Johann. Evang. Oct. 26. An. Dom. 1585."

The story of the final deposition of the gift is concluded in my last chapter[2].

[1] *Book of Memorials*, pp. 329, 1127, line 20, St John's College. Baker MSS. XIX. 276 *a*.

[2] Also see pamphlets reprinted from *The Eagle* articles by the Master of St John's College, vol. XXIII. No. 126, Dec. 1901, vol. XXXVI. No. 166, March, 1915. Also volume for June, 1918.

CHAPTER XXIV

A LONG PROGRESS

PERHAPS there should be mentioned here the special work of the industrious John Minsheu, author of a Spanish grammar and compiler of a Spanish dictionary, in which he had been helped by Sir Henry Spelman and many in Oxford and Cambridge, who was now trying to publish his *Guide into Tongues*. He had been granted a patent for its publication in 1611 and for the sole printing of it for 21 years. He had been much helped and encouraged by Oxford University; but he was poor, and could not pay the great expenses of publication, and wanted subscribers. These he found much more abundant in Cambridge[1], and he himself records the fact, together with the names of the subscribers. There is a little literary question here. Some copies of his *Guide into Tongues* have not this list. Was it lost? Or was it withdrawn because he had stated that "the Stationers' Company would have nothing to do with the book"? It was finally published in 1617, folio. After the title-page should follow on the next page "A Catalogue and true note of the names of such persons (which upon the good liking they have to the worke, being a great helpe to memorie) have received the Etymological Dictionarie... from the hands of Maister Minsheu the author and publisher of the same in print...." Among the subscribers are the King, the Queen, the Prince, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor Sir F. Bacon, the Earl of Pembroke Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Southampton Captain of the Isle of Wight, Mr Camden Clarentieux at Armes, Mr Brooke York Herald... *Mr Davenant of Oxford*, Mr Joshua Silvester, Dr Dunne.

A Cambridge anecdote relates that an undergraduate, who was showing a country cousin round the Colleges, was asked. "Whose are these four statues?" "These? These are Faith, Hope and Charity!" "But there are four of them. Who is the fourth?"

[1] One right worthy nobleman had "disfurnished his Library for years to lend me books."

"The fourth—oh, of course, that is *Geography*!" It might have been true in the days of which we are writing—for *Geography* had taken possession of many men's minds with a compelling power like that of a Christian grace or of a patron saint. We have seen examples of it in the chapters on the colonies—but it also stimulated the love for, and the recognition of the need of, dictionaries, as a medium towards understanding the languages of far countries.

Southampton was one of these who took the lead in that interest. Among his friends were many others. One of these was Sir Thomas Roe, knighted by James in 1604. He was much liked by Henry, Prince of Wales (and his sister Elizabeth), who sent him on a voyage of discovery to the West Indies on 24th February, 1609–10, to the mouth of the Amazon, "then unknown to English explorers." He sailed 200 miles up the river, and found it a much larger and more interesting one than the Orinoco. He explored the coast for thirteen months, but found no trace of gold; thence he returned to the Isle of Wight in 1611. Twice again was he sent to "discover" in the same district, and he did much scientific work. In 1615 James sent him out, at the expense of the East India Company, to the Court of the Great Mogul, as his ambassador and as representative of the Company to arrange treaties for factories and other privileges. Roe took two years to accomplish this. (Afterwards he was ambassador at Constantinople, also working there in the interests of the East India Company.)

George, Lord Carew (a common friend of Southampton and of Roe), wrote to the latter on 3rd January, 1615–6: "It is said that the Lady Penelope Spencer, the Earle of Southampton's daughter, is dead." It has been noted that this is an error. Lady Penelope did not die until long after—she was buried on July 16th, 1667, "leaving a character for all female virtues." But it has not been noted that there was a foundation of truth in the error. The Earl of Southampton did lose a daughter either late in 1615 or early in 1616, for the Titchfield Register has the entry: "Buried The Lady Marie the daughter of the Right Honourable the Earl of Southampton the 10th day of January 1615–6." Now, this must have been a late-born child, for, though I have found no entry of birth or christening, there remains in Titchfield Church

ELIZABETH VERNON, COUNTESS OF SOUTHAMPTON
(At Welbeck Abbey)

he white marble monument to this little child, dressed in the arb of an infant with hands palm to palm in the attitude of rayer. It remains the only tombstone of his family put up by imself.

Carew's letter fortunately did not reach Sir Thomas Roe before e sent the following, with part of his Diary, to Southampton on 4th February, 1615–6:

My Lord, Since my arrival in this country I have had but one month of ealth, and that mingled with many relapses, and am now your poor servant, carce a crow's dinner. The fame of this place hath done it great credit in ngland, but lost as much with me, for though the King is as rich as a Turke nd every way as great, yet, for want of care, learning and civill actes, all hinges, even the Court, are mingled with such barbarisme as makes all ontemptible. The King sits out like a player in the gallery over a Stage to e seene, but no man but Eunuchs comes up to him, so that he spends all ut hunting howres among his women. But what have I to doe with any lescriptions, where the fates have provided me an Historiographer as fit for t as Xenophon for Cyrus, or Homer for Achilles, the unwearied Coriatt, vho now is in my house and hath not left a pillar nor tombe nor old Character nobserved, almost in all Asia: and is now going to Samarkand in Tartary, rom thence to Prester John in Afrike, and hath written more volumes than eaves in his last Venetian travell, wherein he holds still the correspondence f going on foote. He is already or shall be shortly the greatest traveller loubtless of the world.

But to say a little of our estate here for myself, I stand in good terms with he King, who never gave that respect to any ambassador of Turke or Persian, ut our residency here is inconstant, for we stand or fall, as the Portugall is in lisgrace or creditt. They feare both, cannot hold friendship with both, and vatch occasion to adhere to the stronger. These later years the Portugall vas so decayed, being by us twice beaten and eaten out of trade; by the Persian besieged, disgraced and almost turned out of the Gulph, having othing but the Castell of Ormus left, and that distressed for want of relief rom the mayne, which, if it had been prosecuted, had utterly cast him in his quarter. But the Sophy in this noble purpose was diverted by necessity o defend himself, for the Turk is ready to enter his dominions with three rmies, by 3 waies, by Bagdatt, Armenia, and Trebizond, which causes him o forbid the transport of his silkes, and soe, whiles he putt out his enemies ye he destroyed his own liver, for now no way was left to rayse money, he Spaniards being in disgrace, the Turk in armes. In this extremity Sir Robert Shirley (who was welcomed like *bonum auspicium*; for He arrived in he instant, wrought upon his wants, and by the assistance and suggestion of ome Friars, procured him to release all the Portugall prisoners, to open the

mayne, and to send him Ambassador to Spaine, to offer the King, not only all the silkes and commodities of his Kingdomes, but, for security, his coaste to fortifie. He is departed with a great trayne in Jan. 1615, and will I feare arrive before my advice (which tryes a new way overland) in July 1616. However this seemes, because far off, a small matter, and yf we once in some haste refused it, yet it is of so great consequences, yf such poore understandings as mine moorne thereat.

First it will advance the King of Spaine's revenue a million of dollars yearely, enrich his subjects that shall engross the greatest commodityes of the East into their hands that will serve Europe at their price and pleasure. It will restore him all his credit here, where he lay languishing for breath, (O what happiness, how had it advanced the peace of Christendom, if he had lost these Indies, and it had been *malum omen* to have one branch fall off in the height of an Empire which hath his periode. But now he shall have occasion to send fleets hither, which the trade he had would not defray, that will master this Coast, and then all those wavering and inconstant princes will cast us off, and make peace with prosperity. I could enlarge this, but if your Lordship choose to consider it further, you shall see my grounds, if you will command the copy of my discourse to the Committee, though I know your own judgment will pierce to the inwards of this negotiation. I have wrote to the King somewhat amply, perhaps with more zeale than judgment, but were I brought to dispute this, I could urge such inconveniences as were a work of much merrit to prevent, but as in all businesses the Starte half wins the goale.

I thought all India a China Shop, and that I should furnish all my friends with rarityes, but this is not that part, here are almost no civill arts, but such as straggling Christians have lately taught, only good carpets, and fine lawne, all commodities of bulke, wherby I can make noe profytt but publiquely. Muske, amber, civett, Diamonds as deare as in England, no pearle but taken for the King who is invaluable in Jewells. But I am not alone cossened in this here, but in the King's Liberallitye he allows me nothing but a House of Mudd, which I was enforced to build halfe, that is, it is as good as any favourytt of £100,000 per annum dwells in, for no man having inheritance, no man will build, yea the King is heire to all men's goodes that dye and setts their children to begin the world anew with small pensions, which increase as they rise in favour, but all live upon his guifftes and government, except tradesmen, to whome he will be also heire. Yet though I live in such a house, perhaps many wayes in more state and with many more servants than any Ambassadour in Europe, such is the custom here, to be carried in a bede all richly furnished, by men's backes up and downe, though it needs not, for these are the finest horses that I ever sawe of Gennet size and infinite store, besides guards and footemen of which only I keep 24. But this my expected liberality fayling, makes all tedious and loathesome, for though the King hath often sent to me, yet the bounty is only expressed in whyle (*sic*) hogges.

You expect no Ceremony and I have learned none here, but I am ever, and will dye soe, your Lordships most affectionate servant

THO: ROE.

Give me leave to present my humble service to my Lady, my Lady Penelope, my little lady mistress for whom I will be provided with presents. Adsmere, The Great Mogul's Court Feb. 15. 1615–6[1].

In the spring of that year died William Shakespeare, who had elected the Earl of Southampton the patron of his poems—no mean honour. We know nothing of the relations of the two men in later years. Still we must suppose that a tender regret at least suffused the heart of the busy nobleman at the early death of one so gifted in both poetry and drama. That is to estimate his probable feeling at the lowest possible level. I have nothing authoritative to bring forward, but there is one suggestion which I must insert here in parenthesis.

[It is evident that the two friends of the *Sonnets* had discussed what would happen if either of them should die. We can find the reference to this conversation in *Sonnets* LXXI, LXXII, LXXXI, and others.

Or I shall live your epitaph to make,
Or you survive when I in earth am rotten. (*Sonnet* LXXXI.)

If the poet should depart first he begs his friend

No longer mourn for me when I am dead,
Than you shall hear the surly sullen bell
Give warning to the world that I am fled...
Do not so much as my poor name rehearse...
Lest the wise world should look into your moan,
And mock you with me after I am gone. (*Sonnet* LXXI.)

The thought runs over to the next *Sonnet*:

O, lest the world should task you to recite
What merit liv'd in me, that you should love
After my death—dear love, forget me quite,
For you in me can nothing worthy prove;
Unless you would devise some virtuous lie
To do more for me than mine own desert,
And hang more praise upon deceased *I*,
Than niggard truth would willingly impart;
O, lest your true love may seem false in this,
That you for love speak well of me untrue,
My name be buried as my body is,
And live no more to shame, nor me nor you. (*Sonnet* LXXII.)

[1] Add. MS. 6115, f. 88*b*.

Is there not somewhat of a challenge under this protest? Did Southampton altogether forget these old days? Is there anything he could do, anything he did do, to commemorate the friend of his youth? Shakespeare left no poor orphans to rear, needed no monument (though his friends might have chosen a better than they did), required no explanation of his love. But on his grave there was indeed no name, only a threat to those who would not leave his bones alone. There was no name placed upon the monument, until some admirer sent the epitaph. It has often been wondered who had written the lines; not a neighbour certainly, or he would not have spoken as if the body had been placed "within the monument" (as was the way with the rich). I only wish to suggest that it is possible, and not even improbable, that the "Lord of his love" may have added a survivor's memorial on the cold stone, and that it ran:

Judicio Pylium, Genio Socratem, Arte Maronem
Terra tegit, populus maeret, Olympus habet.

Stay passenger, why goest thou by so fast?
Read, if thou canst, whom envious Death hath plast
Within this monument, Shakspeare, with whome
Quick Nature dide; whose name doth decke ys tombe
Far more then cost, sith all yt he hath writt
Leaves living art, but page, to serve his witt.
Obiit Ano dni 1616, Aetatis 53. Die 23. Ap.

The suggestion is worth consideration and comparison.

It may not have struck everybody that those who love libraries have one link with this Earl who loved literature and libraries. Our great National Library has been built on soil which once was his, and as near as possible to the site of the house in which he dwelt, and to which Shakespeare came when he visited his patron. All the literary world goes to read at the British Museum, some of them to mould out of old thoughts their "inventions new." Those who wish to dig for themselves in the mines of historical research go further, and walk along Oxford Street to Chancery Lane, down which they find the Record Office. Very few may realise that their steps trace their path all the way on land which once was his, granted in 1617, from Holborn Bars to the Rolls House in Chancery Lane.

Another remarkable coincidence may also be noted. There has been no national memorial raised to Shakespeare such as has been done to lesser men. Perhaps men thought he was too great to need it. After three hundred years have passed, however, the national heart has been stirred, and all feel that we must have some important memorial raised to him and his work in London. Already the site has been secured, and that site is also on ground that belonged once to Southampton. These two are thus associated for all time, and, if the Patron did not "write his epitaph," he left the soil on which to build his monument.]

A curious notice of Southampton is preserved among the *Venetian Papers*. "Upon the affairs of the Earl and Countess of Somerset an anonymous letter has been sent to the King from one who makes reproach of the successive greatness and sudden fall of Somerset, adding that it happened in order to satisfy the Earl of Arundell, head of the Catholics, the Earl of Pembroke, head of the Puritans, and the Earl of Southampton, head of the Malcontents."[1]

On July 11th, 1616, there was executed a grant to the Earl of Southampton of pardon of a bond of a thousand marks forfeited for non-fulfilment of his pledge to make, and to pay for, a survey of "certain woods belonging to manors in the counties of Somerset, Essex, Suffolk and Wilts, with permission to dispose at pleasure of the aforesaid woods."[2]

On 4th November, 1616, Prince Charles was made Prince of Wales, among rejoicings such as had been made for his brother Henry. Of one honour he was deprived, the Duchy of Cornwall, after the precedent of Henry VIII, who, through the technical reading of the patent as being for "the first-born son" of the reigning King, was denied possession of it, as being the second-born son. After the ceremony the King dined alone, while the Prince feasted the nobility, the Earl of Southampton acting as cup-bearer and the Earl of Dorset as carver. The Earl had a double interest in that feast, because for the first time his son shared the day's honours. Among the Knights of the Bath created in honour of the Prince of Wales' creation were: "James, Lord

[1] XIV. 245.
[2] *Sign Manual*, vol. VI. No. 25. D.S.S.P. James, LXXXVIII. 12.

Maltravors, son and heir to the Earl of Arundel; Algernon, Lord Percy, son and heir to the Earl of Northumberland; James, Lord Wriothesley, son and heir to the Earl of Southampton."

Nothing after that was talked of but the King's proposed visit to Scotland, and who was going with him. The Councillors and all his flatterers implored him not to go, but he had made up his mind. He started from Theobalds on 14th March, 1616–7, and the Queen accompanied him as far as Ware. His chief companions were the Duke of Lennox, Lord Steward; the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of Buckingham, Master of the Horse; the Earls of Arundel, Rutland, Southampton, Montgomery, Secretary Lake, and two Bishops. The King meditated reforms in Scotland. In one good thing he meant to imitate England—in establishing parish registers of births, deaths, and marriages. He also meant to make it statutory to have a parish school in every parish. The matters of the form of religion and the Prayer Book also exercised his mind.

Lovelace, writing to Carleton, said: "Sir Walter Raleigh is ready to sail on his expedition."[1]

Apparently the King had been moved by the representation of the East India Company and the traders in the Mediterranean to try to crush the Algerine pirates, for he seems at once to have written to his Council, while on his journey, on March 20th, 1617[2]; some instructions are given adding that if a fleet were sent out for the purpose, he wished that the Earl of Southampton (who was Vice-Admiral) should be made Admiral of it, seeing the age and illness of Lord Nottingham. A great deal hung on that announcement, more than has yet been discovered

In *The Times Literary Supplement*[3] Mr G. F. Abbot, criticizing the late S. R. Gardiner, says: "The one unfortunate operation undertaken by the English Navy in James I's reign was Sir Robert Mansell's unfortunate expedition against Algiers... decided on in 1617....It did not sail till 1620....People who had contributed to the expenses wanted to know, etc." The writer refers to a letter dated "Whitehall November 12th, 1619[4], to the

[1] D.S.S.P. James, xc. 113. Carew's Letters to Sir Thomas Roe.
[2] D.S.S.P. James, xc. 136.
[3] October 2nd, 1919.
[4] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* III. p. 346.

Mayor of Dartmouth." The Spanish ambassador in London tried to hinder this step[1]. By 1618 the Spanish opposition was withdrawn, thus throwing open Gibraltar to their dreaded Allies[2]. A report on the Navy to Buckingham, March, 1618, says:

His Majesty's ships are often so ill-manned that they fall ready prizes to any that dare assail them. Commanders & Captains never come on board. If they are on the sea the ships only waste the King's cordage. If they go ashore the mariners scatter, yet charge his Majestie with victuals as if they were aboard, and spend all in London or at home or anywhere they please.

This neglect Mr Abbot thinks was accountable for the delay, and should have been mentioned by Gardiner. But there are also other points to think of.

The Venetian ambassador on April 27th, 1617 (N.S.), writes:

The absence of the King enfeebles negotiations. The Merchants say his Majesty is bound to protect them against pirates. They are willing to bear the bulk of the expenses if the King will give them 6 ships, ammunition and other things. The Council proposes to offer the Earl of Southampton 40,000 crowns as a gift if he will accept the command[3].

Now, in 1620 the Venetian ambassador again writes on the same subject, and should be cited here to put an end to the question.

Three years ago, the King had the idea of uniting his ships with those of the Dutch to send them against the pirates, on hearing of the great damage they inflicted on his shipping and subjects and others, with the special object and a well-concerted plan to go and take Algiers. The merchants were to contribute a large sum of money for the armament, and in various ways; they made great preparation for a powerful and imposing fleet. The Earl of Southampton was designated as the leader of the undertaking and he and his relations were prepared to spend more than £100,000 sterling for the glory of himself and his country. Two persons of proved experience and courage were sent to reconnoitre Algiers and to plan various methods. Three of the wisest members of his Majesties council had charge of the affair. Everything was ready and almost certain to be carried out when it reached the ears of Lord Digby, the Achilles of the Spaniards at this Court and a man of great ability and sagacity. He began to tell the King that it was not reasonable, that his Majesty, a friend of the Catholic King, should send his fleet to scour the coasts of the dominions of so great a Monarch and for an enterprise so near him, against an enemy who was also his own, without

[1] Gardiner's *History of James*, vol. III. p. 70.
[2] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* XII. Part I. p. 108.
[3] *Venetian Papers*, vol. XIV. p. 496.

giving him some share in it, and without joining with him, instead of with the Dutch rebels, formerly his subjects, now his open enemies. By this means and by the efforts of Gondomar the Ambassador, the arrangement with the Dutch fell through, the fabric of all the excellent work of the King was destroyed, and the Earl of Southampton's hope for advancement thwarted, his Majesty conceiving a suspicion of his loyalty and his aims, as it would not be safe to place such a large force, so well armed, in the hands of a subject with such a following, and of such high rank and spirit. Accordingly nothing was done for all those years, time being lost over the new negociations. Digby went to Spain....He represented the King's eagerness for the undertaking. So on this side they gave orders for an armament of the like size and number. By various devices time was frittered away, and nothing was done with the armament, through Spanish jealousy[1].

That provides a view that seems not to have presented itself to Mr Abbot, though probably it did to Mr Gardiner. But this long explanation can hardly be deemed irrelevant here, since the beginning of the plans were coincident with the King's Scottish Progress.

The King took some time to drive through England, as there were many of his subjects who had not seen him since his arrival in the country. The weather was not pleasant.

On the 23rd of March Sir Francis Bacon wrote to the King[2], with some additional instructions for Sir John Digby, about the union of both Kings to extirpate pirates, the common enemies of mankind. An account of Council business was also forwarded. Sir Thomas Smith, on behalf of the merchants of London, certifies that there will be a contribution for two years of £20,000 a year, and the merchants of the west will come into the circle....The discussion of preparation had been referred to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Carew, and Sir Fulke Greville "who heretofore hath served as Treasurer of the Navy, to confer with Lord Admiral, calling to the conference Sir Robert Mansell and others expert in such service....When that is done, his Majesty will be advertised." Not a word about the Earl of Southampton.

A curious letter has been preserved, giving a contemporary account of the proceedings on the Northern Progress, somewhat of the nature of Laneham's letter on the Kenilworth festivities, though not so interesting[3]. It was written by John Crowe the younger, a

[1] *Venetian Papers*, XVI. 291. [2] *Bacon's Letters*, edition 1824, vol. VI. p. 139.
[3] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* XIV., App. 4. Kenyon MSS. p. 19.

Scotchman, to Mr Alden, an Englishman, almost as if it were attempting to counteract the belittling remarks made by their English visitors. It is very long, but there is no other record of Southampton's life at the time, and it must be given here in a shortened form.

The King came by Berwick. At the boundary road, which is two miles from Berwick, he stood with one foot in Scotland and one in England, and was as glad as he could be. He went on by Dunglass, a place of my Lord Home's, where he spent two nights. He was met by my Lord and his gentlemen (all of one suit and apparel), with the other Earls and Lords of that part of the country with their trains. The King said he had had naughty weather all the way from London, but since he came to Scotland the heavens smiled upon him. He was very content at Dunglass. "Tell me, my Lords," he said, "did you ever feed so well since you came from London?" Thence we went to my Lord of Seaton his place, and the King's ships from Leith came to welcome him with shooting of guns. He came by the sea-coast from Seaton to Leith, and by Leith to Edinburgh. He had always travelled in his coach until he came to about the middle of the way, then he leapt on a horse and rode in by the West Port. And there was a Scaffold where my Lord Provost and the Baillies stood all in their velvet gowns, and when the King came there was an oration made which the King liked well, and there was presented to him the sceptre of the citie, as also in a silver bason over gilt with gold, a thousand angells in a velvet bag, and the King said, "Leap on, my Lord Provost, upon your horse," and he rode betwixte two Earles and the people shouted for joy. The King refused his own guard, and took the guard of the city; then he came to the Cross, and lighted down with great triumph and drew into the High Kirk and heard a sermon by the Archbishop of St Andrews. When the sermon was ended, he made down the street with his nobles in great pomp and came through the Netherbow Port where his picture stands very reallie, and at the end of the liberty of the city in the Canongate he made the Lord Provost leap off his horse and knighted him, and the Baillies of the Canongate were his guard until he came to his own Palace, the Abbey, and there after the King had alighted there...kneeled down some thirty young men in gowns of the College of Edinburgh, whereof one of them made an oration in Latin in praise and commendation of the King. In the mean time of the oration, the King was so glad of it that he made the Earls of Pembrugh, Southampton, Montgomerye and the Bishops draw near to hear what was spoken. This I saw with mine eyes. And after the oration was ended, the young student presented a book to the King of verses in Latin, all of his praise, which he kissed and gave to his Majestie; the King very gladly accepted of the same and so went in with the nobilitie into his Palace.

On the morrow he went forth to his Hawking and Hunting. The second day which was the Sabbath day he stayed in the Chapel Royal for sermons... and upon Monday he went over the water in a barge made by the Citie of Edinburgh for him. Then the Castle shot a royal salute, and his own two ships convoyed him to Burntisland, where he took his breakfast in the Provost's house. Afterwards five hundred gallant gentlemen of Fife waited on him. Wherever he went was the same rejoicing....At night he came to his Palace of Falkland, a palace which may be very well seen, and took your nobles and let them see the Park and in it many a troop and company of deers and roes. From Falkland he went over the water of Tay in a barge and landed at Broughty, and there met him many gentlemen of Angus. The King himself went only into the Constable's house of Dundee which was out of town. Some of his company went to Dundee and were very well used. Upon the morrow he came to Kinnaird, a place of my Lord Carnegie's 2 miles from Montrose, the sea coming up to it by Montrose. There he stayed six or eight days, hunting some days upon Muir Mount, and sometimes visiting places round about. One of the days he with his nobles went to the Castle of Brechin[1], a place of the Earl of Mar's. The water runneth down by Kinnaird, and there he desired the Earl of Mar to cause some fishers to be brought to fish some salmon. The fishers came, they took a net and went into the water, but by the time they had gone a little way off, the net was so full of salmon that they were forced to let a part of the net go, else it had been broken, it was so full. As it was there was above a hundred salmon in it cast upon the green grass quick. This is a great matter. Sometimes in summer a man may go over the water nearly dry foot....About 24 of your countrymen were desirous to see Aberdeen which is 30 miles from Kinnaird. When they went there they were well accepted, and paid nothing. If it had pleased them to have gone 100 miles beyond Aberdeen they would have found meat and drink also, for many noblemen dwell far beyond Aberdeen. They were also desirous to see Dunottar, an ancient castle of the Earl Marshall's upon the sea-coast, and as soon as they came to the outer gate thereof, one by one (for no more than one by one can enter, the entry is so strait) their weapons were taken from them, and in sign of welcome the cannons played their part, but they were greatly afraid because of the taking of their weapons. They supposed they were about to do some treason to them. But they found otherwayes before they went, and as soon as they had seen all, they were brought into the Hall and there dined. But, sayd your men, where is the black stock that we have heard tell of in England? They rose up, and if there was good preparation in the Hall before, there was far better on the Stock. This black stock is of an old oak of great thickness standing on stumps in a house by itself. The use of the black stock hath

[1] Where Southampton must have seen one of the Round Towers (still perfect), such as he had seen in Ireland.

been that whoever were travelling by the way, many or few, they were at the Castle and sat down at that black stock and had meat and drink in abundance and never paid anything for it. Now after there was given such content in the Castle as could be, the Earl took them to his park and desired them to stand at the park dyke. Then he made one of his servants go into the park, and blow on a hunting horne, and as soone as the wild beasts heard the blowing of the horne, they came skipping over the dyke.

After the King had stayed his appointed time at Kinnaird he went into Dundee and was received by the Constable, the Baillies and Citizens, cannon shooting, and the cross running with wine. The Stairs were covered with tapestry and an oration made. Their gift gave the King much contentment. After one night at Falkland, again thence to Kinghorn, where his barge was waiting for him, all his mariners clothed in silk and velvet; they came to Leith and so to his palace again that night.

...Upon the 11th of June, as our usual custom is every year, our weapon schawing was so well liked of by your countriemen that they thocht they had all been gentlemen brought out of the countrie, but in truth it was not so. Next came the two parts of the inhabitants of the city youth, it must have been a pleasure to any King in Europe, to see one city yield such a company of brave and gallant subjects. The King sat in his own Palace window to see them march by....That night the King went with his court to Dalkeith Castle 4 miles from Edinburgh, a place of my Lord of Morton's, a Castle for strength and a palace for pleasure. He stayed there three nights, going about hawking and hunting, and visiting places, as my Lord of Cranston's Dreddin Place, the Castle of Roslin, and the Chapel thereoff of great rarity, also the Park of Newbattle. Handsome maidens brought them milk and confections there....Upon the 14th of June, the King surprised his followers by leaving the Castle of Dalkeith by a secret way, and so got half way home before his men knew he had gone. Upon the 17th June, the first day of the Parliament, the manner of their riding was this: the city being in armour and having the way clear for them, they mounted at the Abbey and rode up along to Parliament House. Half an hour before, the Chancellor of Scotland, and the Secretary with some other Lords, came in their royal red robes and fenced the Parliament, thereafter they passed two and two according to every man's place and degree. First Lords and Commissioners, Barons, Knights, Viscounts, Earls all in their rich robes, then came the Heralds and the King of Heralds, the Bishops and Archbishops next the Earls that carried the Honours, the Crown, the sword of Honour, the Sceptre. Next unto them the King and on his left hand Lord Buckingham. The Stile by which they go to the Parliament House was kept by the Earl of Errol and his guard, and the entries themselves by the Earl Marshal. Then the Roll was called, but there were many absent. Upon the 19th June, his Majesties Birthday, he dined in the Castle of Edinburgh, and the Castle never ceased shooting until 9 or 10 at night. It is reported there were 40 Knights made.

About 9 or 10 the King came down from the Castle to the Abbey. Great Bonfires blazed in the streets, and in the outer court of the Abbey a boy of 9 years old made an oration to the King in Greek. This is of truth: he is one Mr John Car his son, minister of Preston Pans. Then from a window in the Palace the King with his nobles saw fireworks, and a play amid the fireworks. Two castles were created, the Palace of St Andrew, and the Castle of Envy, played by the young men of Edinburgh, and wonderful devises and more to follow if the King had only stayed longer....Upon the 26th day of June there was a banquet given to the King and his nobles by the City of Edinburgh. There was a house built of Timber and glass round about, made of purpose for it, hung with tapestry. Fourscore young men of Edinburgh, all in gold chains, served. They had such varieties of meats, fish and provision, that one of your countrymen spake this, who was a Master of Household himself in England; says he, "I have been in Italie, in Spain, in France, in England, and now come to Scotland, and whereas I thought there would have been nothing here, I have seen here the best both for variety of meats, and also for service....I speak nothing of the pleasante sortes of melodies, musicks, wines, &c, if so be I would enter a discourse of this matter, it would be too longsome." Upon the 28th day of June[1] the last of the Parliament was rode....As concerning Church government, there is no new Statutes made, praised be God, but the old confirmed, and the old ancient acts of Parliament of the Country concerning the Commons. The 30th June the King bade farewell to the Abbey. We were all glad of his coming and sorrowful at his waygoing...he is to be God willing on the 5th day of August at Carlyle.

What he was to do and to see in the interval we are not informed.

It is evident that the little country did its best to welcome its King and his southern nobles. Yet, it is said, they grumbled and sneered at the arrangements, which did not include more masques and devices. It was probably Buckingham who was the caviller. The Scottish men replied that they did not think grown men would have cared for such trifles. But the reproaches wounded sensitive hearts. Probably this letter was written to prove that they had not been neglected. It is possible that James told his English nobles what a fight he had had to support the English players under Laurence Fletcher, and how the people would not find them a playing-place, so that he had had to find wood and workmen to

[1] A letter written to Bacon from Edinburgh on June 28th (misdated 1618) states, "The Earl of Southampton, Montgomery and Hay are already gone for England."

build them a house in a field; how the preachers warned the people on Sunday that they must not go to such places as a play-house, and how on Monday he issued a proclamation that they were to go if they wanted to please him; how he was not sure that Dunfermline would make his players comfortable, and he sent "twelve feather beds" to be ready for the company; how, doubting that the Aberdonians would even admit them, he had sent a private intimation of his wish that they should be made freemen of the borough (as they were). If his northern subjects felt like that, how could his visitors expect a set of masques? For his part, it had been a relief. He liked to see his country and his people natural.

James seemed to have had a romantic and artistic sensibility to the charms of the scenery of his own country. How else could it have entered his head to ask the Venetian ambassador to go and see it, the King paying all expenses? So we may be sure that he urged his courtiers to look well at the landscapes of his land when he took them there. We can well imagine the Earls urged to climb Arthur's Seat at a late sunset in order to see the distant views—to the north-west Ben Ledi, Ben Voirlich and the Trossach group rising like moonstones against the golden glory of the setting sun. He would point out the Calton Hill, where the English had set their cannon when they came to court the King's mother for Prince Edward. They would see for themselves the quaint picturesqueness of the tall houses, crowded together for protection, on the long street that ran between the Castle and the Palace. When they crossed the Firth of Forth in his barge, he might remember the play of *Macbeth*, specially written in his honour by the great dramatist lately dead, and might show Southampton, as likely to be interested, "St Colme's Inch" by Aberdour, and to the north-east of the bay Kincraig that guarded the "Earl's Ferry"—accepting or believing all the misrepresentations of Scottish history which Shakespeare had immortalised in his wonderful "invention" of the last of the old Scottish kings. The charms of Falkland Palace were self-evident. Further north, they would pass by the red Abbey of Arbroath in its unruined days, by the rugged cliffs that line the shore there (afterwards to be glorified in Scott's *Antiquary*) up to Stonehaven and the wonderful bold cliff of Dunottar, then

considered impregnable. It may be noticed that there was a break in the party before reaching that wonderful spot. The King had been expected to go on to Aberdeen, but preferred to remain at Kinnaird; so a party of his courtiers went on to see Aberdeen and Dunottar on their return. One is inclined to believe that Southampton was of that party, for he knew that admiration of his native country always pleased the King. And the adventurers would be rewarded. A city of granite is a sight worth seeing, though its surroundings did not rise to the highest level. But the Castle of Dunottar, once seen, could never be forgotten.

It is said that the Privy Councillors went on their knees to pray the King not to go to Scotland; now they were on their knees again to have him back. His holiday caused delay in all transactions; and in his absence all left behind were "overfed on Bacon." It is extraordinary how any sensible man should have assumed so many airs and taken so much pomp on himself. He out-Wolseyed Wolsey; and those around him wrote to the King to come home to fill the throne that Bacon seemed to have come to think his own. But the King did not hurry more than he felt inclined. He had to visit St Andrews, Dunfermline, Stirling, Perth, Glasgow, where a thriving university could rival Edinburgh in orations; and he went on by south-western Scotland, Hamilton, Sanquhar, and Dumfries, to Carlisle. For some reason Southampton and a few other noblemen left the King's party on the 28th of June. Perhaps he wanted to investigate the arrangements made for the fleet and for his projected voyage to Algiers.

On 4th December, 1617[1], Sir Henry Savile recommended to Carleton Sir Thomas Dale, a friend of the Earl of Southampton, who had done good service in the plantation of Virginia.

On 6th December[2] rumour began to be busy about the coming glories of the great masque in preparation, in which the Prince and Buckingham were to be performers.

Some time during that winter Southampton had a new grant. The King instructed Sir Henry Yelverton, Attorney-General, that he had been graciously pleased to confirm

to our right trustie and well beloved cousin Henry Earl of Southampton to him and his heirs, all such Liberties, privileges, Royalties, Franchises

[1] D.S.S.P. James, xciv. 50. [2] *Ibid.* 52.

as he and his progenitors have had in Southampton...in St Giles in the Countie of Middlesex...in Nettleton in the Countie of Lincoln &c. and that the liberties and boundes of Southampton House in Holborne shall be extended from the Barres there to the Rolls in Chancery Lane[1].

The King therefore desired Yelverton to prepare a bill for this purpose and to fit it for his signature: this to be his warrant.

The King issued a Commission to revise the Statutes of the Garter on 26th April, 1618, directed to "our right well-beloved cousins and Councillors Charles, Earl of Nottingham, Edward, Earl of Worcester, Henry, Earl of Southampton, and Thomas, Earl of Arundel, also our well-beloved cousins Philip, Earl of Montgomery, Robert, Viscount Lisle, Knights and Companions of the Order. Dated from Westminster."[2]

A letter from the Rev. Thomas Lorkin on 23rd June, 1618, states that the Lord of Southampton had persuaded Lord Spencer not to accept an Earldom when offered to him. It may be remembered that his daughter, Penelope, married William, the second Lord Spencer.

He adds:

The Spanish Ambassador has been reporting a very sore complaint against the violent and hostile proceedings of Sir Walter Raleigh, aggravating matters very grievously, and that the Spanish King must repair his honour and losse if satisfaction be not given."[3]

The King must have been at Southampton's place again that summer, as Buckingham wrote to Lord Chancellor Bacon a message from the King dated from "Bewley the 20th day of August 1618."[4]

Bacon sends the advice to the King about the form of the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, on the 18th of October[5]; that, being already convicted of high treason, he could not rightly be charged with anything less. He suggests two courses. One was that with the warrant for execution delivered to the Lieutenant of the Tower should be published in print a narrative of his late crimes and offences, because they are not yet generally known; the other "to

[1] D.S.S.P. James, XCIV. 93, Nov. to Dec. 1617.
[2] Add. MS. 6297, p. 280.
[3] Marquis of Bath's MSS. II. 68.
[4] *Bacon's Letters* (edition 1824), VI. 201.
[5] *Ibid.* 205.

call together your Council and judges and nobility in the Council Chamber, and declare his acts of hostility, depredation, abuse of your Majesty's Commission, as of your subjects under his charge, impostures, attempt to escape and other misdemeanours."

Raleigh had taken advantage of his long reprieve to turn to study and to leisurely literary work, had written many things, sketched more, and completed his ambitious work *The History of the World.* He won more respect, sympathy, and fame as a prisoner than he had in his free and public life, and his execution on 29th October, 1618, made many raise him to the level of a martyr. Nemesis, though long delayed, tracked him down at last. She had not forgotten his dealings with the Earl of Essex.

Viscount Lisle wrote hastily to his wife on the 27th July, 1618: "Lady Lucy (Percy) and Lord Hay are coming to Penshurst presently, but Lord Montgomery goes to his mother, and Lord Southampton to the Spensers."[1] There is no clue to the circumstances associated with this entry.

One remarkable irregularity in courtly marriage customs roused gossip early that winter. The details are only preserved for us by Thomas Lorkin in a letter written after the New Year, as a postscript to that of 5th January, 1518–19[2]. He says that at the house of Mr Udall, "Mrs Isabella Rich and the eldest son of Sir Thomas Smith met and liked each other." The Earl of Pembroke, who was present, sent to Baynard's Castle for his Chaplain to make the matter sure by marriage. The Chaplain demurred, as he had no licence; but the masterful Lord Chamberlain said that he would bear the responsibility, and the ceremony was performed. They then conducted the bridal pair to dinner in Lord Southampton's house, and to bed at Lord Bedford's. "The father is a heavy man to have his son bestowed without his privity and consent." The three Earls persuaded Smith to forgive them[3].

Sir Anthony Weldon's virulent attack upon Scotland and the Scotch, written after the Progress, reflects doubt on his veracity in other satiric descriptions. But one good thing he had to say: "The wonders of their kingdom are these, the Lord Chancellor is believed, the Master of the Rolls well spoken of; and the whole

[1] *Sidney Papers*, II. 350.
[2] Add. MS. 4178, 214 *b*.
[3] D.S.S.P. James, CIII. 110.

Councell who are the judges for all causes are free from suspicion and corruption"—a remark which would probably occur to many minds during the course of the next Parliament in London.

A quaint volume was published in 1618 by H. G., called *The Mirrour of Majestie*. Early in the volume a page is devoted to the Earl of Southampton. His arms are given as four "sea-gulls" set in a cross, no crest, the motto that of the Garter, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, and the following verses:

No storme of troubles, or cold frosts of friends,
  Which on free greatnes too too oft attends,
Can, (by presumption), threaten your free state;
  For these presaging sea-birds doe amate
Presumptions greatnes; moving the best mindes
  By their approach, to feare the future windes
Of all calamitie, no less than they
  Portend to sea-men a tempestuous day;
Which you fore-seeing, may beforehand crosse
  As they doe them, and so prevent the losse.

The following page presents us with an extraordinary portrait, divided down the middle into two halves. The left hand bears the winged rod of Hermes wreathed with two snakes, a wing on cap and foot, and a sword upon his thigh. The right half is cased in mail and bears a lance and shield. This is enclosed by the motto *Perfectus in utraque*. These verses follow:

What coward Stoicke or blunt Captaine will
Dislike this union, or not labour still
To reconcile the Arts and Victory;
Since in themselves Arts have this quality,
To vanquish Errours traine; what other than
Should love the Arts, if not a valiant man?
Or how can he resolve to execute
That hath not first learned to be resolute?
If any shall oppose this, or dispute,
Your great example shall their spite confute.

Bound along with this in the British Museum, undated, is a copy of

Minerva Britannica, or a garden of Heroical devises furnished and adorned with Emblemes and Impreses of sundry natures, newly devized moralized and published by Henry Peacham, Mr of Artes.

To the right honorable and most noble Lord Henry Earle of Southampton.

Three girlondes oure Colonna did devize
For his Impresa, each in other joined;
The first of Olive, due unto the wise;
The learned know the laurel greene to binde.
The oken was his due above the rest
Who had deserved in the battle best.
His meaning was, his mind he would apply
By due desert to challenge each his prize
And rather choose a thousand times to die
Then not be learned valiant and wise.
How few alas, doe now a daies we finde
(Great Lord) that bear thy truly noble minde.

The reverse contains a framed picture, intended to be the Isle of Wight, and over all the three wreaths intertwined.

CHAPTER XXV

WORK IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

THE Queen was very ill during the Christmas of 1618–9, and this cast a gloom over King and Court. On the first page of the new Register of the Council there is recorded:

> The 12th day of this instant January, 1618–9, the greate Banqueting House at Whitehall was by casualty of fire quite burnt to the ground, under which the records of the Councell were kept, which, being not possible to be all saved, all the Registers and bookes of Councell, from part of the year 1601 inclusive unto May 1613, were quite consumed.

This accident increased the Christmas gloom.

On the 30th of January, 1619, Lord Nottingham resigned his office of Lord Admiral. There is no doubt Southampton would have liked to have been promoted to the post, not only for the honour, but that he might thereby have a better chance of chasing the Barbary pirates. But nothing then was too good for the favourite, and the office was granted to the Marquis of Buckingham. It is possible that the King meant to find some consolation for Southampton, for on the 20th of February "he gave the Earl £1200 a year in lieu of the land in the New Forest grown useless by the multitude of deer." The Queen about that time grew suddenly worse, and died of dropsy on the 2nd of March. The Court Letter-writer, Sir Gerard Herbert, wrote: "She has benefited many, and injured none, so that she should be lamented."[1] There was a good deal of mild regret (mingled with anxieties about the consequences of Court mourning), but little distress. Eleven days afterwards died Richard Burbage, Shakespeare's great exponent. Poets and pamphleteers were busy expressing the people's sorrow. One long poem says

> Burbage the Player has vouchsafed to die
> Therefore in London is not one eye dry...
> When he expires, lo! all lament the man,
> But where's the grief should follow good Queen Anne?

[1] D.S.S.P. James, cv. 120.

There is no doubt that both of these losses must have affected Southampton deeply. Both Queen and Player were about his own age; the Queen had always been his friend, and he her servant in several offices; the Player had often been his comforter in days of stress and strain as the sympathetic expresser of Shakespeare's philosophy. But we do not know of him what Lord Pembroke records of himself in May, that he could not go to the play, "which I being tender-hearted could not endure to see so soone after the loss of my old acquaintance Burbage."[1] The Queen's funeral took place on the 13th of May. Southampton and his family all attended, he among the Earls, his brother-in-law, Thomas Arundel, among the Barons.

"The principal mourner was the Countess of Arundel, the Countesses assistant Southampton, Leicester, Pembroke (dowager), Devonshire. Ladies, Lady Anne Wriothesley, Lady Penelope Spencer among them."[2] Meanwhile the King had been very ill, so ill that it had been reported he was dead. He thought at one time he was dying, and recommended many of the Lords to the Prince. Sir Gerard Herbert said he never heard such wise or divine speeches as the King made. Chamberlain says they all thanked God for his recovery.

It is probable that the King's conscience had troubled him about the repeated slights he had offered to the Earl of Southampton. At any rate, it was during his illness that on April 19th the King announced that he was to be made a Privy Councillor.

A Latin letter of congratulation was sent by the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge, to the Earl of Southampton on his being honoured thus, on 19th May, 1619[3]. They rejoiced at the recognition of his merit, though tardy.

The Earl of Southampton wrote to Carleton on 30th April, 1619:

Sir

I have received your letter wherein you were pleased to express a better opinion of mee than I deserve. It is trew his Majestie hath given mee a place on his Council Board, which preferment I protest by the faith of an

[1] See my *Burbage, and Shakespeare's Stage*, p. 117; also Egerton MS. 3592, f. 81.

[2] Nichols' *Prog.* III. 538.

[3] *Register of Letters*, 147, p. 154.

honest man I expected not, neither sought directly nor indirectly by myself or any of my friends, yea I may say trewly, nor wished in my heart. His favour I confess to be the greater, and I the more bound to serve him honestly, which by God's grace shall be the chief marke I will ayme att, if I may attayne that end, I shall account my poor endeavours well employed, otherwise I had much rather have continued a spectator than become an actor, and I shall rather performe the office of a Counsellor in keeping than giving counsel, which I am sworn to doe according to my hart and conscience, but I will make the same request to you that I have to some other of my good frendes not to expect too much from mee. You know well how things stand and pass with us, and how little one vulger councillor is able to effect. All I can promise is to doe no hurt, which I hope I shall performe. The Messenger calls for my letter, which I must conclude soner than I ment. Yett with my best thankes for the testimony you have given me of your good affection which I should be gladd if I could any way merite and will ever remayne your very assured friend to doe you service,

H. SOUTHAMPTON[1].

The Privy Council Register (unpublished) marks the date of his first attendance on 30th April, 1619 (p. 175):

This day the Earle of Southampton was by his Majesty's special commandment sworne one of his Highness' Privie Councell, sate at the Board, and signed letters as a Councellor.

The record of his later signatures shows fairly regular attendances, and must be studied in relation to his attendances in the Upper House and at the Virginia Council meetings. The list of the members of the Privy Council in vol. v of their Register has his name struck out—"*Mort.*"

The affairs of the Palatinate were disturbing the country. James said he could not rightly understand the political questions involved, and his leaning towards the Spanish interest prevented his taking the trouble to study in order to understand it in time. The Venetian secretary in the Netherlands wrote on November 19th, 1619, that the English were making arrangements for assistance under General Cecil and Southampton. The ambassador to England said they were raising men, and designated the Earl of Southampton as commander. On 3rd April, 1620, he tells the Doge that Southampton had offered £40,000 out of his privy purse for Bohemia, and that he will get the command. On the

[1] D.S.S.P. James, CXIII. 86.

10th he explains that the King wishes to be kept out of the responsibility and so refuses to let Southampton go[1]. On 25th June Southampton was absolutely excluded, and Horace Vere chosen.

Parliament opened, after seven years' recess, on January 30th, 1620. James, Lord Wriothesley was elected member for Callington on 27th December, 1620, was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on 27th January, 1620–1, and took his seat at the opening on the 30th—a new link between his father and the Lower House. He had left St John's College, Cambridge, without taking his degree. His attendance there would not have been known but for his payment to the tennis court and an allusion in his mother's letter[2].

At the opening of Parliament there was a protest made by some of the great Lords against the multiplicity of honours granted, as they detracted from the value of the old titles, but Southampton's name was not affixed to it. Arthur Wilson says of that Parliament:

> There were some gallant spirits that aimed at the public liberty more than their own interests, among which the principal were Henry Earl of Southampton, Robert Earl of Essex, Robert Earl of Warwick, The Lord Say, the Lord Spencer, and divers others, that supported the old English Honour, and would not let it fall to the ground....Southampton, though he were one of the King's Privy Council, yet was he no great Courtier; Salisbury had kept him at bay, and pinched him so by reason of his relation to old Essex, that he never flourished much in his time, nor was his spirit (after him) so smooth shod as to go always the Court pace, but that now and then he would make a Carrier that was not very acceptable to them, for he carried his business closely and slily, and was rather an adviser than an actor[3].

The House of Lords was very jealous of its privilege to keep its debates unprinted; but one set of short notes, taken for private use for a short period, has been preserved at Crowcombe Court. They were edited for the Camden Society by the late Mr S. R. Gardiner, and they give us some notion of the proceedings. In the Preface the Editor says,

> The voice of the *Rex Pacificus* alone is heard...while the Mandevilles, the Southamptons and the Says are tugging at the oar in silence, content to merge their individuality in the common result.

[1] *Venetian Papers*, XVI. pp. 51, 219, 137, 299.
[2] St John's College Books, extracts in *The Eagle*, vol. XXXVI. p. 66.
[3] *History of Britain*, p. 161.

The chief work of the session seems to have been trials for malversation in various ways by public officers, Bacon, Yelverton, Mompesson, Lord Middlesex, all connected by various links which surprise one in studying them. The earliest passages of the draft appear in the Appendix, dating from March 22nd, 1620–1, till March 26th, 1621. Southampton seems to have been the leader in the Commission appointed to try Bacon[1]. On the 23rd of March he announces that they had enquired of divers (about the Lord Chancellor's case) and, amongst the rest, of one Sir Ralph Hansby, "who refuses to answer to some particulars touching the Lord Chancellor, for that, as he said, it concerned himself in regard of the giving of money. The Earl of Pembroke desired to know their pleasures, whether he should be pressed to answer to the questions or no.

"*The Prynce.* He should not speak against himself."

Others said it was in no ways to accuse the person examined, but to make clear the bribery of the Lord Chancellor. On March 26th the case of Mompesson came forward, and Southampton said,

> We took care to ease your Lordship Pembroke in our Search, with the healp of 2 gentlemen of the Lower House, who looked over the records and noates and sedules &c. which if your Lordship please may be seen, or else to take it on our credits.

The volume itself begins on 17th April, 1621 (the first day after the Easter Recess): "Message from the King about the Lord Chancellor's case, Committee appointed to proceed in examination." The first name mentioned is that of Southampton. He had examined those who had been previously sworn, and some who had not been sworn, wishing them to be careful for that they must be sworn.

April 19th: Southampton said he had examined many and given the examinations to Mr Attorney. He also said:

> We herde publiquely that the Lord Chancellor, having ordered matters in Courte, did afterwards alter them upon petition. Wherefore we sent to the Registers to know this; who have found out some, and wyll serch for more, which will require time &c.[2]

Tuesday, 24th April, 1621: the King's Speech; the Bill against

[1] Spedding's *Life of Bacon*, II. 254.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 128.

informers is brought in. Southampton, desirous of expediting the cause of the Lord Chancellor, proposed

Not to sit tomorrow, being Star-Chamber day, for that there is a great cause on there in the hearing, but to sitt on some other Star-Chamber day, to the ende that it may not be a custome that this house sit not on Star-Chamber Day (agreed).

The Lord Chamberlain (Pembroke) asked:

Shall the Great Seale come to the Barr? First send to him and here his answer before he is sent for.

Southampton. The charge to be sent to him without perswasion for him to confess; then if he confess we may ground our sentence.

Question. Whether the charge shall be sent him or no?

The Prince. Whether shall we be mercifull or just and rigorous?

Southampton. I will deale with the Lord Chancellor as with my best friend, I will not seek to circumvent him. The truth is, our only ayme is that the truth may appeare. The Lord Chancellor is accused to be a corrupt judge. I'le deny the delinquent nothing without which he may pretend he cannot clear himself. Send it to him presently....Lord Chamberlain, who shall we send with the charge?

Bacon meantime had sent a submission (April 25th).

Southampton. The question now is only how the charge shall be delivered, and of coming to the Bar to make his answer. The answer now returned is that he will return answer with all speed. Yf we accept of this we conclude ourselves. My voice is to receive no answer from him but from his own mouth. Let him knowe that wee mislyke his answer that he will returne an answer to us.

Discussing whether Bacon should be imprisoned, the Bishop of Bangor said:

Good bayll is offered. His credit is good, not to be imprisoned. *Southampton.* Ymprisonment may be easier than bayll. On May 2nd the Lord Treasurer reported that the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Arundel and himself had been sent to the Lord Chancellor to tell him that the King required of him the Great Seal. The Lord Chancellor said, "By the King's great favour I received the great seale, by my own great fault I have lost it." The King had sent a message to the House concerning Yelverton. *Lord Chamberlain* said to settle the business in hand, in order (the Lord Chancellor's). *Southampton.* Fytt to be done, but the matter of Yelverton is of such importance as it cannot be passed over. Yf yt be soe, an imputation rests upon the House, yf yt be not soe his Majestie is misinformed. *Moved:* The speeches of Yelverton to be considered and opinion of House taken. *Arundell*

conceaved that the other day we agreed that the King should be the best judge &c. *Lord Admyrall* (agreed). His Majestie wyll judge of what concerns him, you my Lords to judge of what concerns us, and not to contradict the King's message. Yelverton's words were supposed to affect the King's Honor. *Southampton.* Your Lordships to be judges whether I have by my words contradicted the King's Message. I have heard it twice. Yf he that spake yt will deny it, I shall be satisfied. *Lord Admyrall.* I am redy to give satisfaction &c. *Prynce.* Yt is left to the King's Censure, because yt was doubtful to the House, which (Southampton) conceaved not to be the reason. *Sheffield.* The mistake is that some conceaved that the House left the judgment of this to the King. Let us first determine whether it were so conceived or no. *Prynce.* The King hath no ill opinion of the House. He understood it was referred to him by the House. *Oxon.* "*Understand it*" was noe order of the House. *Agreed* by the Prynce and all the Lords that it had not been referred to the King to judge of Yelverton. *Prynce.* If you thinke it doth not concern the King's honour I shall goe to him with the message. *Sheffield.* This toucheth deeper unto us than we all conceave. A delinquent is brought before us, and before yt was determined, resumed into the King's hands; our privileges are touched. A committee to move the King yt may be returned to us. *Southampton.* (The same) For the wounde of the privilege of the House, not so greate, as that his Majestie should conceave a suspicion of our Zeale, to his honour, having called Yelverton to the barre, herd him and sett down his examination in writing, &c. Business of the Chancellor to be taken tomorrow. *Southampton.* The Lord Chancellor to have notice and warning to be here then to hear his sentence by 9. The Collection of Charges, Proofs and Confessions to be considered by a Committee.

3rd May: Except the Lord Admiral, all agreed to all the heavy punishments awarded the Lord Chancellor.

8th May: An incidental quarrel between Lord Arundel and Lord Spencer about their ancestors was quieted, as being no part of the business of the house for the time.

In the afternoon a conference was to take place, in which the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Earl of Southampton were to lead the debate. For an introduction Southampton said:

To let them know that the Precedents shewed us last day give us no satisfaction. To demande of them whether they can deliver anything new more strong on their part, if they do, to hear them.

May 12th. *Archb. Canterbury.* The King declares himself to be touched in his honour, that only is the question. We to hear this first.

Southampton. Ad idem. For we cannot revoke censure. Yf we say that

this touches the King's honour yt differs not much from treason and soe the censure must be heavy and deepe. I condemne him (Yelverton) of much follye &c and think him worthy to be censured yf he had spoken anything which doth touch the King in honour; but to consider his words before we say the King's honour is touched.

Arundel. The difference between contempt and treason &c.

Southampton. The Lord Chancellor is not yet gone to the Tower. *Moveth,* that the world may not thynk our sentence is in vayne. *Lord Admyrall.* The King hath respited his going to the Tower in the tyme of his great sickness.

The King had the privilege of mercy, and of the determination of Bacon's imprisonment, so nothing more was said about his case. The heavy fine he did not attempt to pay; it acted as a protection against his other creditors. They allowed him to keep his titles of nobility; he was soon set at liberty, and men noticed he seemed to have no sense of his position.

This abstract of the proceedings of the House of Lords breaks off abruptly on 24th May: "Adjourned for Recess—next meeting 21st November, 1621." Then Bishop Williams appears as Lord Keeper. The King was tired of lawyers, and thought him best fitted.

Much information concerning these events in a general way may be found in the State Papers[1]; but it is important to make clear the real position of the Earl of Southampton in the debates of that troubled and troublesome Parliament. The Conferences with the Lower House were not entirely satisfactory. Walter Yonge says in his *Diary*, 1621:

Presently after Parliament was adjourned, the Earl of Southampton, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edwin Sands and Wright, the Clerk of the Parliament, and Dr Bayley were imprisoned, Oxford for saying we should all turn Papists, Southampton for encouraging the Palsgrave in his wars[2].

The troubles of the Palatinate referred to above were still moving the feelings of the country, and the King's delay excited much comment. The Venetian ambassador had shown that

the point consists in inducing the King to agree to allow the Earl of Southampton, a leading nobleman, rich, experienced, with considerable influence, to go to the defence of the Palatinate, so that all those who wish to go may enrol themselves under him....If Southampton obtained leave,

[1] D.S.S.P. James, CXXI. 2, 5, 12, 69, 121.
[2] Camden Series, *Yonge's Diary*, July, 1621.

he would have a larger following than any other, and no one but he would achieve much[1].

The King raised objections privately because of Southampton's independent and anti-Spanish feelings—for the same cause, indeed, as that for which he had already refused him important public charges. Publicly he said that it was not fitting a member of his Privy Council should engage in a matter in which he (the King) did not wish to declare himself.

The Levy has finally been entrusted to Horace Vere (uncle of that John who served your Serenity [the Doge]) who was asked for, *after* the Earl of Southampton, in the name of the young King, by his Ambassador Dohna.

From the same source[2] we hear of Parliamentary news.

May 21st, 1621. The Storm has been very severe last few days...very angry words passed between the Earl of Arundell, siding with the favourite, and Lord Sheffield against him, the Earl of Southampton, with a large party, acting with the latter. The King is very angry. Parliament gives him no money[3].

July 2nd, 1621. Great troubles about the Palatinate and Bohemia. The King is much excited...he would rather die with his son than agree to anything not entirely to his honour....The day before yesterday the Earl of Southampton was put under arrest in a house. He is a leading nobleman, very popular throughout the country, and is considered here to be almost the only person capable of commanding an army. They think he will be sent to the Tower, with some members of Parliament also arrested....They happen to be also the supporters of the King of Bohemia, and those most zealous for the honour, safety, and religion of his Kingdom, in fact, they maintain these alone, while they favour the interests of friendly Princes. The Spanish Ambassador, by inspiring and fomenting such serious steps, plays to win at all hazards[4].

The Venetian seems to have been an acute observer.

Meanwhile the private reason for the public talk was the King's letter of 15th June, 1621:

James R. to the Council. Right trustie and right well-beloved cousins & Councillors, wee greet you well. Whereas for spetiall and waighty causes well knowne unto us, wee have thought fitt to restraine for some tyme the person of the Earle of Southampton; Our will and pleasure therefore is

[1] *Venetian Papers*, XVI. 275. [2] *Ibid.* 291. [3] *Ibid.* 53.
[4] *Ibid.* XVII. 75 et seq. (These were sometimes entered in *New Style* dates.)

that instantly upon sight hereof you do calle the saide Earle before you and do presently commit him unto the charge of the Dean of Westminster, there to remaine under safe and close custodie untill we shall otherwise determine the contrary, not suffering him in the meane tyme, either in the saide place of his confinement or elsewhere, after this our pleasure once signified unto him, to have anie speache or conference, either by word or writing, with any person whomsoever, excepting only with the saide Deane of Westminster, and our trustie and well-beloved servant Sir Richard Weston, Knight, whom we hereby nominate and appoint to conduct him thether, and there to continue with him, or which other necessary persons of attendance as the said Sir Richard Weston, and the Deane of Westminster, or either of them shall permitt to come unto him and to speake with him in their hearing, untill wee signify our further pleasure. Given at our Manor of Greenwich the 15th day of June in the nineteenth year of our raygne over Great Britaine France & Ireland[1].

On 23rd June Chamberlain wrote to Carleton:

The Dean of Westminster made of the Council....On Saturday the Earl of Southampton being newly gone from the Council Table, was called back, and by a warrant from the King committed to the Deane of Westminster, under the custody of Sir Richard Weston, who getting himself discharged the next day, that charge was imposed upon Sir William Parkhurst (that was Sir Henry Wotton's secretarie at Venice) who no doubt was glad to have any employment....Sir Ed Sandys, and Selden, a Lawyer studious of antiquitie, are also committed. A committee appointed to try them. Men busie themselves much about the cause of this committment....Yt is confidently given out that it is not for anything said nor done in Parliament.... There are eight Commissioners, little done yet, saving that I hear Southampton refused to answer, alleging that he would give no advantage to be drawn over terms into the Starr-Chamber, but requires to know what he can be charged withall, and to see his accusers. It is like this refusal will do him no good, but give further cause of suspicion and stricter restraint. The late Lord Chancellor, who has been late at Fulham, has gone to Gorhambury, having, as should seem, no manner of feeling of his fall, but continuing as vaine and ydle in all his humours as when he was *all-highest*, and his fine of £40,000 to the King is so far from hurting him, that it serves for a bulwark and protection against his creditors[2].

There are several copies of the examinations of Southampton, and of Sir Edwin Sandys, the Earl of Oxford, and Mr John Selden, touching some proceedings in Parliament, July, 1621:

1. Whether his own conscience did not accuse him of unfaithfulness to the King in the latter parte of Parliament, which his Majestie had cause to

[1] D.S.S.P. James, CXXI. 69. [2] *Ibid.* 121.

doubt both in his owne carriage in the Upper House and by the carriage of those neere to him in the Lower House?

Reply. He protested his conscience was free, and he thought his Majestie too just to charge him with the carriage of any one in the Lower House howsoever neere to him.

2. Whether he was not a partie to a practice about Easter to hinder the King's ends att that meeting, and were there not meetings and consultations held to that intent?

Reply. He neither was partie to any such practice, nor knew of any such thing, nor of any meetings, nor consultations to any such end, yet he had inquired of it, because he had heard before the end of the Parliament that some such thing was conceived to have been done in that time.

3. Whether in the time of Parliament, some of the Lower House did not usually come upp into the Committee Chamber of the Upper House, or dessyne and plott to receive directions from him what to doe in their own House the same day?

Reply. Some of the Lower House came thither every day, some tyme to him sometyme to others, when he went out to speak with them ordinarily and familiarly, as every one else did, and divers tymes of what was then doing in their house, and of other Parliament business, but yet he utterly denied that he had any desseine or plott in their coming thether.

4. Whether after the King had declared his purpose to adjourn Parliament, he had noe practise with some of the Lower House to crosse the King either when he would have bills passe, or afterwards when he would have had Bills passed?

Reply. He knew of noe such practice at either of these tymes.

5. Whether he had noe practice with some of the other House to worke that some of the Subsidies now granted might have been sent over to the King & Queen of Bohemia by order of the House, without coming att all into the Exchequer?

Reply. That question was the first word that ever he heard of any such thing.

The second tyme examined

1. Whether upon more consideration he found noe cause to answer otherwise than he had done?

Reply. Upon all the consideration that might be, he could give no other answer than before.

2. What discontents he had lately received, and how he had expressed them, either towards the King, Government, or any other person neere them?

Reply. None, nor had (that he knew) expressed any towards the King or his government. If there had been any unkindness between him and any one neere the King, that concerned not his Majestie.

3. Whether he had not said things were amisse in the State?

Reply. He had spoken freely and ordinarily of all such things as they were handled in Parliament, as he thought every one else had done, but had not been curious to seek faults.

4. Whether he had not said there would never be a good Reformacion while one did soe wholly governe the King?

Reply. He denyed it.

5. What he meant by a speech he used to the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield by way of discourse, saying he thought that in their House he had made unseasonable motions?

Reply. He meant by the motion he made when the controversy was between the Lord Buckingham and him in the House, for he thought his motion would have been more seasonable when the House had decided who was in error.

6. Whether he had said he liked not to come to the Council table, there were so many boyes and base fellows there?

Reply. He denyed it.

7. Whether he knew of the business of Ireland before it was moved?

Reply. He had heard it spoken of before at his own house by Sir Jo: Jephson.

8. Whether he had heard no motion made to weare swords in the House?

Reply. None. But himself and others did observe that swords were still worn, and when he saw every one else wear them, he did so too.

9. Whether he did not heare one that sate neere him say he would goe out and put on his sword and returne, and encouraged him so to do?

Reply. He did hear one say that he had left his sword with his boy and he would go and put it on and come again, and he thought (attending to the business of the House) that he said Do so.

10. Whether he did not say they had like to come to blowes?

Reply. Hee said that he saw that heate in the house, that if the Prince had not been there, they had like to come to blows.

The two first examinations.

1. What conference he had att any time, and with whom, touching a petition to be made to the King, by the Parliament, for the longer continuance thereof, after his Majestie had signified to the House his purpose of adjourning thereof, and where he dyned that day the message was brought?

2. What Conference he had and with whom, either by word, message or writing, concerning a choyse offered by the King to the Houses by the mouth of the Lord Treasurer, viz. whether they would have a session of it by selecting out some few Bills to be passed, such as his Majestie should like of, or an adjournment until some other tyme?

He was also examined about the Benevolence he supposed to be given

to the Lady Elizabeth; what he said to Baron Dony, and what about the Spanish match &c.[1]

Chamberlain wrote on 14th July:

The Earl of Southampton and the rest continue in the same case and place as they were, saving that Sir Edwin Sandys is kept more close. Yesterday the Earl of Oxford was committed to the Custodie of Sir William Cockain, which I should take for a bad signe but that it is generally bruited to be onely for ydle wonder. There is one Sir John Leeds, Mr Neville and others, said to be restrayned likewise about the same matters[2].

His next letter states:

The Earl of Arundel, being made Earl Marshall, refused the pension of £2000 the King would have given him, and would only accept the ordinary fee of £20....On Monday the Marquis of Buckingham came to towne and made many visits. He was with the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Henry Yelverton in the Tower, with the Earl of Southampton two hours together at Westminster, with the Earl of Oxford at Sir William Cockaine's, with Sir Thomas Lake at his house, in all which places his coming was taken for a good presage, like the appearing of St Elmo after a Tempest, and accordingly on Wednesday morning very early, the Lord Keeper carried the Earl of Southampton to Tiballs, where the King lay (before he began his progress), had long conference with him, none being admitted into the room but the Lord Keeper and the Lord of Buckingham. In conclusion the Lord Keeper brought him home to his owne house in Holbourne, dined with him, and there left him at Libertie. He hath wonne a good deale of goodwill in dealing so really and affectionately for him, and being reported the chiefe instrument of his deliveries, and of reconciling and salving all that was amisse. We cannot ayme at the cause of his restraynt, you may perhaps *guesse* better *on that side*, for some think it was *for looking so much that way*....The Earl of Northumberland delivered, after 15 years, and Oxford & others. Lord Doncaster went that way yesterday towards France, having in his companie the young Lord Wriotheslie and the Lord Treasurer's eldest sonne....The Spanish Ambassador became affable, and went to a Common play at the Fortune in Golden Lane[3].

Sir Dudley Digges wrote to Carleton on the 28th July:

Since the making of the Lord Keeper (by his plaine dealing and indevours as it is said) my Lord of Southampton is remitted of his restraynt, yet not without some attendance of intermitting keeper, which I hear my Lord of Southampton wonders at, considering howe fayrly the King did dismisse him[4].

[1] D.S.S.P. James, cxxi. 36. Egerton MSS. 2651, f. 33. Harl. MS. 161, f. 35.

[2] D.S.S.P. James, cxxii. 23. [3] *Ibid.* 31. [4] *Ibid.* 47.

Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Fellow of St John's, had not forgotten the affection he had borne to the young Earl, an affection united by their co-operation in helping to build and furnish the library of their common College.

But the worthy Bishop required more than affection by which to work. He had to be as wise as a serpent in order to be as harmless as a dove. He was naturally faithful to the King, but he knew it was advisable to court the chief courtier. Perhaps he really saw a better side of Buckingham. He also knew how to *hasten slowly*. On the 18th of July, 1621, the Privy Council record the receipt of a letter stating that, though his Majesty was graciously pleased to enlarge Lord Southampton and set him at liberty, yet he was enjoined to repair to Titchfield until further order and that Sir William Parkhurst should remain in attendance on him[1].

The Venetian ambassador in July drew attention to the fresh complaints of the East India Company Merchants of damage done them by the Dutch.

The Dutch ambassador Caron fears that if not settled, the King will allow his subjects to make reprisals, which would be playing the Spaniards game....They aim by the same means to inspire the King and the Prince of Wales with jealousy of the Queen of Bohemia and her children. It seems now that, chiefly on account of such suspicions, the blow has fallen on Southampton. However they have not proceeded against him further than by examination and most secret inquisition, imprisoning three or four others also[2].

The Lord Keeper Williams wrote to the Duke of Buckingham:

My noble Lord, with my truest affections and thankfulness premised, I do not doubt but his Majestie and your Lordship do now enjoy the general applause of your goodnesse to the Earl of Southampton. Saturday last he came and dined with me, and I find him more cordially affected to the service of the King, and your Lordship's Love and friendship, than ever he was when he lay a prisoner in my house. Yet the Sunshine of his Majesties favour, though most bright upon others (more open offenders), is noted to be somewhat eclipsed towards him. What direction soever his Majestie gave, the order is somewhat tart upon the Earl. The word of *Confinement* spread about the City (though I observed not one syllable so quick to fall from his Majestie), his Keeper much wondered at. The act of the Council published in our names, who were neither present thereat, nor

[1] Privy Council Register, v. 102.

[2] *Venetian Papers*, XVII. 80.

heard one word of the same: yet, upon my credit, the Earl takes all things patiently and thankfully, though others wonder at the same.

Read between the lines, this letter, with others, seems to point to Buckingham's tampering with the King's orders to suit himself[1].

Then comes a letter from Southampton, at an uncertain date, but it must follow the last and precede the one quoted on the next page. He writes to the Bishop of Lincoln:

My Lord, I have found your Lordship already so favourable and affectionate unto me, that I shall be still hereafter desirous to acquaint you with what concerns me, and bold to ask your advice and councel; which makes me to send this bearer to give your Lordship an account of my answer to the Court, which I cannot better do then by sending unto you the answer itself, which you shall receive here enclosed. Wherein you may see what is expected from me, that I may not onely magnifie his Majesties Gracious dealing with me, but cause all my friends to do the like, and restrain them from making any extenuation of my errours, which if they be disposed to do, or not to do, is impossible for me to alter, that am not likely for a good time to see any other then mine own family. For myself, I shall be ever ready (as is fit) to acknowledge his Majesties favour to me, but can hardly perswade myself that any errour by me committed deserved more punishment then I have had, and hope that his Majestie will not expect that I should not confesse myself to have been subject to a Star-chamber sentence, which God forbid I should ever do. I have, and shall do according to that part of my Lord of Buckingham's advice to speak of it as little as I can, and so shall I do in other things to meddle as little as I can. I purpose (God willing) to go to morrow to Tychfield (the place of my confinement) there to stay as long as the King shall please.

Sir William Parkhurst must go with me, who hoped to have been discharged at the return of my Messenger from Court, and seemes much troubled, that he is not pretending that it is extream inconvenient for him in regard of his own occasions. He is fearful he should be forgotten. If therefore when your Lordship writes to the Court, you would but put my Lord of Buckingham in remembrance of it, you shall (I think) do him a favour. For my part it is so little trouble to me, and of so small moment as I mean to move no more for it. When this bearer returns, I beseech you return by him this inclosed Letter, and believe that whatsoever I am I will ever be, Your Lordships most assured friend to do you service.

H. SOUTHAMPTON, &c.[2]

To the Right Honourable my very good Lord the Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England.

[1] *Cabala*, p. 61.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 59. Harl. MS. 7000, f. 88.

The Lord Keeper's answer to this was dated 2nd August, 1621.

My Lord, I have perused your Lordship's Letter, and that enclosed I return back again, and doubt nothing of my Lord Admiral's remembring of you upon the first opportunity. Great works (as I hope this will be a perfect reconciling of his Majestie's affections to you, of your best studies, and endeavours to the service of his Majestie) do require some time: they are but poore actions and of no continuance that are slubbered up in an instance. I know (my Lord) men's tongues are their own, nor lieth it in your power to prescribe what shall be spoken for you, or against you. But to avoid that *Complacentia* (as the Divines call it), that itching and inviting of any interpretation, which shall so add to your innocencie as it shall derogate from the Kings mercie, which (I speak as I would do before God) had a great cloud of jealousies and suspitions to break through before it came to shine upon you: this (I take it) is the effect of my Lord's exhortation, and I know it hath ever been your Lordship's resolution. How far you could be questioned in the Star-Chamber, is an unseasonable time to resolve. The King hath waved off all judgment, and left nothing for your meditation but love and favour, and the increasing of both these. Yet I know (upon my late occasions to peruse Presidents [precedents] in that Court) that small offences have been in that Court (in former times) deeply censured. In the sixteenth of Edward the second (for the Court is of great antiquity) Henry Lord Beaumont, running a way of his own about the invading of Scotland and dissenting from the rest of the King's Councel, because of his absenting himself from the Councel Table was fined and imprisoned: though otherwise a most worthy and deserving noble man. But God be thanked your Lordship hath no cause to trouble your head about these meditations. For (if I have any judgment) you are in a way to demean yourself, as you may expect rather more new additions then suspect the least diminution of from his gracious Majestie. For mine own part, assure yourself, I am your true and faithful servant, and shall never cease so to continue, as long as you make good your professions to his Noble Lord, of whose extraordinary goodnesse your Lordship and myself are remarkable reflections, the one of his sweetnesse in forgetting of wrongs, and the other of his forwardnesse in conferring of courtesies.

With my best respect to your Lordship and my Noble Lady, and my Commendations to Sir William Parkhurst, I recommend your Lordship, &c.[1]

The Lord Keeper to the Duke concerning the Earl of Southampton, 2 August, 1621.

My most noble Lord, I humbly crave your pardon for often troubling your Honour with my idle Lines, and beseech you to remember that amongst my many miseries my sudden greatnesse comes accompanied with, this is not

[1] *Cabala*, p. 59.

the least, that I can no otherwaies enjoy the happinesse of your presence. God is my witnesse, the Lord Keeper hath often (not without grief of heart) envied the fortunes of a poor Scholar, one Dr *Williams*, late Dean of *Westminster*, who was so much blessed in the free accesses in that kind, as his Lordship (without a great quantity of goodnesse in yourself) may scarce hope for. This inclosed will let your Lordship understand that somewhat is to be finished in that excellent piece of mercy, which his Majestie (your hand guiding the Pencil) is about to expresse in the E. of *Southampton*. It is full time his Attendant were revoked, in my poor opinion, and himself left to the custody of his own good Angel. There is no readier way to stop the mouthes of idle men, nor to draw their eyes from this remainder of an object of Justice, to behold nothing but goodnesse and mercy. And the more breathing time you shall carve out beween this total enlargement and the next accesse of the Parliament, the better it will be for his Majestie's service. Onely remember this, that now you are left to be your own Remembrancer. Of all actions forget not those of mercy and Goodnesse, wherein men draw nighest to God himself. Nor of all Persons, prisoners, and afflicted Josephs. Celerity doth redouble an act of mercy. But why do I turn a Preacher of goodnesse unto him, who (in my own particular) hath shewed himself to be composed of nothing else? Remember your Noble Self, and forget the aggravations of malice and envy, and then forget, if you can, the Earl of Southampton. God blesse you, and your royal Guest, and bring you both, after many years yet most happily run over here upon earth, to be his blessed guests in the Kingdom of Heaven[1].

It was on the 1st of September, 1621, that the Privy Council recorded that the Earl of Southampton had been restrained until further order, and that

As by his Majesties gratious letter of the 30th August last unto Mr Secretarie Calvert his Royall Pleasure was signified to discharge the said Sir William Parkhurst from that attendance, and to set the Earl of Southampton at his full libertie, &c.[2]

By October 9th it was reported that "the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Coke, Sir Edwin Sands and Mr Noy shall go into Ireland, and by commission examine the matters objected against the Deputy there."[3]

From Titchfield, on 31st October, Southampton wrote to the Lord Keeper, saying that, having heard nothing of his pension, he knew not what to do. Apparently he had come up to town,

[1] Add. MS. 34,727, ff. 40–42.
[2] Privy Council Register, v. 127.
[3] *Walter Yonge's Diary*.

intending to sit in Parliament as usual[1]. But he had more than a hint that it was advisable he should not do so Chamberlain says:

Being rather wished and advised so to do than enjoyned and commanded....The King not like to be here during the Session.

The Lord Keeper wrote to the Marquis of Buckingham on 13th November that the Earl of Southampton is ready to follow his Majesty's directions, and wishes a dispensation from his attendance at Parliament[2].

Sir Simon d'Ewes tells more of the story of Southampton's imprisonment and waxes merry over jokes upon Bacon being made Lord St Alban's, saying he had been called "Penny Lawe," now "All Bones," and his anagram was "Nabal."[3]

The Venetian ambassador wrote on November 26th, 1621, that the King, besides honouring the Earl of Oxford, will also try to conciliate Southampton and others in various ways[4].

On December 10th he wrote:

Parliament met on 20th November. Now, they think they must arm, but, the King's coffers being empty, they need help for the Palatinate....The reply has been delayed...chiefly from dissatisfaction that the Earl of Southampton and some others abstained from appearing from fear that they could not express their opinions safely, according to the liberty they claim. This has aroused a noisy discussion in the Lower Chamber with the Secretary of State about the prerogatives of the Crown....Many others advise the King to act in concert with the States.

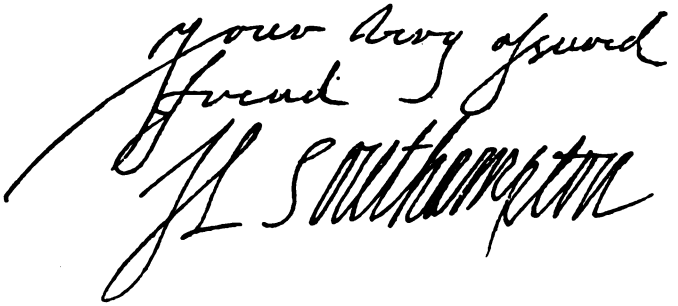
Even in these uncertain times, writers dedicated their works to the Earl, sure of interest. *The Passions of the Minde* (corrected and enlarged) by Thomas Wright in 1621 was dedicated "To the Right Honourable his very good Lord Henry Earl of Southampton, Governor."

Many years agone (Right Honorable) the author of this excellent work being requested to write a discourse on the Passions of the Mind which he did, but his work suffered Shipwrecke, and he thought of it as rotting at the bottom of the Sea, a favourable power brought it ashore, where being found, it was taken up, entertained and dispersed abroad, which when the author beheld in over-joyed amazement, he corrected and amended it and added to a second edition as much more

[1] Fortescue MS. II. 380.
[2] *Ibid.* 384.
[3] *Life*, pp. 159, 199.
[4] *Ibid.* 174.

as the first, all which he most humbly dedicated to the protection of your Honour, both in respect of a conaturall sympathy betwixt it and your vertues; as also in that literall labours of this nature are usually offered to such persons with whom they particularly consort, and how coulde any passions find out a person more proportionate than your noble selfe. They concern gentlemen and noblemen, soldiers, magistrates...in all these you have and doe runne such faire courses, that the best in your ranke may be glad to borrow your Imitation, nor ever was Parmenio more matchless for trust and fidelitie about his Alexander than you (at this present) about our dread Soveraigne....They come anew to kiss your hand as in former editions[1].

[1] The first edition appeared in 1601. If there had been a Dedication intended, it was probably suppressed because of Southampton's trouble. The Preface to the Reader calls it "a sort of Moral Philosophy." He wonders why southern nations think the northern nations so simple and easily deceived—"There have been great Scholars, both among the English and the Scotch." To the 1604 edition, dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, Ben Jonson contributes a sonnet.



Signature to a letter dated "Holborne this 24th of June 1620" and addressed "to my verie lovinge frendes the Provost and Seniors of Kinges College in Cambridge," requesting them to grant three years and three days' leave of absence to Mr [Robert] Peyton, a fellow of their House, who is taking his departure for Venice "uppon some affayres wch the Lord Embassador hath apoynted him." (*Photographed by the kind permission of the Provost and Fellows of King's College.*)

CHAPTER XXVI

"VIRGINIA BRITANNICA"

DIFFICULT of access, the Bermudas, on which Sir George Somers was "fatally" driven by the dramatic storm of William Strachey's prose poem, were protected by their very inaccessibility. No Indians lurked there to murder or to steal, or to divert the supply of food from earth and air and sea. The three men left by Matthew Somers had lived there, and lived well. The islands had never been claimed by Spain. So it is not surprising that schemes for colonizing them, and uniting them to Virginia, should very soon take shape. As early as 12th February, 1611–12, Chamberlain wrote to Carleton:

> There is a Lottery in hand for furthering the Virginia voyage, and an under-company erecting for the trade of the Bermudas, which have changed their names twice within this month, being first christened "Virginiola," as a member of that plantation, but now lately resolved to be called "Summer's Islands," as well in respect of the continual temperate air, as in remembrance of Sir George Summers who died there.

On the 7th of March of that year, 1611–12, there was granted a third patent:

> A grant unto the adventurers and planters of the first colony in Virginia of enlargement as well of Territory, in respect of better safety of the said colony, as of liberties for their better order of government. And also a dischardge and freedom of subsidy, customs and imposts inwards and outwards for seven years and the benefit of lotteries...ratified by an Act of the Company and Privy Council[1].

This grant confirmed Salisbury, Southampton, and the others in all their previous rights. It added new powers and privileges of determining their own actions, by giving up the communal proprietorship which had proved so disastrous, and substituting private property as the result of personal effort which led the way to commercial enterprise and prosperity.

Robert, Earl of Salisbury died just then, and Southampton was

[1] *Col. Entry Book*, LXXIX. 131, 194. *Cecil Papers*, XLI.

left senior in the Council of Virginia. A letter was written from that Council to Sir Ralph Winwood, ambassador to the Low Countries, to invite the Englishmen resident there to join their Company. This was signed by Southampton, Montgomery, Thomas Howard, R. Lisle, Thomas Smith, Walter Cope, Edwin Sandys, and Robert Mansell, and dated 22nd June[1].

William Strachey came home to London in 1611 and there published a little quarto of *The Lawes for the colony in Virginia Britannica* through the press of Walter Burre, 1612.

He opens with a sonnet "To the Right Honorable the Lords of the Councell of Virginia," calling them the "noblest of men" (so that Southampton shares a little in his flattery); another "to his singular good Lord, the Lord de la Warre of the heroyicke and religious Plantation in 'Virginia Britannica' the sole personall advancer, his Majesties Lord Governor, and Captain General"; another to Sir Thomas Smith; and a prose address to the committees and assistants of the Council of Virginia.

In association with this work I made a very interesting little discovery[2]. The copy at the British Museum, from which the following is quoted, was presented by William Strachey himself to his friend William Crashaw, and on the leaf facing the title page is written in Strachey's hand:

> To the Reverend and right worthy the title of a Devine, who in so sacred an expedition as is the reduction of Heathen to the Knowledge of the ever-living true God, stands up the only unsatisfyed and firme Friend of all that possess and sit in so holy a Place, Mr Crashaw, minister in the Middle Temple, William Strachey sometyme a personall Servant and now a Beadsman for that Christian Colonie settling in Virginea Brittanica, wisheth full accomplishment of all goodnes, and that Plantation all happines, and reall, (and if it may be Royall) Freinds.

One fact this does make clear is that Southampton was not only drawn to William Crashaw because he was of St John's College, Cambridge, not only because he was the owner of a superabundance of books (which were later "translated" to St John's), but because he was interested in the Plantation of Virginia, which lay so near to Southampton's heart.

On 25th July, 1612, Southampton was among those who sent

[1] Buccleuch MS. I. 103.

[2] British Museum, C. 33; C. 30.

forth the *Discovery* in search of the North-West Passage, on behalf of the East India Company. Though baffled oft, they tried again and again[1].

General interest in the Somers' Islands did not flag. Sir John Digby, our ambassador at Madrid, in September, 1613, warned Sir Ralph Winwood:

Spain has lately resolved here, that since our Plantation in Virginia is likely to die of itself, to rescue from us the islands of Bermudas, so that, I fear, if fitting preparations be not speedily made, we shall hear that all the English there have their throats cut[2].

The risk made all those who were concerned bestir themselves. The *Colonial State Papers* record on 12th May, 1614, the action of Lord Southampton in countenancing measures likely to help Virginia *and the Somers' Islands*[3].

The Bermudas Company had taken shape, sent out many expeditions, and left many colonists. They did not seem to suffer so much from "laziness" as the Virginians suffered; but there were many dissensions, much mismanagement, and small returns. Great prudence and special experience, as well as public spirit and uprightness, were needed to face the new conditions. A very fair account of their history is given (in a separate chapter) in Captain John Smith's *General History of Virginia*.

The only Index of the *Journal of the House of Commons* in the British Museum misses the reigns of Elizabeth and James. It being impossible to go through my task completely without one, I had to content myself with reading through the *Journal* of the important year 1614. There are a few headlines of an amusing incident, which it requires imagination to complete. It is not clear whether it was the Virginia Company or the Colony of Virginia which had sent a petition to Parliament for "help" in some way. The management of the presentation of the petition seems to have been committed to the Lords Southampton and Sheffield. The *Journal* for 17th May, 12 James, runs thus:

It was ordered, my Lord of Southampton and my Lord of Sheffield shall come in to hear the treaty of the Virginia business: that the Lords shall, for

[1] *Calendar Colonial Papers, East Indies*, bk II. 616.
[2] Winwood, *Mem.* III. 450.
[3] C.S.S.P. West Indies, I. 33.

a time, sit here, and shall shortly after at Mr Speaker's discretion, be spoken to....Ordered, there shall be great Silence in the House at the Lords being here. Mr Martyn, of Counsell with the Company, cometh in before the Lords. The Bar, first down, taken up, at the Lords coming in. The Lords stood bare until after Mr Martyn had begun. Mr Speaker spake to him to stay; and then in the name of the House, spake to them, signifying to them the Pleasure of the House, that they should sit down and be covered.

The speech glorified Elizabeth as the Lady of the Seas, and referred to "the discovery by her subjects of all the seas about the world." Raleigh was remembered, his glory and his fall.

The plantation began in 1606. Virginia's bridle for the Neapolitan Courser, if the youth of England are able to sit him for which they will give them golden spurs.

It mentioned Sir Thomas Gates and Lord De la Warre.

Now a settled plantation, our usage of the Indies merciful and respective, objections. What they want is a few honest labourers, burthened with children.

The speech seems to have raised great discussion. One member said:

The speech of Mr Martyn was the most unfitting ever spoken in the House, and suggested he should be called to the Bar. He had committed a very heavy offence to clear the Lords. Great discussion. He had spoken as a schoolmaster to teach us. He was to come to the Bar tomorrow and kneel there for pardon.

The next day, the 18th of May, apparently Mr Martyn did come, offered to kneel, and was excused; and the treaty of Virginia was discussed.

Petition of Virginia, order for Counsel, those that be there for Counsel appeared, with divers Lords. That at first prepared to hear him with all respect and Love. The remembrances of the Plantation well accepted, and looked upon with the eyes of our Love. That after unfortunately dispersed.

It has not proved possible to trace what their "love" impelled them to do for Virginia or the Lords.

However, on 29th June, 1615, a Charter was secured for the Bermudas.

Grant to Henry Earl of Southampton, Lucy Countess of Bedford, William Earl of Pembroke, William Lord Paget, William Lord Cavendish, Sir Ralph

Winwood, Sir Robert Rich, Sir Thomas Smith and others, for the Somer's Islands, with full power to make Lawes according to the Lawes of England, and govern thereby[1].

The next step was to parcel out the land in the Islands, and give each parcel to a group of men called "The Tribes," after the names of various members of the Company. Captain John Smith slightly varies the names, giving in all only eight, in order of their lands:

1st Tribe Marquis Hambleton, 2nd Sir Thomas Smith, 3rd Lord Cavendish, now Lord Devonshire, 4th Lord Paget, 5th Earl Pembroke, 6th Lord Mansfield, now called The Warwick Tribe, 7th Earl of Southampton, now called Southampton Tribe, 8th Sir Edwin Sands, between which and Southampton Tribe there lyeth the portion of Surplusage Land....The Eastward of the Island is made general Land, on which standeth the Town of St George, the fortifications against the Kings Castle and the flanker Rocks. On these is Southampton Fort where are mounted 5 pieces of ordnance, between which and the Castle passeth in the Channel which leadeth into the Harbour.... On the north side of St George's Island is erected upon a rock the small fort of St Katharines, in guard of a *certaine sandy bay*; being the same *whereon the first that ever landed in these parts set their feet*[2].

The Charts still mark Sea Venture Flats, but this is the first identification of them.

In reading the various accounts, the most romantic passages are found to concern Pocahontas, the favourite daughter of the great Powhatan, who saved the life of Captain John Smith (and of his followers) when entrapped by her father and about to be slain. She constantly aided the colonists in every way open to her. So it seems to us a rather unworthy ruse of Captain Argall, in return for her trust and generosity, to inveigle her on board his boat and make her prisoner. Of course, he kept her in due respect and honour, and she was not in the least afraid. It proved, however, of great advantage to the settlers, as Powhatan, for her sake, released all the English prisoners he held, provided the colony with great stores of food, and made a treaty meant to be permanent. Not long afterwards the news spread that Mr John Rolfe, an estimable young man of good birth, had been so struck with admiration for her that he paid his addresses in such good earnest that

[1] *Col. Entry Book*, Patents, vol. IX. 1615.
[2] Captain John Smith's *Bermuda*, pp. 106, 107.

she accepted them, married him, and finally came over with him to England. Sir Thomas Dale's letter to Winwood of 3rd June, 1616, states that

having set Virginia in order, he comes home, bringing ten or 12 from that country.

This Princess was the chief of the party, and with her came maiden attendants, and her uncle guardian. On the 22nd of June Chamberlain wrote about "that most remarkable person, Pocahontas, married to one Rolfe, an Englishman." Captain John Smith was unable to reach London in time to meet her on her arrival, and she was much hurt about what she thought to be his neglect; but he wrote letters to the Queen on her behalf, and in time made it up with the young lady. There is no doubt that Southampton, from his position in the Company and his friendly relations with Sir Thomas Dale, was among those who received her, and that he and his wife led the nobles who made life pleasant for her at Court. Ere long the daughter of the New World became at home in the Old. Brown gives a portrait of her in fashionable garments[1].

James recognised her as the daughter of a King, and there were good seats kept for her and her uncle at his masques and plays. The Bishop of London paid more attention to her than to any of the Court ladies, preparing for her great feasts in his own house. He was anxious that her mind should be made clear in regard to religious matters, and she presented to him an interesting and new field of psychological study. Ere long she was baptized under the name of the Lady Rebecca, and it became the fashion to receive her everywhere. Though she had an allowance made to her, her husband could not afford to keep her at Court; interest had been made for him, and he was appointed Secretary for Virginia. So in the following year she had to start with him on his return to duty. She was very unwilling to go. She had discovered her new world for herself, where she had seen only the glittering surface of things, and she did not want to leave it. She had only reached Gravesend on her journey when she died. No information has come to us of the nature of her disease. It may only have been some commonplace illness, but on the other hand it may have been that the swelling

[1] Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, II

emotions of her great heart proved too much for her system, and that she died from what has been called a broken heart. There is no doubt that she could not look forward with equanimity to going back to the petty routine of colonial life, and she could only regard with horror the alternative of returning to share the barbarous customs of her still savage father. Professing her full faith in Christ Jesus as her only Saviour from her sins, she passed away alone over the greater ocean to a better country. She was buried in Gravesend Parish Church on the 21st March, 1616–7, "leaving behind her a precious memory." Her little son was left in England in the care of Mr Rolfe's brother, to be brought up as an Englishman. It would have been well for the colony had she lived a little longer[1].

It is interesting to read even the lists of the shareholders in the Company, fluctuating as they are at times. They teach us something. For instance, in 1616:

£25 was credited to John Tredescant (the famous collector of Plants, etc.). On December 17th, 1617, Sir Fulke Greville was admitted; on June 10th, 1618, Sir Richard Tufton; on the 17th of that month Sir Henry Raynesford (the husband of Drayton's *Idea*). On May 28th, 1619, the Earl of Salisbury passed his shares to Mr Brett; on June 26th, 1620, the Earl of Southampton passed five of his personal shares to Mr Thomas Wriothesley (a distant relative, apparently acting as his secretary), two to *Mr Porter* [Endymion?], and one to Mr Philip Gifford; on April 30th, 1621, Francis Carter passed five personal shares to Sir Henry Raynesford; on May 2nd, Sir Edwin Sandys had given Sir Henry Raynesford twenty shares; on July 3rd, 1622, Sir Edward Conway was admitted; on April 2nd, 1623, Sir Walter Raleigh's son[2].

After the return home of Sir Thomas Dale in 1616, leaving everything in a promising condition, Captain Argall succeeded him as interim Governor and gained the benefit of the colony's prosperity. Unfortunately he had a very different disposition; lax and autocratic by turns, he was always uncertain, except in self-seeking.

Southampton was at that time the leader in the Upper House of what was called "the Country Party," as opposed to "the Court

[1] D.S.S.P. James, LXVII. 17..., XC.
[2] *Colonial Entry Book*, V. 33, P.R.O.; also C.S.S.P. I. p. 19.

Party," as Sir Edwin Sandys was in the Lower House, both trying to preserve the privileges of the subject from the encroachments of the royal prerogative. The fortunes of both were affected by what passed in the Company meetings, of which very bald extracts are preserved in the certified copy of the Court-books of their special period[1]. It begins abruptly:

Court held for Virginia at Sir Thomas Smith's House at Philpot Lane, 28th April, 1619. Present, Rt Hon. Earls of Southampton, Warwick, Cavendish, Lord Paget, General Cecil, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Edwin Sandys. Sir Thomas Smith said that he had given his labour willingly to the Company for 12 years, but now, being appointed by the King's Commissioners of the Royal Navy, he could not give as good attendance as he desired, and he asked them to elect another. He asked two favours: that they would give a good report of him, and that they would audit his books and grant him his *quietus est* without delay. They nominated Sandys, Wolstenholme, and Alderman Johnson; the first had a large majority. Johnson was again nominated as Deputy, but John Ferrar was chosen. Sir Edwin proposed thanks to Sir Thomas Smith, with a grant of twenty great shares.

Court, May 12th, 1619, at Mr Ferrar's in St Swithin's Lane. Present, the Earls of Southampton and Warwick, Sir Ed. Sandys, John Ferrar. Mr Treasurer, Sir Edwin Sandys, proposed to form a Committee for constituting the laws and government of Virginia. Sir Thomas Smith had said there was a balance of £4000 in cash, but there was only £1000 in cash, the rest in tied stock; out of that there were to pay debts of £3700, old debts of £1148 and £700. Sir Thomas very importunate to have his *quietus*, and he asked special extra auditors. Captain Brewster appealed against the action of Sir Samuel Argall.

Court, May 26th, 1619, at Sir Edwin Sandys'. Mr Brewster complains against Argall as Governor. The King has allowed a general Church collection for Virginia. Though 11 auditors had been employed, they could not make Sir Thomas Smith's books harmonise.

June 7th. Brewster brought a case against Captain Argall.

[1] Miss Kingsbury's *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I.

June 14th. The Lawes of Virginia revised[1].

Oct. 20th. The King wants to send some dissolute persons to Virginia[2].

Court, November 3rd, 1619. Present, Earl of Warwick, General Cecil, Sir Edwin Sandys. A desire expressed to enlarge the population, to send out young maids to be wives for the men, and cattle necessary for the welfare of the colony. Sandys reported that, the Council sitting that morning at Southampton House, there were some motions made against planting tobacco here, which would hinder the Colony. Other staples should be fostered—silk, corn, vines, etc. He added:

and although the Company is allready exceedingly beholding to my Lord of Southampton for his many noble favours and noble countenancing them in all their business, especially such as is of the greatest importance, yet notwithstanding the Court are most humble Suitors unto his Lordship that he would please also in these businesses of so great importance, and which have been the only cause of distraccion and discention in the Company, to vouchsafe his presence at that meeting of the Counsell, that by his Lordships and their authority those differences might be concluded, the Company satisfied in their right, and all occasion of continuing jealousies and displeasures be removed;

which resolution moved, was unanimously confirmed. Notice is given of a special meeting to be held at Sir Edwin Sandys' house to choose a coat of arms for Virginia and a legal seal.

Court Preparative, November 15th, 1619, at Mr Ferrar's house. Present, Lords Southampton, Cavendish, and Paget. Mr Treasurer announced that he had already paid £2000 of the debt left him by Sir Thomas Smith. Certain propositions believed to be beneficial and advantageous to the Colony, which had been proposed to the Council meeting at Southampton House, had been read last meeting, and they might now be discussed preparatory to the full debate at Quarter Court. For the order of the Magazine account, my Lord of Southampton was humbly desired to lend his presence for the concluding of it.

A great and general Quarter Court for Virginia November 17th.

[1] This year the first General Assembly of the Colonists was held in Virginia to confirm these laws.

[2] Many shiploads of prisoners were sent over about that time by royal permission.

Present, Lords Southampton, Warwick, Cavendish, Sheffield, Paget, Sir Edwin Sandys, 159 members[1]. List of Counsellors of Virginia read, 100 in all. The Treasurer read the report. Since the time of Sir Thomas Dale the provisions have been laid waste, the settlers need new supplies and an increase of new settlers; they need land to be apportioned for corn-growing and for cattle. They felt all this would require £5000, but he would not leave the company in debt. He suggested that the Bermudas Company should join them.

December 1st, 1619. There was a dispute about the right of fishing with the Northern Colony. Settled, that the Council of both colonies should examine the letters patent at my Lord of Southampton's to-morrow afternoon to determine the difference. They were beholden to the Lord Bishop of London for having sent in a collection of fully £1000.

Court, January 12th. Mr Treasurer said that, for the expediting of Sir Thomas Smith's account, they had promised Lord Southampton to send for a list of Adventurers by Alphabet, but they could not, because Mr Markham still held the Alphabet Book.

Court Extraordinary, held at Sir Edwin Sandys' house, 3rd April, 1620.

8th April, another at Sir Edwin Sandys', to note that Mr Nicholas Ferrar the elder, being translated from this life into a better, had left £300 towards the converting of Infidels' children in Virginia.

Quarter Court, 17th May, 1620, held at Mr Ferrar's house. Present, Lords Southampton, Warwick, Devonshire, Doncaster, both forenoon and afternoon. Indentures signed by Sir Thomas Smith, willing to part with his shares for money. They altered the name of the land to Southampton Hundred....They proceeded to election. They had intended to re-elect Sir Edwin Sandys, but the King had sent a message (not entered in the Court Book). (Brown[2] says that the King had nominated either Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Roe, Mr Alderman Johnston, or Mr Maurice Abbot, *and no other*. The Earls of Southampton and Pembroke said that that was a move against the Company's freedom.) Sandys withdrew.

[1] p. 285, Miss Kingsbury's *Records*.

[2] Brown's *English Politics in early Colonies*. (Gossip added the King's remark, "He would as soon have the devil as Edwin Sandys.")

They said that the King had been misinformed, and they humbly asked the nobles and some others to meet at Southampton House on 29th May to determine of a humble answer to the King, showing him a true information of the latter year's business and of this, also of their privilege. They decided to postpone the election to the next Quarter Court. Sir Edwin Sandys resumed his seat, but refused to receive the seals.

Court, 26th June. Present, Lords Southampton and Sheffield. Southampton had sent 10 men with Lord De la Warre, and was now allowed 50 acres apiece for them which he surrendered at once, 4 of them to Mr Thomas Wriothesley, 2 to Mr Porter, 2 to Mr Gifford, and 2 to William Smith[1], who was admitted to be of the Company.

Court, 28th June, 1620. Great general Quarterly Court at Mr Ferrar's house. Present, Lords Southampton, Dorset, Warwick, Devonshire, Cavendish, Sheffield, Paget. The Charter was read.

The Earl of Southampton said that he and the other Lords had presented their humble desires to his Majesty for a free election, and he had graciously agreed, saying there had been a mistake by the messenger; he had not meant to will them to choose one of the four men he had noted, and no other; he only recommended them to the Court. The Court desired to return thanks to the King. Mr Herbert said that through some dissensions in the Company, seeing they could not have their late Treasurer again, they should choose one able to resort personally to the King, one of the nobles. They should nominate the Earl of Southampton.

Mr Herbert's motion being exceedingly approved, the whole Court with much joy and applause nominated the Earle of Southampton; with much earnestness beseeching his Lordship that for the redeeming of this noble plantation and Company from the ruines that seemed to hang over it hee would vouchsafe to accept of the place of Treasurer; which it pleased him, after some private pause, in fine to doe, in very noble manner out of the worthie love and affecion that he bare to the plantation; and the Court in testimonial of their bounden thankfulness, and of the great honour and respect they ought him, did resolve to surcease the balloting box, and without

[1] Was this the William Smith who helped the Burbages in their suit against Giles Alleyn about the Theatre? (My *Burbage, and Shakespeare's Stage*, p. 70.)

nomination of any other by ereccion of hands, his Lordship was chosen Treasurer and took the oath. Which done, his Lordship desyred the Company that they would all putt on the same mynd with which he had accepted the place.

Then very heavy business followed in an attempt to cure the late distractions of the Company by partialities and factions. The chief seemed to be the difficulty of following Sir Thomas Smith's accounts and Captain Argall's business. Many Committees were formed to deal with special questions. On this follow what seems to be the heads of a long speech by the Earl as to their needs and duties.

Court, 12th July, 1620, afternoon. Present, Southampton, Cavendish, Sheffield, Lord Haughton. Sir Edwin Sandys gave notice that Lord Southampton was upon some special occasion with the Lords of the Council, but would be present here at 3 o'clock; so they did their lighter business till he arrived.

Court, 4th November, 1620. Present, Lords Southampton and Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys. My Lord of Southampton signified that for many important occasions his own leisure served him not until now to keep Court; he was sure that the Committees had done their duty, chiefly about shipping out young colonists. Southampton was specially anxious to secure good government, and discouraged excessive planting of tobacco.

Preparative Court, 13th November. Present, Southampton, Cavendish, Paget. Sir Thomas Smith's receipts a most intricate and difficult piece of work. His own books disagreed with each other, and some were lost. Southampton encouraged the auditors to proceed even yet.

Quarter Court, 15th November. Present, Lords Southampton, Cavendish, and Paget. A stranger stepped in and presented Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of Guiana*, with a map, and four great books for the College. Southampton thanked him. He spoke about the silkworms. Other things prospered.

13th December, 1620, afternoon. Southampton could not be present, but had all the morning been busy with their affairs, as should be declared later.

General Quarter Court, 31st January, 1620–1. Present, Southampton, Dorset, Devonshire, Paget. My Lord Southampton

signified that he had that morning been with my Lord of Doncaster to know what the King thought of their letter, which he had presented. The King had said there was nothing in the letter that could not with reason be granted.

Sir Edwin Sandys signified that the Earl of Southampton, being one of the greatest and most ancient adventurers, having now a desire with the helpe and assistance of some of his friends to undertake and advance a particular Plantation in Virginia to the number of 300 shares, moved that a Patent might be granted his Lordship, and order taken for some preparation in the meantime, for the better encouragement of the Adventurers and setting forward of so noble a designe, which might draw on others with like resolution to advance more particular plantations in Virginia.

Court, 12th April, 1621. Present, the Earls of Huntingdon and Southampton. Discussion of patents, and of a treatise laid before them on "Defence, Plenty, Health, Trade and Manners." Southampton proposed that Mr George Sandys might be sent out as Governor. Sir Edwin proposed that the Governor of Virginia should be held responsible to this Court, liable to be questioned and fined, if he neglected his duty. Mr Smith also moved that the memory of great men who had helped Virginia should be remembered, and some living men also, as Sir Thomas Gates, to make a History of the Colony. Applause.

Great and general Quarter Court, 2nd May, 1621. Present, Southampton, Cavendish, Paget. Southampton delayed by the Lords' business in Parliament. Both he and Sandys excused. They went on with what they could, and they re-elected Southampton Treasurer. When he did arrive, he delivered his books to the Court.

Preparative Court, 11th June, 1621. Sir Edwin Sandys brought an excuse from Southampton for absence, being held by extraordinary business, but he had had on Saturday a long conference with the Lords of the Council, who met at his house to discuss for many hours the affairs of Virginia.

Great general Quarter Court, 13th June, 1621. Present, Earls of Huntingdon, Southampton, Warwick, Cavendish, Lord Paget. They had to remember that the Plantation had been prosecuted by the Adventurers at a cost of £100,000 out of their own pockets.

Court, 24th July. Mr Deputy said he had presented to Lord Southampton 4 Rolls of Parliament, wherein divers had testified

their zeal and constant resolution to advance the Plantation, notwithstanding the many discouragements they had received, and 5 Rolls for sending out skilled workmen and material; and his Lordship was so pleased to subscribe for his own part £200 for so good a cause.

Court, 30th January, 1621–2. Sir Edwin Sandys discusses Southampton Hundred and Southampton Plantation. A stranger again stepped in and presented more books for the College. Sir Edwin Sandys reported that Sir Thomas Smith's books were at such variance with each other they could not be reconciled.

(Several Courts being held without their Treasurer, we are obliged to look back to the *Journals of the House of Lords*, to follow Southampton's action in Parliament, his imprisonment, and finally his confinement in his own house at Titchfield, preventing his action in Court and Council.)

Court Preparative, 20th May, 1622. Present, Lord Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys. Mr Deputy reminded them of the election of officers due next meeting. He was generally answered by the Company that they hoped they should humbly entreat the Lord of Southampton once more to vouchsafe to hold the place of Treasurer this third year, under whom God had so much blessed the business to their general joy and comfort.

General Quarter Court, 22nd May, 1622. Present, Sir E. Sandys. Report made of the state of Southampton's books approved by the auditors, also of the great sums of money spent in the payment of old debts of Sir T. Smith.

Great and general Quarter Court on the same day, afternoon. Present, Lords Cavendish, Paget, Haughton. Mr Alderman Hamersley and Mr Bell said they had been sent by the King to say that it would be pleasing to him if one of the gentlemen he named should be elected Treasurer and Deputy, ten names being sent this time, though the King did not wish to infringe their rights. It was proposed that two of them should be nominated with Lord Southampton. In the ballot Southampton had 117, Mr Cletheroe 13, and Mr Hamford 7. Mr Nicholas Ferrar for Deputy had 103 votes, as against 10 and 5. Sir Edwin Sandys was appointed Auditor. The Company asked the Lords to present their humble thanks to the King for his gracious message, but they had previ-

ously nominated Lord Southampton at the Preparative Court... having found the Plantation to prosper every of these last years, more than in ten before, and found more to have been done with ten thousand pounds than formerly with fourscore thousand.

General Court, 5th June, 1622. Present, Southampton, Cavendish, Sandys. Southampton said he was willing to undertake the duty and do his best, if they would excuse his absence on the King's business or his own. They agreed, thanking him for his noble favour and affection to the Plantation, which it had pleased God to prosper. Lord Cavendish told the Company of his conference with the King. His Majesty seemed not well satisfied that out of so many by him recommended they had not made any choice, his Majesty conceiving that merchants were fittest for the governance of that Plantation—Sir Thomas Smith set up many staple commodities. But he had assured the King that he had been misinformed. Since Sir Thomas Smith's time the Colonies had grown into as many thousands as he had left hundreds. Most of the King's candidates acknowledged they knew nothing of the business. Another discussion about tobacco and the charges against Captain Argall.

A letter from the King should be inserted here:

His Majesties gracious letter to the Earle of South-hampton, Treasurer, and to the Counsell and Company of Virginia here: commanding the present setting up of Silke workes, and planting of Vines in Virginia.

Right trusty and wellbeloved, We greete you well: Whereas We understand that the Soyle in Virginia naturally yeeldeth store of excellent Mulberry trees, We have taken into Our Princely consideration the great benefit that may grow to the Adventurers and Planters by the breede of Silkewormes and setting up of Silke workes in those parts. And therefore of Our gracious Inclination to a designe of so much honour and advantage to the publike, We have thought good, as at sundry other times, so now more particularly to recommend it to your speciall care, hereby charging and requiring you to take speedy order, that our people there use all possible diligence in breeding silkewormes, and erecting silkeworkes, and that they rather bestow their travell in compassing this rich and solid Commodity, then in that of Tobacco; which besides much unnecessary expence, brings with it many disorders and inconveniences. And for as much as Our servant, John Bonnells, hath taken paines in setting downe the true use of the Silkworme, together with the Art of Silkemaking, and of planting Vines, and that his experience and abilities may much conduce to the advancement of this businesse; We

doe hereby likewise require you to cause his directions, both for the said Silkeworkes and Vineyards, to be carefully put in practice thorowout our Plantations there, that so the worke may goe on cheerefully, and receive no more interruptions nor delayes.

To Our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin and Councellour, Henry, Earle of South-hampton, Treasurer of our Plantation in Virginia, and to Our trusty and welbeloved the Deputy and others over Our said Plantation[1].

The following was the consequence of the King's letter:

The Treasurour, Counsell and Company of Virginia, to the Governour and Counsell of State in Virginia residing.

After our very harty commendations: His Sacred Majesty, out of his high wisedome and care of the noble Plantation of Virginia, hath beene graciously pleased to direct his Letters to us here in England, thereby commanding us to advance the setting up of silkworkes, and planting of Vineyards; as by the Copy herewith sent you may perceive.

The intimations of his Majesties pleasure we conceive to be a motive sufficient to induce you to imploy all your indevors to the setting forward those two staple Commodities of Silke and Wine; which brought to their perfection, will infinitely redound to the honour, benefit, and comfort of the Colony, and of this whole Kingdome: yet we, in discharge of our duties, doe againe renew our often and iterated Instructions, and invite you cheerefully to fall upon these two so rich and necessary Commodities. And if you shall finde any person, either through negligence or wilfulnesse, to omit the planting of Vines, and Mulberry trees, in orderly and husbandly manner, as by the Booke is prescribed, or the providing of convenient roomes for the breeding of Wormes; we desire they may by severe censures and punishment, be compelled thereunto. And on the contrary, that all favour and possible assistance be given to such as yielde willing obedience to his Highnesse Commands therein. The breach or performance whereof, as we are bound to give a strict account, so will it also be required of you the Governour and Counsell especially. Herein there can be no Plea, either of difficulty or impossibility; but all the contrary appeares, by the naturall abundance of those two excellent Plants afore-named everywhere in Virginia: neither will such excuses be admitted, nor any other pretences serve, whereby the businesse be at all delayed. And as wee formerly sent at our great charge the French Vignerons to you, to teach you their Art; so for the same purpose we now commend this Booke unto you, to serve as an Instructour to every one, and send you store of them to be dispersed over the whole Colony, to every Master of a Family one. Silk-seede you shall receive also by this ship, sufficient to store every man: so that there wants nothing but industry in the Planter sud-

[1] Purchas, XIX. 154.

denly to bring the making of Silke to its perfection: which either for their owne benefit (we hope) they will willingly indevour, or by a wholesome and necessary severity they must be inforced.

This particular advice we thought necessary to give you, lest that if it should have come to you mingled with others, you would have interpreted it as a common Instruction, or a businesse that was not taken so to heart, as this [is] by us, and we hope will be by you in humble obedience to his Sacred Majesties Royall Instructions. The paines and industry of the Authour for the benefit of the Plantations (being a member of our Company) are sufficient arguments of his good affection to the Action, and they both deserve your best acceptance and ours, that others may thereby be invited to impart their knowledge in businesse of this and the like nature; whereby the Colony may not onely be supported for the present, but brought to that perfection, that may redound to the glory of God, the honour of his Majestie, and the inestimable benefit of his noble Kingdomes; which, as they are the true aime and end the Adventurers and Planters have proposed unto themselves, so ought they to be still the honorable seedes to put others also forward in this action. We commend this business again to your speciall care. And so we commit you all, and your waighty affaires to the protection of the Almighty.

HENRY SOUTHAMPTON[1].

Prosperity at last seemed secured to the colonists, but they, lulled into a sense of security from treaties and custom, had forgotten the nature and thoughts of their still savage neighbours. The heroic Pocahontas was buried in England; her far-seeing father had passed away from his kingdom. New kings had taken lines of their own. They combined for a general massacre of all white men on March 22nd, 1622. This would have been entirely successful, but for a timely warning, by which thousands were able to save themselves. As it was, however, three hundred colonists in the outlying settlements were caught unawares and murdered. When the news spread to England, the distress was universal, and we may conceive what the Treasurer of the Company felt for his beloved colony. It was not only a murder, but also a set-back. After that, Sir George Yeardley had to use men, who would have been useful as cultivators, for the purposes of protection, and of exacting retribution.

Court at Mr Ferrar's house, 11th December, 1622. Information had been laid before him since he had been in the country touching Mr Wrote, who had offered them a treatise. In the discussion of it Mr Wrote had used violent and injudicious words; now he

[1] Purchas, XIX. 155.

charged the Court Records with falsehood in reporting them, and said that he was not fairly treated. Mr Wrote hereupon dashed out of Court saying that he had not come there to hear ill words of himself. It was held that Mr Wrote had committed contempt, and that he should be suspended from coming to Council.

Court, Friday, 31st January, 1622–3. Present, Southampton, Cavendish, Danvers, Edwin Sandys. To complete the business which had been hindered by Mr Wrote, who now sent in new charges of ill-usages. He said that Mr Wither had said abroad that my Lord of Southampton, as a Privy Councillor, might commit him, and protested that under that fear he dared not speak freely. The Earl of Southampton answered that he need not fear any such thing from him, for whatever respects and additions he had, he left them all when he came to that place, and came there only as their Treasurer. The Court, being wearied with Wrote's interruptions, desired his Lordship to hold to the business they came for. Sir Edwin Sandys' speech was again interrupted by Mr Wrote. Lord Southampton said that, had Mr Wrote carried himself so in any other place than this, he would not have endured it, and sharply willed him to behave himself in a better manner...it was no other than a kind of swaggering. Lord Cavendish objecting to what Mr Wrote said of him, Wrote replied that he had no intent directly or indirectly to "pestring" the actions of the Council, or of his Lordship, or of Lord Southampton, but only of what was done when they were out of town.

Court, Monday, 3rd February, 1622–3, forenoon. Present, Southampton, Cavendish, Sandys. Prepared to go through the amendments to the records. Mr Wrote said that he had appealed to the King. Southampton said that notwithstanding they would go on with what they came for.

Court Preparative, afternoon of the same day. Present, Southampton, Cavendish. Sir Henry Mildmay said that in conversation the King had said he had taken note of the differences, and willed that every one should have the right of free speech. Sir Edwin Sandys in his speech said that there had been some discussion about salaries; there should be none against his—he surrendered it with goodwill.

Great and general Quarter Court for Virginia and Somers Islands Company, Wednesday, 6th February, 1622–3. Present,

Southampton, Warwick, St John, Cavendish, De la Warre, Danvers, Sandys. Lord Southampton asked a report to be read alike of Mr Wrote's project, and of his behaviour. Both were utterly rejected by the Company. Southampton said the report of Mr Wrote's dissensions caused him to come up from the country to provide a remedy. Mr Wrote did not appear. Christopher Brooke[1] suggested that a precedent is better than a precept; for Mr Wrote's contempt he should for ever be put out of the Council and suspended from attendance at the Court meetings until he acknowledged his error. He had been guilty of mutiny.

Court for Virginia and S. I., afternoon, 5th March, 1622-3. Present, Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys, "Dr Dun."[2] Mr Deputy said that he had to say two things of great joy: the first was a most honourable testimony given by the Lord Treasurer of the good proceedings and carriage of the business of the Plantation these four years, so, as his Lordship said, they had thereby thriven and prospered beyond belief, almost miraculously. Lord Cavendish said it had been carried lewdly in other men's hands before. He then read a letter from the Colony to Southampton and the Council, supporting their action and enclosing a petition to the King.

Court Extraordinary, 12th April, Virginia and S. I. Present, Cavendish, De la Warre. Lord Cavendish said that Alderman Johnson had made a complaint to the King of the last four years, comparing them with those before them. 1st: before they were mild and moderate, now severe and oppressive and injurious both to adventurers and planters. 2nd: before things had been carried quietly, now there was nothing but contention. 3rd: that formerly many excellent commodities were shipped over, now nothing but smoke and tobacco. "A Declaration of the State of Virginia now comparative to former times" had been drawn up by order of Lord Southampton at Christmas last, and was now read, weighed, and confirmed. Another, which Lord Cavendish had drawn up, against the imputations cast on the Virginia and Somers Islands Company, was in the form of a petition to the King.

Court Extraordinary, Virginia, 17th April, 1623. Present, Warwick, Cavendish, Edwin Sandys. Lord Cavendish said that both petition and declaration had been presented to the King, and

[1] The poet. [2] Dr Donne.

he asked all, on their allegiance, not to write to the colonies about any contentions at home. They hear there is to be a free importation of foreign tobacco.

Court held for Virginia, afternoon, 23rd April, 1623. Present, Lords Dorset, Cavendish, De la Warre, Sandys. They discussed Alderman Johnson's petition against them and an Information by Captain Butler called "The unmasked face of the Colony of Virginia." They had to defend themselves.

Court, 30th April. The Deputy said that divers ancient planters, masters of ships, and others had made answer for them to Captain Butler's Information.

Court for Virginia and Somers Islands, 7th May, 1623. Present, Southampton, Dorset, Cavendish, Danvers, Paget, "Doctor Dun." They spoke of the trouble given them by Alderman Johnson and Captain Butler. Mr John Smith was present, and supported the Company. Sir Edward Sackville was to present their petition.

Court, 24th May, 1623. The King had sent them a letter foreseeing the pernicious consequences of sundry disorders and abuses which have crept in of late into the Court, commanding no unqualified members to be present at such Courts, and that no complaints be brought against any man in the name of the Council. If any man have any complaints, to bring them in writing, signed with his name, to the King. They agreed to keep no more Courts until they understood the King's will.

Court, 23rd June, 1623. Present, Cavendish, Sackville. Mr Sackville moved that Lord Southampton might have his *quietus est* for three years' accounts, which had been found correct. They had had calamities that year among the people.

Quarter Court, 25th June, 1623. Present, Cavendish, De la Warre. (Southampton, Sandys, and the Deputy absent; John Ferrar alone of the party present.) The King's letter read that they intended an election, but he commanded them to forbear for a fortnight, and let those that were in office continue till a new choice should be made. They decided that the present officers should hold office until next Quarter Court, as the King's Charter only gave them power to elect in Quarter Courts. Sir Francis Wyat, Governor of the Colony, had written that he had lost heavily, and desired to be released.

Court, 1st July. Present, Sackville, Danvers, Nicholas Ferrar. The Deputy said the Lords of the Council had written to him to say that he must come to confer with them; they had had letters from the Colony that his Majesty's subjects were starving. He had gone. Now the Company drafted their answers.

Court, Wednesday, 15th October, 1623. Present, John Danvers, Nicholas Ferrar. The Deputy reported that he had been sent for to the Privy Council, questioned, and given orders. He had asked the Lords to draw these up on paper, which they had done, and he read it. The King, considering the distressed state of the Colony, caused, as it seemed, by miscarriage in the government of the Company, would take it over to himself. The Company could send him three names, of which he would elect one as Treasurer, and fixed the Court for Wednesday next. There was a long silence. Then Mr Deputy asked what they would answer, and read the letters patent, the King proposing a new Charter. They said they were not able so suddenly to pass away their interests, so few present were deeply concerned. Eight men agreed to surrender the Charter. The others petitioned for postponement till next Quarter Day, 19th November.

Court Extraordinary, 20th October. Mr Ferrar said it had been summoned because the Lords of the Council did not like their answer and bade him put it again in this new Court. Only nine hands went up to agree to surrender the Charter.

Court Virginia, 22nd October, 1623. Mr Deputy said that since their last answer to the Lords of the Council on the 20th he had received from them an order that it be published, so that "they say that many adventurers had been discouraged, but that there is no intention of doing more than the reforming and change of the present government, whereof his Majesty hath seen so many bad effects as will be to the endangering of the whole Plantation. No man shall have any prejudice, but shall have his estate fully and wholely conserved." The King commanded the ships to go at once to the relief of the Colony. So the Court rose.

Court, 12th November. Present, Lord De la Warre, the two Ferrars, Mr Wriothesley. Mr Deputy acquainted them that good news had come. The Colony had recovered its health, a plentiful harvest was promised, and they had slain the king who led the

massacre and many of his chiefs. They had had many other good fortunes, for which they praised God. Mr Deputy then said that he had been served with a *Quo Warranto*, asking by what right they called themselves a Company. (They sadly began to wind up their affairs and face the terrible expenses of the action.)

Court Preparative, Monday afternoon, 17th November. Lord Paget, the two Ferrars, and Mr Wriothesley[1] were present. They were allowed by the Commissioners to read the general letter from Virginia, which was very cheerful, addressed to the Earl of Southampton and the Council for Virginia. They had defeated the savages, strengthened their own defences, improved their health. Now they only wanted more people well provided for. But the Commissioners had kept back another letter they wanted to hear. Then it was moved:

Whereas the Companie heretofore in a thankful acknowledgement of the great and extraordinary paines that the Right Hon. The Earl of Southampton and Sir Edwin Sandys have taken for the good of the company and advancement of the Plantation did give unto each of them twenty shares of old adventure, these may be secured unto them with the Company's seal[2]. Passed with applause.

Quarter Court, Virginia, afternoon, 19th November, 1623. Present, the Ferrars, Mr Wriothesley. The other letter read, Mr Deputy read the general letter and moved other business. Then he presented four drafts which the last Court had appointed to be drawn up for confirmation by the Company—to Lord Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, and John Ferrar, and to Nicholas Ferrar a grant allowing him for his disbursement.

The confirmation of twenty shares to the Right Hon. the Earl of Southampton the Company in a thankful acknowledgement of his noble Desserts, and Meritts both from themselves and the Plantacion, (they having no other meanes to express their love) have given unto his Lordship This Indenture 19th November 1623....Between ye Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and planters of the City of London for the first Colony of Virginia on the one part, and the Right Hon. Henry Earl of Southampton on the other part, witnesseth that whereas...he...hath ever since the 28th day of June 1620 until this present performed the place of Treasurer of this company with singular wisdome, providence and care and much noble paines and industrie

[1] This name is mis-spelt in various ways.
[2] The original is still at Welbeck Abbey.

and with unquestionable integritie, to the advancement of the Plantacion and full satisfaction of the Company: Now know ye all...that we the said Treasurer and Company in testimony of our due thankfulness and approbation of his noble deserts and meritts from us the Company here and from the Plantation in Virginia, having no greater meanes to express it, doe by these presents give and grant to ye said Henry Earl of Southampton, his heirs, and assigns for ever Twenty shares of land in Old Adventure in Virginia, to be taken in such place as no others right being prejudiced, and at such times as hee or they shall think fitt: To be held by him or them with all those priviledges, freedomes and immunities which belong to Shares of Old Adventure for which Twelve pound ten hath been paid. In witnesse whereof, the said Treasurer and Company to one part of this Indenture have set their legal and common seale; And to the other part of this the Right Hon. Henry Earl of Southampton hath set his hand and seale given in a great & general Quarter Court of the said Treasurer and Company the day and year above written, which being approved was ordered to be sealed.

A similar grant was given to Sir Edwin Sandys, and another to John Ferrar, and to Nicholas Ferrar a grant for all that he had disbursed for the company as their Executor. "Next to the Question." The Company had answered the Council, pleading for delay in surrendering the Charter, and the Council, dissatisfied, had instituted *Quo Warranto*; was this meeting willing to support the action of previous meetings or not? It was put to the vote. There were only seven dissentients; the rest held up for *not* surrendering the Charter. This was a weighty matter; a Committee was appointed to see to it, and a motion was made that the Lords might be petitioned for their books and writings that had been taken from them, that they might be able properly to prepare their defence. Then Mr Deputy reminded them that, in obedience to His Majesty, they had forborne to elect at last Quarter Court; and now, should there be an election or not? It was considered better that all the present officers be kept until a new election at a Quarter Court.

Court, afternoon, 14th January, 1623–4. Present, Sir John Danvers, John Ferrar. Mr Wrote appears among the quibblers again. Mr Deputy read a letter written to him as Deputy by the Lords of the Council, that a ship had lately come in, and he was to seize on all the letters, private as well as public, and send them all unopened to them at the Council Hall.

Court Preparative, afternoon, 2nd February, 1623–4. Present, Sir John Danvers, Wriothesley, Mr Deputy, John Ferrar. That an

omission had been made from the minutes; that there were still £800 deficit in Sir Thomas Smith's account, and he should pay that, so that Mr Deputy Ferrar might have his *quietus est*.

Court Virginia, 21st April, 1624. Present, Lords Southampton, Cavendish, Paget, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Danvers, the Ferrars. Mr Deputy had received a packet of letters in a box directed "to the Earl of Southampton, Treasurer," which had been sent to his Lordship and returned after having been read; but no Courts had been held, in regard of this busy time of Parliament, so the letter was dated 29th January, urging the support of an army for the defence of the Colony. That a petition from the poor planters of Virginia had been sent up for the abatement of the impost, as they had suffered much through the effects of the massacre. Some of the charges against the Governor of Virginia were libellous, such as that about grievous oppressions. The complaint was as absurd as it was unjust.

Court Preparative, 20th April, 1624, afternoon, on Quarter day. Lord Cavendish was able to come; Lord Southampton was out of town. It was held that he had been Treasurer nearly four years, so it was against the Laws of the Company to choose him again; and yet the necessities and occasions of the Company were such as no other fit choice could be made. Wherefore the Court thought fit to be humble suitors to his Lordship that "out of that extraordinarie hote zeale which he had with so much trouble and paynes demonstrated," he would be pleased to accept over again of the place of the Treasurer and they would alter the Law to remove the obstacle; which they did.

Quarter Court, forenoon, 28th April, 1624. They proceeded to nominate and put Lord Southampton to election with Lord Cavendish. The Earl of Southampton had 69 balls, Lord Cavendish 5. No negatives. They put in Alderman Johnson and Nicholas Ferrar as Deputy, and Ferrar had 64 balls and Johnson 10. They re-elected Sir Francis Wyat as Governor of Virginia.

Court, 7th June, 1624. Present, Dorset, Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys, Ferrar. A petition to his Majesty that Alderman Johnson should pay what was due to the Magazine.

The Record here ends abruptly.

There is a memorandum that Edward Collingwood, Secretary,

and Thomas Collet of the Middle Temple had examined the transcript and found it correct. Nicholas Ferrar, foreseeing the likelihood of seizure, had had the Court-Book copied by various hands, it is said in the house of Sir John Danvers.

One or two points may be noted in this valuable document. One is that the absences of Southampton and Sandys, and often even of the Ferrars, from the critical final Courts suggests that more than Parliamentary or even Privy Council ties kept them away, and that the King sometimes laid his veto on their appearance, or even imprisoned them, as it is rumoured, to simplify his agents' work. For, it may have been noticed, the party of noises and hindrance was a very small one. Its largest numerical proportion was 10 per cent.; it was generally represented only by 2 or 5 per cent. But one noisy member can hinder much good work. Their recognition of this the large majority effectually showed in the honours they paid at the last to Southampton, with whom they were perfectly satisfied, in despite of the King's opinion of "pernicious government." Fortune was against him in this matter also. Troubles not of his making had temporarily beset the colony, which were magnified by his enemies and termed evil results from his mismanagement.

To save space, the above abstracts have been given consecutively; but some things happened during the period of the Court Book, and some things were written, which are essential to the history of the times.

All know of the voyage of the *Mayflower* to the Northern Colony for the sake of freedom in religion in 1620; but we must not dwell on it. In that year also, on November 3rd, a patent was granted for the Incorporation of a Council for managing the affairs of the Plantation of the Second Colony of New England, and among its members was Henry, Earl of Southampton. His name is also mentioned in the notes on Canada or Acadia[1].

"A note of the shipping, men and provisions sent and provided for Virginia by the Earl of Southampton and the Company and other private adventurers in 1621"[2] included 24 ships with 500 mariners; experts to teach men how to utilise the produce of the

[1] *Colonial Entry Book*, XVII. 1–41.

[2] Purchas, XIX. 143; also *Duke of Manchester's Papers*, 8th Rep. App. II. p. 291, March: "among them the name of The Mayflower."

Plantations; French vine-dressers to cultivate vines and mulberries, to make wine; others to teach them how to make glass for themselves and beads for the savages; fur-traders, metallurgists, builders; with plans for a church, a college, and a house of entertainment for newcomers.

In regard to the various "dissensions," of which so much was made by the King and his party, there are some important papers among the Manchester MSS. July 8th, 1619[1], is the date of a copy of Minutes of Censure passed upon Alderman Johnson by a Committee of the Council of Virginia for having, in open Court, used intemperate language against the Governor, Sir Edwin Sandys. Members present: The Earls of Southampton and Warwick, Sir John Danvers, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Mr John Wroth, Mr Thorpe and Mr John Ferrar; at Southampton House. There is also a statement, possibly prepared for a speech before the Virginia Company by Nathaniel Rich, in defence of the Earl of Warwick, against whom Sir Edwin Sandys is accused of entertaining some ill-feeling. A ship of Warwick's was supposed by Captain Yeardley to have gone to the West Indies, with the intention of robbing the Spaniards.

Sandys, having blotted out the name of the Earl of Warwick from the dispatch, laid it before Privy Council. This was not considered sufficient. It was therefore arranged, in accordance with the wishes of the Earl, that the Earl of Southampton should be present when Sandys opened the matter before the Council and should use his influence to quiet any further search or stir in the business[2].

This he had done, and the business was dismissed without prejudice to any, the Earl of Warwick having used his influence on behalf of the captain of the ship, Captain Argall. But, shortly afterwards there arrived a second letter and report of Governor Yeardley. Two of the men who had been on board that ship came back to the colony, and confessed they had robbed a Spanish colony. Sir Edwin Sandys had laid this before the Public Council of the Virginia Company, and had acquainted the Lords of the Privy Council and the Spanish Ambassador, which led to the confiscation of Lord Warwick's ship.

Some further points concerning the events may also be gleaned

[1] Number 250. [2] *Ibid.* 279.

from the *Lives of the Ferrars*[1]. The Court Books they drew up were very reticent in regard to unpleasant things; but their private diaries told more. For instance, it was the Company's intention to re-elect Sir Edwin Sandys Treasurer in 1620, but the King's message came: "That it was not the King's pleasure Sir Edwin Sandys should be chosen." He had nominated three to choose from.

A deep silence of amazement followed this violent invasion of their rights and breach of their Charter. This was broken by one at the end of the hall rising to ask if the Courtiers who had declined their message could now withdraw until the Company resolved what to do. The Earl of Southampton said "For my part, gentlemen, I like not this motion. Let the noble gentlemen keep their places and hear the opinions of the Company, so that they may be witnesses of our actions and words, and may truly influence his Majesty of our fair and justifyable proceedings both in his behalf and the Company. In respect of his Majesty, whom we know to be so just a King, that he may understand what privileges he hath granted us by his Letters Patent under the great seal of England, on the credit and authority of which letters we have advanced and adventured one hundred thousand pounds of our own estates; and in respect of the Company, who have gained so hopeful a country, which they have bought, and compounded for with the natives, and which, when once well peopled by English Colonies, will find full employment for all needy people in this land, who now begin to swarm in this blessed time of peace under his Majesties happy reign; will provide estates likewise for all the younger brothers, gentlemen of this Kingdom, and also a ready and lasting supply to this Nation of those commodities which in our present condition we are fain to fetch from foreign nations, from doubtfull friends, yea from heathen princes. These circumstances, I say, fairly considered, make this business of so great concernment, that it never can be too solemnly, too thoroughly, or too publickly examined." Lord Southampton sat down, and Sir Laurence Hyde, the learned Lawyer, next rose, and said that he agreed with the motion of the noble Earl, and entreated these worthy messengers of the King to remain, and he asked that the Patent be produced and read. All called out for the patent, and it was read. Sir Laurence Hyde pointed out that the choice of a governor was left to their own free choice, they therefore would proceed to election; but as the late governor, Sir Edwin Sandys, asks you to forbear putting up his name in opposition to the King's wish, Sir Laurence suggested they would put up two of the King's choice and one of their own, whereupon the whole Court at once cried "Southampton, Southampton." At which my Lord of Southampton rose up to speak, excusing himself, but they again cried out "The time is almost past, we must humbly beseech your Lordship not to interrupt our proceedings." The

[1] Peckard's edition.

King's messengers agreed they had acted wisely. One of the King's nominees had one ball, and another had two balls (in the ballot), and Southampton had all the rest. He then took the chair, and proceeded to elect the deputy, Mr John Ferrar. The Earl of Southampton had a particular friendship for Sir Edwin Sandys, and said he took the office on one condition, that Sandys should advise and assist him[1].

This meeting had been postponed from the Easter Quarter Court, when the election should have taken place, because the King had then interfered. The Earls of Pembroke and Southampton said that it was a move against the freedom of the Company, and they held a meeting at Southampton House on 29th May to draw up a reply. The great troubles in 1622 also have some light shed on them in various quarters. The Venetian ambassador writes on 15th July, 1622:

When the Virginia Company here met to elect, the King sent a note of some whom he wished to be chosen, but the choice lighted upon men of the party and of the opinions diametrically opposed to those whom his Majesty desired. The Earl of Southampton is now governor, the only one whom the generality of the people resolutely designated, but whom the King regards with suspicion, as a plant higher than the rest, which must be abased[2].

On 16th November, 1622, Chamberlain said to Carleton:

On Wednesday night the Virginia Company had a feast at Merchant Tailors' Hall, whither many of the nobility and Council were invited, but few came. There were three or four hundred at three shillings a head. Dr Donne preached.

He does not say whether Southampton was one of the "few."

He again writes on April 19th, 1623:

There is a great faction fallen out in the Virginia Company. The heads of the one side are the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Cavendish, Sir Edmund Sackville, Sir John Ogle and Sir Edwin Sandys. On the other side are the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Henry Mildmay, Alderman Johnson.

James appointed a Commission.

On Monday they were before the King with their accusations and allegations, when Sackville carried himself so insolently that the King was fain to take him down soundly and roundly. But I hear he made his peace the next day, by means of the Lord Treasurer[3].

The Court party sided with the Earl of Warwick.

[1] Peckard's edition, p. 106. [2] *Venetian Papers*, XVII. 372.
[3] Birch's *James I*, p. 389. C.S.S.P. 1613–80, p. 44. Acts Privy Council, Colonies, pp. 64, 66.

On 13th May, 1623, there was an Order of Privy Council upon complaint of the Earl of Warwick and others,

...who were directed to attend the Commissioners for an examination of grievances and abuse of government, against an impertinent declaration containing bitter invectives and aspersions upon the Earl of Warwick and others, styled his instruments and agents. Lord Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys, Nicholas and John Ferrar, the chief actors in the inditing and penning thereof, to be confined to their houses until further order as guilty of Contempt of the Commands of the Council Table. The Council had asked both sides to set down in writing their charges and complaints, and to go directly to the matter, and make no personal invectives, but these gave a long and impertinent declaration of bitter and unnecessary invectives[1].

Meanwhile a letter had been written by the Governor of Virginia to Southampton[2] on 3rd April, reporting the restoration of twenty of the settlers supposed to have been massacred, chief of whom was "Mrs Boys, apparelled like an Indian Queen."

On 14th May Secretary Calvert wrote to Southampton[3] to forbear to proceed to the election of any new officers until his Majesty's pleasure be further known.

On 22nd May, 1623, came a repetition of a former order of the Privy Council that *all* papers concerning Virginia should be brought in[4].

The Venetian ambassador, with his usual acuteness, reports on 2nd June, 1623:

A great discord has arisen among the merchants of the West India Company trading in Virginia....The origin of the dispute is supposed to be due to the King's arts, either because he hates all assemblies and this one in particular, composed of good Englishmen, foes to the Spaniards and consequently little to the liking of the present government; or possibly from a desire to please the Spaniards who persecute the Company, owing among other things to the dominion which they claim over all the Indies to the exclusion of all others. The dissolution of the Company is feared, and that would be a great blow, both on account of trade and for reasons of State, as the Company has an island called Bermuda, which would be a post well adapted to harass the Plate Fleet with a few ships[5].

Southampton was also at the time writing to Conway about

[1] *Colonial Entry Book*, LXXIX. 205.
[2] *Colonial Corr.* II. 22.
[3] *Ibid.* II. 29; also D.S.S.P. James, CXLIV. 45.
[4] *Colonial Entry Book*, LXXIX. 206.
[5] *Venetian Papers*, XVIII. 28.

the Dutch pirates, prisoners in Cowes Castle, where the Captain objected to keep them any longer at his own expense[1].

On 21st November, 1623[2], the Privy Council asked certain questions of the Company regarding their past government, to be answered before Christmas. They said they could not make perfect answers, because their papers had been confiscated. They had them returned for a time, and by great efforts and division of labour the Ferrars had the answers completed in time, a feat which the Privy Council thought to be impossible. These answers cleared everything, except to prejudiced minds.

Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, and the King had agreed as to the destruction of Virginia. Notice of their intentions was conveyed to the Earl of Southampton by the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Pembroke, and this gave him more care. In Parliament, Sandys and Selden were committed to the Sheriff of London[3]. A tumult arose in Parliament about this on 26th June, 1623, but they told their fellow members it was not for Parliamentary causes.

The Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Pembroke told Southampton that they had heard Gondomar say to the King that it was time to look to the Virginia Courts held at the Ferrars' house, where too many of the nobility and gentry resorted to accompany the popular Lord Southampton and the dangerous Sandys...it would prove but a seminary for a seditious Parliament. The King granted a Commission to their known enemies, who had drawn up a list of scandalous charges; but Nicholas Ferrar's answer, drawn up from their returned books, confuted them all. The Company would not give up their patent, and the Privy Council confined Southampton to his house, so that he could not come to their Courts, and they also confined Sandys; but Nicholas Ferrar answered for all. Some informant said that inflammatory letters and speeches were entered in their Court Books, and next day they were forcibly seized and read before the Privy Council. There was not one word proved wrong. Their enemies then said these were not the books—there were others. One of the Clerks of the Privy Council came that night to Southampton House and said that his deputy had gained a complete victory. But Southampton told the Lords and

[1] D.S.S.P. James, CXLVI. 11.
[2] *Col. Entry Book*, II. 207.
[3] *Lives of the Ferrars*, p. 115.

the Council that their Company would be dissolved. The Earls of Dorset and Devonshire, Lord Danvers, Lord Paget, and Sir Edwin Sandys helped him all they could. New accusations were raised, and Nicholas Ferrar with an army of helpers wrote an answer. They never heard more of the charge. About a year before the final dissolution; on 15th June, 1624, Nicholas Ferrar had become suspicious of the tactics of the Court party, and had the Court Books and Records copied and attested. When their muniments were taken from them, Ferrar carried his copy to Southampton to keep.

The Earl, cordially embracing him, said "You still more and more engage me to love and honour you. I accept of this your present as of a treasure. I shall value it more than the evidences of my property, because this contains the evidences of my honour and my reputation, which are more to me than wealth or life itself. They are also the testimonials of all our upright dealings in the business of the Company and the Plantation. I cannot express how much I feel obliged to you for this instance of your care and foresight."

Southampton was advised not to keep them in his own house. He therefore gave them to Sir M. Killigrew. When he died, they were handed to Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset. The original papers all disappeared. Ferrar's copy is preserved as the greatest treasure of America. Thus James crushed Southampton out of the Colony in the last year of both their lives. But the Spanish marriage failed. The Colony was able to stand alone.

John Ferrar had been introduced by Southampton to Cecil in 1603 and he and his brother had proved faithful friends throughout their lives.

[I had not read until after completing my work Professor Gayley's interesting book, *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America*. The present is not the place to discuss it. This has been well done by Sir A. W. Ward, Master of Peterhouse, in his Shakespearean Address to the British Academy, July, 1919, in eloquent recognition and keen criticism. Mr Gayley points out the influence of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* on Edwin Sandys and Southampton in their political action.]

CHAPTER XXVII

THE FIFTY-SECOND YEAR

THERE was cold weather in the winter of 1622, and "the King was very nearly drowned in the ice at Theobalds" in January[1]. In February there was invited a "benevolence towards the recovery of the Palatinate. It is said those who refuse shall either be sent to Ireland, or as soldiers to the Palatinate."[2] By June the same writer tells us: "The Earl of Southampton is put from his Lieutenancy of the Isle of Wight, and the Lord Arundell placed in his room."[3] This did not, of course, affect Southampton's governorship, which he held for life. The Earl of Southampton wrote to the Council from Titchfield on 5th May, 1522, that he had taken much trouble about the constitution, but neither the sums raised nor the number of recruits was satisfactory[4]. The Privy Council sent an acknowledgement of his efforts, encouraging him to do more, in a letter dated 14th May, 1622 (not entered in the Index).

We have noted above[5] the circumstances of the great massacre of the Virginia settlers this year, and the terror and distress it caused. Dr John Donne, who had always been interested in the Colonies, wrote to Sir Thomas Roe[6] that he had been preaching a sermon on December 1st, 1622, before the King and the Virginia Company. This probably was intended as a memorial service of the event.

In February, 1623, the Prince and Buckingham started on their voyage of incognito courtship to Spain. Full accounts of the events are given by Nichols in his *Royal Progresses*, including the private letters to the King from his Baby Charles and Dog Steenie. The affectionate father missed them sorely, and after a time his patience gave way, and he implored his "sweet boys" to come

[1] *Yonge's Diary.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*
[4] D.S.S.P. James, CXXX. 19, CXXXII. 98.
[5] Stith's *Virginia*; see also *ante*, p. 432.
[6] D.S.S.P. James, CXXXIV. 58.

home and embrace him before he died. He fully expected at first that Prince Charles would bring home his Spanish bride, and gave orders for a great review of the ships appointed to welcome them. He was down at Beaulieu for the review. He saw the ships, but not the bridal party. The Venetian ambassador had likewise seen the ships. He says on 13th June:

The Ships are all at sea in the Downs....In the matter of equipment and every excellence they are incomparably finer than any vessels which plough the seas. The King has told the Earl of Southampton that he shall have the honour of first seeing and receiving the Prince and the Infanta, because of their landing in the County of Southampton. These courteous words have been the more remarked, because the Earl was not always in favour with his Majesty[1].

Southampton's eldest son was now eighteen years of age, and the father was bringing him out. He wrote to Conway from Beaulieu on 14th August, asking for "a pass for his son to go into the Low Countries with Sir Horace Vere, with four servants, and four horses, and that he may take leave of the King."[2]

A little bit of gossip, conveyed by Sir John Ripsley to the Duke of Buckingham on 1st September, 1623, runs:

My Lord of Southampton hath offered his son to marrie with the Lord Treasurer's daughter and tells him this reason, that now is the time he may have need of friends, but it is refused as yet, the event I know not what that will be[3].

Possibly to console his son, he seems to have let him pay a visit to the Queen of Bohemia's Court at the Hague. Francis Wrenham writes to Lady Vere: "My Lord and Lord Wriothesley are lodged together in the Foreholt, near the Court. October 21–31, 1623. The Hague."[4]

The errant Prince came home on the 5th of October, with a new view of affairs. The Venetian envoy soon discovered this. On 15th December, 1623, he wrote:

The Prince has reconciled Buckingham to some gentlemen, and especially with the Lord Chamberlain, with whom he had a quarrel. He is very

[1] *Venetian Papers*, XVIII. 40, 41.
[2] D.S.S.P. James, CI. 104.
[3] *Cabala*, p. 316, B.M. Copy, 595, f. 5.
[4] Portland MS. II 113.

PLATE VIII

THE THIRD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON
(At St John's College, Cambridge)

gracious to the Earl of Southampton, who was out of favour with the King, although even he now regards the Earl with a much more friendly eye. The opinions of the King, the Prince, and Buckingham have been irreconcileable[1].

The Earl of Southampton writes:

To my very assured frend Sir Thomas Roe.

You must not impute it to neglect that I have not written unto you since I saw you. I have been wholy a country man, and seldome seene either the Court or London, and you know that between Tichfield and Constantinople there is no ordinary correspondence. In this life I have found so much quiet and content, that I thinke I should hardly ever brooke any other; sure I am I envy none, and shall unwillingly leave this if any occasion shall draw mee from it. This last terme going to London about some business I mett with a letter from you which I was glad of, because it brought mee the newes of your well-beinge. I stayed there till the weeke before Christmas, when I came home to keep that time with my wife and children. I will write no newes, because of thinges past you cannot want notice, and of any future, which wee can know only by coniecture, there is no certaynty; yet this I will say, I thinke the time is neare wherein we shall see the crysis of our affaires. When I came from London, the opinion was wee should have a Parliament very shortly. I have not yett heard that the day is appointed, but I beleeve it will sone bee. God send the Lower House may be composed of discreet and honest men, else all may bee naught, but I hope the best and persuade myselfe I have reason to doe so. I have no more to say, but that you may bee out of doute that I wish you as well as any of your servantes, and am and will be your very assured friend.

H. SOUTHAMPTON[2].

Tichfield the 24th December (1623).

When this letter is read in the light of after events, it becomes very touching. His last Christmas was spent in peace and in happiness with his wife and children. He had no wish to leave home again; but the occasion did arise which drew him from it. The Parliament he expected was summoned, and he had to obey the call. The Prince and Buckingham had returned from their masquerade in Spain, the latter highly incensed with slights on his own dignity.

James, Lord Wriothesley, was elected member for Winchester on 29th January, 1623–4.

[1] *Venetian Papers*, XVIII. 169.
[2] D.S.S.P. James, CLV. 77.

The Earl of St Albans had written on 31st January, 1623-4:

To the Right Honourable his very good Lordship the Earl of Southampton.

My good Lord.

It pleased your Lordship when we met last, and did not think I dare say that a Parliament would have been so soon, to assure me of your love and favour, and it is true that out of that which I have heard and observed of your noble nature, I have a great affiance in your Lordship, I would be glad to receive my writ this Parliament, that since the root of my dignity is saved to me, it might also bear fruit and that I might not die in dishonour. But it is far from me to desire this, except it may be with the love and consent of the Lords; if their Lordships shall vouchsafe to think me worthy of their company or fit to do them service, or to have suffered sufficiently whereby I may now be, after three years, a subject of their grace, as I was before a subject of their justice. In this matter I hold your Lordship's favour so essential, as if God shall put it into your heart to give me your favour and furtherance, I will apply my industry and other friends to co-operate with your Lordship. Otherwise I shall give over to think of it, and yet can rest

Your Lordship's affectionate and humble servant,

FR. ST ALBANS.

Parliament met on 16th February, 1623-4, but was prorogued until the 19th to hear the King's speech. On Monday, February 23rd, it began its real work. The Prince moved a message to the House of Commons[1] asking for a conference on February the 27th, about the Duke of Buckingham's speech in regard to the King of Spain. Southampton said that Buckingham was quite right in "being full." The meeting agreed.

The Queen of Bohemia wrote to Sir Thomas Roe, from

The Hagh, 1st March the day of good St David 1623—4.

Since my deare brother's return into England, all is changed from being Spanish, in which I assure you that Buckingham doth most nobly and faithfully for me; worthie Southampton is much in favour, and all those that are not Spanish....

Your verie affectionate friend,

ELIZABETH[2].

Southampton was put on various Committees in the new Parliament.

On the 1st of March Southampton proposed the Survey of

[1] Camden, Series, *Lords Journal*. Also *Lords Journal*, III. 237, 258, 293, 1046, 1062.

[2] Sir Thomas Roe's *Negotiations*, p. 222.

Munition and the Stay of Shipping[1]. The Stay of Shipping was agreed to, and he moved the Survey of Munition too, "whereof there is but one magazine, that in the Tower. All other places have but their proportion." He moved that Lord Carew, the Master of Ordnance, should give an account of what was there. The Lord Carew agreed to do this on the morrow. The next day, March 2nd, he spoke evidently in great excitement. We can read between the lines of the dry rare notes taken down, the fervour of the oratory that discussed Spanish proceedings, and the need of a conference with the Lower House. The heads of Southampton's speech are as follows:

What to doe nowe? What at the Conference? The omission to be remedied, such other letters as have been read here and not with the Commons, to be read to them. To let them knowe that, upon relation to both Houses and what since, etc., we are of opinion that the whole proceeding hath been to delude. We find noe grounde by the last to thynke that hereafter they will proceede with more integrity. Therefore of opinion not to rely upon any further treaties, etc. Yf the Lower House agree with us in their opinion, then a conclusion. Then not amisse that a Committee of both Houses may conferr, and set down reasons for the opinion. Yf his Majesty should demand any, they may be ready to satisfy him. A course to be taken to deliver this to the King with all expedition. The haste. Delay dangerous. To-night if possible, that impossible, to-morrow, or as soon as it is possible.

Lord Sheffield, who always supported Southampton, suggested to add that the King cannot hold to the treaty any longer, neither with his honour nor the safety of the state, nor of religion. After this expression of urgency, all needed time to breathe. The King had labelled himself *Rex Pacificus*, and he was being hurried on by the flood tide to war; the Treasury was always empty. There was nothing done next day, except privately. Carew had probably inspected the Tower reserves. On March 4th Southampton announced:

What was moved is now grown to a resolution of both Houses. This the King may appoint: to be delivered to his Majesty, moved that his Majestie will receive it graciously but consider of it, and yt may be will say you know what depends on it.

[1] *Camden* ed. Kennet, II. 656. Tyrwhitt's *Journal House Commons*, Appendix.

Hope of the Palatinate gone, the care of the rest to be recovered by warre, your assistance in yt. Moved yf such an occasion be offered, then those that deliver this advyse may have power to add, that if the (Spaniard?) breakes off the treaty, his Majesty need not doubte but wee wyll be readie with our persons and our estates to be assistant and with the uttmost of, etc.

Then, while things of such great moment were being discussed in private, the Lords found time to proceed with the trial of the Earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer, for defalcations in his office. The Earl of Southampton thought his fault was worse than that of the Lord St Albans, but recommended the House to send a physician to him to see if he were fit to be examined.

Parliament was prorogued on 29th May, 1624. Then began musters of men, collection of money, aids, benevolences, selection of leaders.

The Venetian ambassador writes:

Scotland means also to help the Dutch and sends a regiment. The character of the Colonels has a great effect upon the enlisting, and I gather that the Prince desires the Earl of Southampton himself to have the Colonelship, otherwise he may give it to others. They feel sure that the Drum will be beaten next week. 31st May 1624[1].

On the 7th of June his next report says:

The King has not yet signed the article of the Dutch League. The Spaniards comfort themselves that most of the men will die in the first few weeks....The Spaniards also say that the Kingdom will get rid of three of the greatest enemies they have, the Earls of Oxford, Southampton and Essex. It is certain that where Southampton desired the post for his son, when it was refused, he had to receive it himself[2].

June 21st, 1624. The League with the Dutch has been signed....It is still defensive, but they added that it has for its object the recovery of the Palatinate....Four Colonels nominated[3].

June 28th. The patents of the Colonels signed by the Dutch....They have to decide the claim of precedence between Oxford and Southampton and one hears laments about the dignity of an Earl being so abased....Delay for lack of money.

July 5th. The difference between Oxford and Southampton is not yet arranged, and all men avoid the task of deciding it....The differences between Oxford and Southampton have proved quite mild so far, God grant that the King may not desire to inflame them[4].

[1] *Venetian Papers*, XVIII. 325.
[2] *Ibid.* XVIII. 353.
[3] *Ibid.* XVIII. 374.
[4] *Ibid.* XVIII. 415.

August 14th, 1624. Contrary winds detain them....The dispute between the Earls of Oxford and Southampton has been settled by the King passing sentence in favour of the latter, as the older Soldier, who has already acted as General[1].

These notes give a rough sketch of the situation; but there is a mass of home correspondence at that time. The Lieutenants of the shires were instructed to allow the Colonels to levy forces in other shires than their own—also to raise funds[2]. It is probable that on that occasion the Earl of Southampton compounded with John Hall for the long lease (for 99 years) of the Manor House of Micheldevor, with its great farm and the warren of conies and game there, which was the subject of a long law-suit in the son's time[3].

It is evident that Southampton had set his heart on giving his son a chance in life, and suggested that the four leaders should be the Earls of Oxford and Essex, the Lords Wriothesley and Willoughby. His son was refused on account of inexperience; therefore the father took his place, arranging for his son to accompany him. Then arose the difficulty about precedence.

In June (probably the 13th) Buckingham wrote to Secretary Conway[4], saying that he was too ill to compose the difference between the Earls of Oxford and Southampton, and requesting Conway to do so, before the King or the Prince got to know of it. The Earl of Oxford's reasons are strong. Buckingham urges Conway to be careful lest Southampton's enemies prejudice his Majesty against him. Secretary Conway replied on the 14th[5] that the Earl of Oxford would yield precedence to Southampton as the elder general, if their regiments were "general," but being "divided," he refuses it. Nethersole, on the 25th, adds: "The States' levies are hindered by disputes about providing ammunition. The colonels are displeased that almost all their inferior officers are appointed for them besides this question of precedency."[6]

On July 2nd Secretary Conway reminded the Colonels of the care necessary in providing the soldiers with provisions on the landing, and the inconvenience of being supplied by the States. Money would come through Burlamachi and a Deputy Paymaster.

[1] The treaty was signed on 5th June.
[2] *Loseley Papers.*
[3] *Chancery Proceedings*, Car. I. 17. 24th July.
[4] D.S.S.P. James, CLXVII. 58.
[5] *Ibid.* CLXVII. 59.
[6] *Ibid.* CLXVII. 40.

On the 3rd Sir Francis Nethersole writes that, as the Council of War is accountable to Parliament, they are frugal in their allowance for clothes.

The forms of their proclamations for raising their voluntaries were not considered satisfactory, and they were asked to show them to the King. The Earl of Oxford replied on July 6th:

My Lord Southampton and I received your letter[1] this morning in the garden at Whitehall, where we were attending the Council of Warr, hence delay in sending on proclamation, which contained nothing offensive, as the Infanta's Ambassador pretends. He enclosed his own, which merely invited any gentleman or soldier who wished to serve under him to repair to Captain Signalphus Bell in the Strand[2].

On the same day Southampton wrote a similar reply[3]. He had been attending the Council of War about army clothing; the letter was directed to the *four* Colonels, and he had kept it until he saw the Earl of Oxford, who opened it. He also sends on his form of Proclamation.

On July 11th Southampton wrote to Conway:

Sir, you may remember that you told me yesterday that on Tuesday morning you would bee with the rest of the Council of Warr, and I conceived that at that time the difference between me and the Earl of Oxford should be determined. Now this day, dining where my Lord of Oxford did, hee told mee that he would go to Court tomorrow and not be here on Tuesday, which I thought fitt to let you know. The King and Prince beeinge to goe away this weeke, before which time, if the business bee not settled, wee must skrach for it, which I would bee sory for. I pray you think of it, and take some care that it may not be deferred....

P.S. I spake nothing to my Lord of Oxford of this particular, but told him of other business that wee should that day attend the Council of Warr, which hee desired mee to take care of, for he could not bee there[4].

Nethersole said, on the 13th, that the dispute had been referred by the Council to the Earl Marshal.

Southampton wrote to Conway on the 15th :

I know your care to dispache business is such that you need not a remembrance, yett give me leave to say that I also know that business is many times so delayed, that when I thinke that it is now but two dayes to the beginning of the Progress I must needes desier you to be a little more then

[1] D.S.S.P. James, CLXIX. 21.
[2] *Ibid.* CLXIX. 20.
[3] *Ibid.* CLXIX. 22.
[4] *Ibid.* CLXIX. 36.

ordinarie carefull that this business between my Lord of Oxford and myself may not be left undone. Hee is att Court, and I purpose, God willing, to be there on Thursday morning. If his Majestie please to end it himself I shall be gladdest, if he please to command any other way I shall be content, for I cannot feare the iugement of any rationall man, all that I desier is that it may bee no longer delayed, but ended. Excuse me for being thus troublesome unto you, if it lay in my power to doe you any service you might be bolder withal,

Your assured friend to doe you service,
H. SOUTHAMPTON[1].

The Council of War communicated on the 17th of July to the King:

In humble obedience to your Majesties commandment, we have required the Earles of Oxford and Southampton to be present with us, and to deliver their several pretences for the precedence of their regiments and persons in their marches, quarterings and other militarie duties and accidents. Their Lordships have to declare both their pretences, which, of the Earl of Oxford's part, were the Antiquitie of his Earldom, the dignitie of his Office of Great Chamberlain, his Commission of Admirall at sea, and his being Captain in the Palatinate. The Earle of Southampton's were that he is a peere of the same rancke of honour, questioning not precedence in that point of his person, but yielded it. Hee did challenge precedence as hee had been Generall of the Horse in Ireland, and soe commanding above Colonells. But passages, exceptions and answers that were produced on both sides wee forbeare for your Majesties ease, and humbly lay before you our opinion. That the Earl of Oxford ought of right to have the honour of precedence in Court and in all civil entertainments and passages. And that it is the right of the Earle of Southampton in respect of his former Commands in the Wars, in all the Accons, charges and commands as Colonell, to have the like honor [of pre]cedence, and that according to the customs, Institutions and practyces of Nations and Armes, which we do in all humbleness submit to your Majestie's supreme judgment.

A. GRANDISON.
ARTHUR CHICHESTER.
EDWARD CONWAY.
JH. OGLE[2].

July 17th, 1624.

The King was glad to be saved the trouble of further thinking about this, and agreed with the Lords of the Council of War. Conway sent each of the rivals a copy of their report and the King's declaration, and there was an end of the matter. As soon as he

[1] D.S.S.P. James, CLXX. 1.

[2] *Ibid.* CLXX. 13.

had delivered his claims to the War Council, Southampton wrote to Cambridge. His letter explains itself.

Mr Doctor Gwyn

Having occasion at this time to use a Chapleyne to attend me abrode, and finding much willingness in Mr Lane to undertake that employment, I pray you let me intreate you and ye reste of ye seniors of your house, to further that intention of his, and grant (dayes?) convenient for the voyage as also the profitt of his place during the time of his absence according to ye custome of the House in the like case. I assure myselfe I shall not neede to presse it further writinge to you in his behalfe. I therefore recommand myself to you and reste

Your very loving friend,

H. SOUTHAMPTON[1].

From my house in Holburne, 18th July, 1624.

In answer to this letter, the Master and Seniors granted Mr Lane three years and days of absence if he should continue so long in that employment, "moreover the allowance of his fellowship, as others have had."

Southampton wrote to Conway, thanking him for the Report and Declaration, on the 25th of July:

I shall as punctually observe it as I may, as also what is intimated in the conclusion, as well as I can understand it.

Wee have been this day, I meane my Lord of Oxford, my Lord Willoughby and myself, with the Counsell of Warr, to let them know that, many of our men and much of our bagage being on ship-board in this river of Thames, the Skippers dare not goe forth for fear of the Dunkirkers, who are, they say, very busy in the mouth of the river and have of late rifled many passengers cominge from the Lowe Countries, and taken from them what they had. Their Lordships have appointed some course for the security of the passage, though at the present the wind is full against us, but I assure myself that the whole six thousand men are either landed on the other side, or on the water. I have no more to say, but to acknowledge myself much obliged to you for mayny favours....London. 25th July 1624.

Conway wishes a good passage to Sir Edward Conway Junior[2], and is sorry there should be any cavils about the King's decision for the Earl of Southampton, which was not to give him any command, but only precedence as the eldest Colonel.

[1] *Register Book, St John's Coll.* 201. 78.
[2] D.S.S.P. James, CLXX. 1, 5.

A similar dispute between the Earl of Essex and Lord Willoughby[1] was settled in a similar way. On July 28th Southampton asked Conway[2] for a warrant to Lord Carew to give him arms out of the Tower for his men. Conway replied, asking him not to expect arms out of the Tower, but from the armourers.

A good deal of correspondence had been carried on between him and Conway over the case of the Dutch prisoners in Cowes Castle, charged with being pirates.

At 12 o'clock on Sunday, August 7th, 1624, Southampton wrote to Mr Coke from Holborn:

> I hear my Lord of Oxford and his Lady are gone in the Seven Stars. I will not now trouble the Kings ship, whose pilots are not so well acquainted with the Maese as the Dutchmen, who will, God willing, carry us to Rotterdam[3].

On the same date Thomas Wilbraham[4] was ordered to wait for the Earl of Southampton at the Ship in Gravesend.

The Venetian ambassador to the States now takes up the story.

> On August 26th, 1624. All the 6000 English of the new levies have arrived. ...The four Colonels are here at the Hague. The troops are in good order and very fine[5].
>
> September 2nd[6]. Last Sunday the English Ambassador (Carleton) introduced in the Assembly of the States General the four English Colonels and other Officers, who solemnly took the oath of fealty as provided by the Treaty.

A wonderfully interesting print of the two chief Colonels has been introduced into Mr R. Goulding's *Portraits of the Wriothesleys*. Both Earls are on horseback on a low hill, with the plains in the background, Oxford, with his plump healthy face, nearest the spectator, Southampton with his keen experienced eyes looking towards his rival, a world of pathos in his expression.

A little volume by Gervase Markham (who had been entangled in the Raleigh-Grey case) was written to celebrate the honour and glory of the four Colonels in this adventure. It was not published until after Southampton's death, and hence became more especially identified with his name. It reflects back his glory

[1] D.S.S.P. James, CLXXX. 92.
[2] *Ibid.* CLXX. 73.
[3] *Ibid.* CLXX. 78.
[4] Earl Cowper's MSS. I. 168.
[5] *Venetian Papers*, XVIII. 422.
[6] *Ibid.* XVIII. 429.

upon his ancestors—on Thomas, the founder of the family title and possessions, and upon Henry his son, of whom his contemporaries took little notice.

Honour in his perfection, or a Treatise in Commendation of the vertues and renowned vertuous undertakings of the illustrious and heroycall Princes, Henry Earle of Oxenford, Henry Earle of Southampton, Robert Earl of Essex, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby.

After discoursing on the older house of Oxford, Markham begins:

Next (O Britania) reade unto thy softer nobilitie the Storie of the noble House of Southampton: That shall bring new fier to their blouds, and make of the little sparkes of Honour great flames of Excellency.

He praises the first Earl as a soldier, a scholar, a Justice, a Chancellor. Then he goes on to describe his son Henry as "of no less vertue, prowesse, and wisdom, ever beloved and favoured of his Prince" which seems hardly true to history. Markham, however, chiefly dwells on the magnificence of his attendants. "Hee ever had a world of testimonies about him." Of his son, now living, Markham bids himself beware of flattery:

but shall I that ever loved this Earle; that lived many yeares where I daily saw this Earle; that knew him before the warres, in the warres, and since the warres; shall I that have seene him indure the worst mallice or vengeance that the sea Tempests or Thunder could utter, that have seene him undergo all the extremities of warre, that have seen him serve in person on the enemy, and against the enemy, shall I that have seene him receive the reward of a Souldier (before the face of the enemie) for the best act of a souldier (done upon the Enemie) shall I be scarred with Shadowes? This Earle, spending his younger time in the Studie of good Letters (to which the Universitie of Cambridge is a witnesse), after confirmed that Studie with travel and forraigne observation.

Markham here gives proof, if that were still wanted, that Southampton did not join the 1596 voyage of Essex, since he makes no allusion to it.

He was made Commander of *The Garland*, one of Queen Elizabeth (of famous memory) her best ships, and was Vice-Admiral of the first Squadron. In his first putting out to sea, he saw all the Terrours and evils which the Sea had power to shew to mortalitie, insomuch that the Generall and the whole Fleete (except some few shippes of which this Earle's was one) were

driven back into Plimouth, but this Earle in spight of stormes held out his course, made the Coast of Spaine, and after upon an Advise returned.

Markham here describes the triumphs of the Fleet, as led by Essex against the Islands; then,

it pleased the generall to divide it, and he went himselfe on the one side of Gratiosa, and the Earle of Southampton, with some three more of the Queene's ships and a few small marchant Ships, sailed on the other, when early in a morning by spring of day, this brave *Southampton* lighted upon the King of Spaine's Indian fleete, laden with Treasure, being about four and thirtie saile, and most of them great warlike Gallions; they had all the advantages that sea, winde, number of ships or strength could give them, yet, like a fearfull heard, they fled from the fury of our Earle; who notwithstanding gave them chase with all his canvasse; one he tooke and sunke her, divers he dispierst, which were taken after, and the rest he drave into the Iland of *Tercera*, which was then unassailable. After this he joyned with the Generall again and came to the Island of Saint Michaels, where they took and spoiled the town of Villa Franca, and at Porte Algado made a Charrackt [*sic*] run aground and split herself, after being ready to depart, the enemie taking advantage of our rising, and finding that most of our men were gone aboard and but only the General, Sir Francis Vere, and some few others were left on shore, they came with their utmost power upon them, but were received with so hot an encounter, that many of the Spaniards were put to the sword, and the rest enforced to runne away; and in this skirmish, no man had advantage of safetie, for the number was (on our part) so few, that every man had his hands imployment; and here the Earle of *Southampton*, ere he could dry the sweat from his browes, or put his sword up in the scabard, received from the noble Generall Robert Earle of Essex, the order of Knighthood.

Markham explains that he did not rest on his laurels then, but, as soon as Essex was chosen for the Irish Wars, he tendered his service, and was at once made Lieutenant-General of Horse, and helped Essex much in his work. He was "a principall instrument, and calming all the turmoiles and seditions in Munster reduced that fruitfull and peopled province to their ancient and true obedience."

Was this the end of his progress in the wars?, asks Markham, and answers that the death of Elizabeth gave the succession to the

incomparable King James; he enters not with an Olive branch in his hand, but with a whole Forrest of *Olives* round about him, for he brought not

Peace to this kingdom alone, but almost to all the Christian Kingdomes of Europe.

Southampton was found fit for either peace or war, and King James made him a Councillor.

Now at last, when *Mischiefe* and *Policie* went about by delicate and inchanting poisons not only to stifle our Peace, but to murther and confound all our lovinge neighbours, which guard us; and that *Charitie* herselfe complained how our *Almes* were much too penurious, who is one of the first which rises up to this labour of amendment; but our *Southampton*, he [for] whom the privilege of white haires, the testimonie of his former action, and the necessitie of his employment in the present state, might have pleaded many unrefellable excuses; yet he is the sonne of Honour, and with her he will live and die in all occasions, hence he embarks himself into this present action. Be thou the eies and Conduct to leade to the Restitution of the lost Palatinate, for therein consists my prophesie.

Unfortunately Markham's prophecy was not fulfilled. He gives us a list of the officers who served under Southampton as Colonel: "Sir John Barlacy, Lieut.-Colonel; Sir Jarrot Ashley, Sergeant-Major; Lord Wriothesley, Lord Montjoy, Sir Thomas Middleton, Captains; Henry Barkley, Crumwell, Hibbert, James Jucks, Goring, Coniers."

Southampton never seems to have had any chance there of shewing the value of his experience in a fair field. This point a contemporary might have noted, in the manner of his times, in a sonnet such as the following:

To Henry Earl of Southampton, dead in the Low Countries.

He met a greater foe than Spain.

When thy good Stars met in thy natal hour,
  An evil Planet slipped into their Field
To thwart their purpose, and frustrate thy power
  To make thy labours their full harvest yield.
Yet, from benign aspect, they moved thy soul,
  Made it a treasure-house of vertues rare,
Courage and Wisdom, Truth, and Self-control,
  Clean-handed Rectitude beyond compare.
Lov'd by the nobler spirits of thy time,
  Blest by thy constant, most devoted wife,
Prais'd by thy grateful Poet in his Rhyme,
  Thy Country, all the better for thy Life!
    Call him not *Death* to whom thy spirit yields,
    But *Life*, that heralds thee to fairer fields.

CHAPTER XXVIII

"HENCE THESE TEARS"

THE weather in the Low Countries was trying, and

there had been a great pestilence among the soldiers in Grave Maurice's Camp, and at Bergen op Zoom and other towns adjoining[1].

To this pestilence the brave hearts and high hopes of the two Wriothesleys were sacrificed. As Wilson says:

This winter quarter at Rosendale was also fatal to the Earl of Southampton, and the Lord Wriothesley his son. Being both sick there together of burning feaver, the violence of which distemper wrought most vigourously upon the heat of youth, overcoming the son first, and the drooping father, having overcome the feaver, departed from Rosendale with an intention to bring his son's body into England, but at Bergen op Zoom he died of a Lethargy, in the view and presence of the relator, and were both in one small bark brought to Southampton[2].

(The one died on the 5th, the other on the 10th of November, 1624.)

The last thoughts of this great-hearted, proud-spirited man, religious though he was, must have been bitter. So long as his son lived, there seemed hope for both. When the youth died, his father's exhausted energies braced themselves together to take his body home to his mother. But the effort was too great to last, and he was struck down by what he would feel to be a death of shame. The loving wife and mother, who already was looking out eastward over the sea, dreaming of the speedy and triumphant return of her warriors, had her life darkened by the sight of a small bark with its colours half-mast high.

The death of Southampton and his son, under the tragic circumstances, came as a shock to the whole civilised world.

[1] *Walter Yonge's Diary.*
[2] Arthur Wilson's *History of Britain*, p. 284.

The Bishop of Lincoln wrote at once to the Duke of Buckingham:

Maye it please your Grace. I knowe how fewe arguments I need to use, to persuade your Grace to a worke of Nobleness and Charity. Your fashion hath beene, ever sithence my happiness of dependant upon you, to outrunne and prevent all petitions in this Kynde. Yet, pardon my boldness to be an humble suytor unto your Grace to goe on, as I knowe you have alreadie begunne, in extending your grace and goodness towards the most distressed widow and children of my Lord of Southampton. Your Grace cannot doe any worke of charity more approved of by God, more acceptable unto men, and that shall more recommend the memorye of your nobleness to future posteritye. Sir William Spencer (the only sollicitor the sorrowful widow hath now to imploye) will present some particulars unto your Grace, whom God ever preserve in all health and happiness....
Jo. Lincoln. Southampton House, 7th November 1624[1].

The Countess, in those days of royal wardship, was left guardian of her son. But this seems to be accounted for by the letter of the Queen of Bohemia to the young Earl of Essex, November 15–25, 1624, from the Hague:

You very well conceive that the death of the worthy Earl of Southampton did trouble me, which I cannot think of but with grief. I have lost in him a most true and faithfull frend, both in him and his sonne. I have written to my brother to the same effect as you desire by my Lord Mountjoye and to the Duke of Buckingham, to whom, if I had not written, he might have crossed all. I have entreated my brother to get the wardship of this young Lord for his mother, and if it be possible, he might enjoye his father's pensions. I doubt not but my brother will doe his best for him; for me, I shall ever be readie to doe him all the good I can. I give you manie thankes for your answer concerning your Liftenant Collonel's place. The men are alreadie a-levying, I pray God send them good luck[2].

The Queen of Bohemia wrote also to Sir Thomas Roe:

I am sure you have alreadie heard the infinite losse we have all had of the brave worthie Earle of Southampton and his sonne the Lord Wriothesslie; you know how true a friend I have lost in them both, and may imagine easilie how much my grief is for them.
The Hagh. 27th December 1624[3].

[1] Harl. MS. 7000. *Cabala*, p. 299.
[2] Marquis of Bath's MSS. vol. II. p. 73.
[3] Sir Thomas Roe's *Negotiations*, p. 325.

Sir Thomas Roe replied to this on 24th February, 1624–5, from Constantinople:

It is the last office that a poor man can doe to a greater, to mourne for him. I know not what private loss I have had in the death of the most worthy Earl of Southampton; but I am sure it is an honor to him to have it truely sayd, England and the publique hath the greater loss. Good men are sometymes taken away in mercie to prevent their evill, but God worketh all things to the best; therefore wee must not grudge too much, though my heart bleedeth in sorrow for him; and I feare he dyed of the same death, of a bleeding hart. This remembrance I did owe him, and I could not utter yt in any place so honorable as before your Majestie, who, because I knowe you loved him, you will please to pardon me this unseasonable ryme—

If Death had had more hands, he had strooke all:
His malice only against Virtue rages;
By justice, or by Vice ten thousands fall,
But such a triumph not in many ages;
Thy right the father slew, thy left the sonne,
Whereby they happy are, and wee undonne[1].

The Venetian ambassador at the Hague reports on November 25th:

The Earl of Southampton, a leading English nobleman of the Order of the Garter, who came here in command of a regiment of the last levies, has died after a few days' illness, as well as his son, a youth of 20 years of age. The loss is acutely felt at this Court. 15—25 November 1624[2].

The Venetian envoy in England wrote to the Doge on the 29th:

The Earl of Southampton has died in Holland, one of the Colonels of the English Troops. Thus England has lost one of the bravest and noblest of her Cavaliers, and a garter is vacant[3].

The Countess thought that no one had ever had sorrow such as hers. The Duchess of Richmond, who had also been bereaved, thought her own sorrow greater. The newswriter, Chamberlain, told Carleton about the event on December 18th of that year, and tells the story:

The Duchess of Richmond assembled all her acquaintance to receive them in state....In conversing of Lady Southampton's great grief on the

[1] Marquis of Bath's MSS. vol. II.; for verses see p. 353, cclii. The Queen of Bohemia on 26th July, 1625, wrote to Sir Thomas Roe, then in the East, to thank him for the verses upon the death of the worthy Earl of Southampton, "whose losse I am still sad for." *Negotiations*, p. 397.

[2] S.P. Foreign, Holland.

[3] *Venetian Papers*, VIII. 501.

death of her husband, the Duchess, as an argument that hers was still greater, said "I blasphemed," meaning that hers was greater, a witticism worth inserting in Lord St Albans "Apopthegmis" [*sic*] newly come out, though with little applause. He grows holy towards his end, and has versified some of the Psalms[1].

Sir John Fynett, writing to Carleton on December 24th, 1624, said:

The Countess of Southampton deeply mourns her husband and son, and has been prayed for, at her own request, in divers Churches[2].

There is no record preserved of the expenses of the third Earl's funeral, as there is of his father's. It is probable that a mournful procession of town and county friends would meet and follow the two dead bodies thus returning home to Southampton harbour, and would see them deposited in their chapel with hasty preparations for their lying in state. Mr C. E. Matthews[3] draws attention to the fact that,

on the South Wall of the South Chapel may be seen, suspended over the little monument of the Lady Mary, the helmet made, not for use, but for the Ceremonial of lying in state of nobility.

The Bull crest surmounting the helmet is carried on an iron spike, six inches high, fastened through the cone. It is of carved wood painted black, the crown, horns, eyes, hoofs, and tail having been gilt, as well as the chain. The helmet has a plume-carrier riveted to the back, but the plumes have long since disappeared.

The Officers of Arms charged for the "Helmet of Steale gylt, with a crest carved in wood, 25 shillings."[4] That would serve again restored. Lord Wriothesley, having predeceased his father, never was an earl. But the distinctions would be duly noted in palls and banners and scutcheons.

The family vault received both father and son; but the family monument did not lend itself to the addition of other figures. The Church Register has the entry:

December 1624. The Right Honourable Henry Earle of Southampton, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, was buried the 28th day of this moneth.

[1] D.S.S.P. James, CLXXVI. 65.
[2] *Ibid.* CLXXVI. 12.
[3] *Notes on Titchfield Church*, p. 17.
[4] Bodleian-Ashmol. MS. 836. f. 395 and 427 (at his father's funeral).

The Honourable Lord James Wryoseley, the eldest sonne of the sayd Earle, was buried the same 28th day of this month December 1624.

On his grandfather's tomb were engraved the family arms, derived from and given to the College of Heralds, in a shield of eight quartered. His father had glorified the Wriothesley Arms by impaling the coat of his wife, Mary Browne, with 22 quarterings.

Apparently the third Earl somewhat simplified his coat of arms. His seal, as we have seen, bore only the four falcons and the cross of the Wriothesley Arms.

There are many drafts of the Wriothesley Arms among the MSS. of the British Museum. The most beautiful, as a drawing, is that in Cooke's *Baronage*, MS. 5504, f. 92, 17, with the lion and the chained bull as supporters and the motto: "Ung par tout, tout par ung."

Mr B. W. Greenfield[1] represents his father's tomb and arms, and gives a full description of the church and family.

The third Earl's Arms are emblazoned on the west (oriel) window of St John's College Library, Cambridge.

Baker records these in his *Book of Memorials*[2]:

(Quarterly) 1. Azure a cross or between 4 Falcons close ar.

2. Ar. a fret gu. on a canton of the 2nd a Lion passant or within a border indented sa.

3. Ar. 5 fusils barwise conjoined in pale gu. with a border or bezantée.

4. Per pale indented gu. and az. a Lion ramp. or.

All surrounded by garter.

Crest. A Bull passant Sa. crowned and enguled or, in the nose an Annulet a chain depending therefrom or, reflexed over the back.

Supporters. Dext. a Bull Sa. as in Crest. Sinister a Lion Rampant or langued and armed az. the shoulder fretty or.

The Motto Ung par tout, tout par ung.

The quarterings were those of his grandmother Cheney, his mother Browne, his wife Vernon.

One little irritation, of which Southampton was spared the experience, is noted about this date in the *Diary* of Sir John Oglander:

It was one of the beste thinges for ye Islanders ye selling of ye Kinges landes in fee farme. Itt hath much abated ye greatness of ye Captain, and

[1] *Hants Field Club*, vol. I. p. 65.
[2] *Memorials*, 4th vol. I. 11.

was hindered by ye Earl of Southampton what he could, but he goinge a Colonell in ye Lowe Countries, in his absence it was granted[1].

The Earl of Pembroke[2] had a grant of the Wardenship of the New Forest, but only during the minority of the heir. When the young Earl should come of age, he was to receive it with all the privileges of his late father. (December 30th, 1624.)

The year of 1624 thus closed in gloom for all related to the Wriothesleys. Perhaps it would be wise here to refer to a painful rumour, which certainly was stirring by that time. If it reached the ears of the widowed Countess, it must have much increased her sorrow and distress. It was the rumour that the Earl of Southampton had been poisoned by the machinations of Buckingham. There are other less reputable sources, but the most sweeping charges came direct from Dr Eglisham, one of the King's Scottish physicians, who was specially attached to the Marquis of Hamilton and deeply distressed at his death. He was not afraid to say that Buckingham had prepared a list of those he wished removed, among whom were the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, the Marquis of Hamilton, and Dr Eglisham (the writer). He addressed one petition to King Charles and another to the Houses of Parliament, on the danger of favourites, advising the King to beware, or he would be served as his father had been. He scrupled not to give the reasons for his charges, and only escaped by keeping out of the way. These petitions, sent in after the death of Buckingham, seem to have been printed, and reprinted in 1642. They are now preserved in the *Harleian Miscellany*, II. 69–80.

The forerunner of Revenge; Being two petitions, the one to the King's most excellent Majesty, the other to the moste honourable Houses of Parliament, wherein are expressed divers Actions of the late Earl of Buckingham, especially concerning the Death of King James and the Marquis of Hamilton, supposed by poison. Also may be observed the inconveniences befalling a state, when the noble disposition of the Prince is misled by a favourite. By George Eglisham, Doctor of Physick, and one of the physicians to King James of Happy Memorie for his Majesty's person above ten years space.

He states that the above-mentioned persons had all been poisoned. The charges should be read before being criticised.

Another entry may be recorded, in case there should prove to

[1] *Diary*, p. 22.

[2] D.S.S.P. James, CLXXVII. 45.

be any connection between it and this rumour. Going through the Titchfield Register, I was struck with the words, and puzzled why they should be recorded *there*. In the space for burials, August, 1628, it is stated:

The Lord Duke of Buckingham was slayne at Portsmouth the 23 daie of August being Sattersday, generall of all the fleete by sea and land, whose name was George Villiers, Right Honorable.

One voice at least of mourning for Southampton came from the Court.

Upon the death of the most noble
Lord Henry, Earl of Southampton[1]
1624

My verses are not for the present age:
For what man liues, or breathes on England's stage,
That knew not braue Southampton, in whose sight
Most plac'd their day, and in his absence night?
In what estate shall I him first expresse,
In youth, or age, in ioy, or in distresse?
When he was young, no ornament of youth
Was wanting in him, acting that in truth
Which Cyrus did in shadow, and to men
Appear'd like Peleus' sonne, from Chiron's den;
While through this iland Fame his praise reports,
As best in martiall deedes and courtly sports.
When riper age with winged feete repaires,
Graue care adornes his head with siluer haires;
His valiant feruour was not then decaide,
But ioyn'd with counsell, as a further aide.
Behold his constant and undaunted eye,
In greatest danger when condemn'd to dye,
He scornes th' insulting aduersarie's breath,
And will admit no feare, though neere to Death.
But when our gracious soueraigne had regain'd
This light, with clouds obscur'd, in walls detain'd,
And by his fauour plac'd this starre on high,
Fixt in the garter, England's azure skie;
When he was call'd to sit, by Ioue's command,
Among the demigods, that rule this Land,
No pow'r, no strong perswasion could him draw
From that which he conceiu'd as right and law.

[1] *Poems by Sir John Beaumont.*

When shall we in this realme a father finde
So truly sweet, or husband halfe so kinde?
Thus he enioyde the best contents of life,
Obedient children, and a louing wife.
These were his parts in Peace; but O how farre
This noble soule excell'd it selfe in Warre:
He was directed by a nat'rall vaine,
True honour by this painefull way to gaine.
Let Ireland witnesse, where he first appeares,
And to the sight his warlike ensignes beares.
And thou, O Belgia, wert in hope to see
The trophees of his conquests wrought in thee,
But Death, who durst not meet him in the field,
In priuate by close trech'ry made him yeeld.
I keepe that glory last, which is the best;
The loue of learning, which he oft exprest
By conuersation, and respect to those
Who had a name in artes, in verse or prose:
...Admir'd by all, as all did him admire.

There was at least one other elegy written on the Earl in London, though no copy now survives. Richard Brathwait, in re-dedicating to the Countess of Southampton his *Survey of History*, writes praises of the Earl and adds a note:

A funerall Elegy to his precious memory was long since extant, being annexed to my "Britaines Bath, Anno 1625."

The following tribute is too long to allow more of it to be quoted than the dedication.

A
TREATISE
of
Patience in Tribulation

First Preached before the Right Honourable the Countesse of *Southampton* in her great heavines for the death of her most worthy Husband and Sonne....
By William Iones B.D. and P. of *Arraton* in the Isle of Wight.
...The meanest seruant of the greatest Lord, the glory of his Countrey, and your Ladyships wonderfull ioy and Honour, out of a strange amazement, begins now to looke up....This is my comfort, that such is your noble disposition, that you will not dispise the hearty endeauer of the poorest well-willer of your Honorable Family. It was no small ioy unto me for diuers yeares to come in my course, and stand in presence of that mirrour of Nobility,

that I might heare his wisdome, and behold his gracious conuersation: Many a storme haue I indured both by Sea and Land; but when I saw his face, his gracious countenance dispelled all ill weather, and made mee as resolute to returne the next time as euer. I should willingly haue spent my daies in his seruice; yea, I haue often wished that my life had been sacrificed for his, that your Honour and this Land might haue still enioyed such a compleate ornament and pillar, so wise at home, so valourous abroad....As for your selfe, Madame, who haue mightily rent your heart already with fasting and weeping and bitter lamentation; I pray God to giue you patience and comfort; and in plaine sort, I labour to perswade your Ladyship thereunto in this sermon, which I humbly commend vnto your Honours perusal the rather because you told me it did you good....I beseech your Honour to take to heart the goodness of the Lord towardes you in those that still remain. Your Ladyship hath two louing and most worthy daughters, married to godly, wise, vertuous personages; you have also another hopefull young Lady. And your Honour hath a Sonne who gives great hope that he will tread in his noble Father's steps, and be heire of his Vertues. All these thinges are worthy to be remembered dayly, with praises, which I doubt not but your Ladyship doth....

W. JONES.

The title page has a model of a tomb, with anagrams of the names Henry James Wriothesley—"Here I see many worthies lye." The same block appears on another little volume also edited by W. Jones.

The verses, if not always perfect as poems, shew affectionate appreciation of those who have been so suddenly lost.

THE

TEARES OF THE

Isle of Wight, shed on the Tombe of their most Noble, valorous, and louing Captaine and Gouernour, the right honourable HENRIE, Earle of Southampton: who dyed in the *Netherlands*, *Nouemb* $\frac{10}{20}$ at *Bergen vp Zom*
As also the true Image of his person and Vertues, IAMES, the Lord *Wriothesley*, Knight of the *Bath*, and Baron of *Titchfield*; who dyed Nouemb. $\frac{5}{15}$ at *Rosendaell*. And were both buried in the Sepulcher of their Fathers, at *Tichfield*, on *Innocents* day 1624

They were louely and pleasant in their liues; and in their death they were not diuided. 2 Sam I. 23.

——*Quis talia fando*
Temperet à lachrymis
Honoris, Amoris, Doloris Ergo.

Another piece is too long to give in full, yet it has some good lines. The writer wishes that he and his friends had known earlier, that they might have prayed for their lives.

An Elegie upon the death of Henry Earl of Southampton and his son.

...Methinks it never should be writt, nor read,
Nor ought I tell the world Southampton's dead:
A man above all praise; the richest soile
Of witt or art is but his lustre's foile,
Falls short of what he was, and serv'd alone
To set forth as it can so rich a stone,
Which in itself is richer, of more worth
Than any witt or art can blazon forth
In peace, in warr; in the Country, in the Court;
In favour, in disgrace, earnest and sport....
Great benefits are known and valued most
By their great wants. We never knew to prize
Southampton right until Southampton dyes.
Alas, what have great Henries merited
That they by death should thus be summoned?
Henrie the Great of France; and Henrie then
Of Wales the greater, Cynosure of men;
And now Southampton's Henrie, great in fame,
But greater far in goodness than in name.
You promised more at your departure hence
Than to returne with your deere lives' expence
Defaced and cancelled, you most glorious Starres,
Great ornaments both of our peace and Warres...

AR. PRICE.

An Episode upon the Death of the right noble and Honourable Lord Henry Earle of Southampton, Baron of Titchfield, Knight of the most Honorable Order of the Garter, Captain of the Isle of Wight.

Mors ultima linea rerum: Quis est homo qui vivet at non videbit mortem?

Yee famous Poets of this Southern Isle,
Strain forth the Raptures of your Tragick Muse,
And with your Laureate pens come and compile
The praises due to this great Lord: peruse
His Globe of Worth, and eke his Vertues brave
Like learned *Maroes* at *Mecenas'* grave.
Valour and Wisdom were in thee confin'd
The *Gemini* of thy perfection,
And all the Graces were in thee combin'd,
The rich man's joy, and poores refection.

I can noe more in this lugubrious verse;
Reader, depart and look on Sidney's Herse.

FRA. BEALE, Esq.

W. Pettie writes a sort of sequence of sonnets, not all worthy of note.

Certain touches upon the Life and Death of the Right Honourable Henrie Earl of Southampton, and his true Image, James Lord Wriothesley.

In each right noble well-deserving spirit
To honour vertue, and commend true merit....

Pettie had evidently resided for twelve years in the Isle of Wight as a clergyman,

And sitting there, in sunshine of his glory,
Saw his fair vertues, read his Life's true story....
I must lament and sigh and write and speake,
Lest, while I hold my tongue, my heart should breake.
But, deare Southampton, since deserved praise
Came thronging on thee faster than thy dayes;
Since thy immortal vertues then were seene
(When thy grave head was graye) to be most greene,
We fooles began to hope that thy life's date,
Was not confined to our common fate,
But that thou still should'st keep the world's faire Stage
Acting all parts of goodnesse; that each Age
Succeeding ours, might in thy action see
What vertue (in them dead) did live in Thee!

To the young lord he dedicates several stanzas, and there follows an address "To the Right Honourable Elizabeth Countess of Southampton," ending thus:

Yet may it give your grieved heart some ease
To sail with company in Sorrow's seas;
To think in them you are not tost alone,
But have the Kingdome partner in your moan.
Ung par tout, tout par ung.

Shakespeare did not live Southampton's "epitaph to make"; but his foresight had, before his own death, thus immortalised his friend:

Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
Of Princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme,
But you shall shine more bright in these contents
Than unswept stone, besmeared with sluttish Time.

When wasteful war shall statues overturn
And broils root out the work of masonry,
Nor Mars his sword, nor war's quick fire shall burn
The living record of your memory.
'Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity
Shall you pace forth; your praise shall still find room
Even in the eyes of all posterity,
That wear this world out to the ending doom.
So, till the judgment that yourself arise
You live in this, and dwell in Lovers' eyes[1].

Or I shall live your epitaph to make
Or you survive when I in earth am rotten,
From hence your memory death cannot take
Although in me each part will be forgotten.
Your name from hence immortal life shall have
Though I, once gone, to all the world must die;
The earth can yield me but a common grave
When you entombèd in men's eyes shall lie.
Your monument shall be my gentle verse,
Which eyes not yet created shall o'er read;
And tongues to be, your being shall rehearse
When all the breathers of this world are dead;
You still shall live (such virtue hath my pen)
Where breath most breathes, even in the mouths of men[2].

But were some child of yours alive that time
You should live twice; in it, and in my rhyme[3].

In these self-depreciatory verses Shakespeare has emptied the urn of his prophetic soul to the memory of Southampton. His words have been fulfilled. It is through Shakespeare's introduction that all Shakespeareans turn so eagerly to make the acquaintance of his friend, to peer into the puzzling problems of his life, to read between the lines of his records and in his actions, to find the reason why the greatest poet accorded him this glory of his friendship.

There was no statue or memorial of his life added to the family tomb of his father. Neither his widow nor his son thought this necessary. But they might have engraved on some solid slab, the crowning record:

Here lies the only man of Shakespeare's time
Whom our great poet ever said he loved[4].

[1] *Sonnet* LV. [2] *Sonnet* LXXXI. [3] *Sonnet* XVII. ll. 13–14.
[4] "The Love I dedicate to your Lordship is without end." (Ded. *Rape of Lucrece*.)

CHAPTER XXIX

THE HEIR OF ALL

THE Earl of Southampton left one son (Thomas, born 1607, at Shelford, Cambs.), and three daughters (Penelope, born 1598, who married Sir William, afterwards Lord, Spencer of Wormleighton; Anne, goddaughter to the late Queen, born 1604, who married Robert Wallop; Elizabeth, born probablv 1609, who married Sir Thomas Estcourt). The Earl had not made a will, whether intentionally refraining from doing so, through sad experience of the troubles laid on so many by his father's will, whether postponing it till the majority of his son James, or merely forgetting it, does not seem clear. The Queen of Bohemia's influence seems to have been effectual in securing for his mother the guardianship of the minor, and she was also appointed administratrix of her husband's effects. All that is stated at Somerset House is:

Henry Wriothesley, late Earl of Southampton, deceased 1624. Power to administer his property and goods granted to Elizabeth, Countess of Southampton, Arthur Bromfield of Titchfield, Thomas Wriothesley of Cheltwood co. Bucks, Armiger, 2nd June 1625[1].

On the margin is written: "Winton. Filis 1626 Blasii, 1627."

The warrant to the Escheators went out in due course, on the 3rd of December, 1624[2]. The Inquisition post mortem began on 12th January, 22 James I. It fills three large pages and would have given us much valuable information; but the first and third pages are nearly all illegible, apparently from damp. The second page, which is quite clear, unfortunately contains nothing but the wills of the ancestors. The officials at the Record Office kindly treated the faded ink at the beginning and the end, to help to make it clearer; but all that could be distinguished were the dates given above, and,

[1] *Admor Book*, 1625, No. 169.
[2] Inq. P. M. 22 James I, Hants 404/141.

at the end, the facts that Lord Wriothesley predeceased his father on the 5th November, while Henry, Earl of Southampton, died on the 10th November, 1624. The age of the heir is given as 16 years and 8 months.

The first Dedication to the young Earl had been by W. Jones, one of his father's chaplains; editing *The Teares of the Isle of Wight*, 1624 (quoted in the last chapter), he says:

To The Right Honourable Thomas Earle of Southampton.

All Peace and Happinesse, my very Honourable good Lord. It hath pleased God to make your Lordship heire unto your most noble Father, and therefore I think you have most right to these Teares which were shed for him, and your renowned elder brother. If I did not know by mine own observation that your Lordship was a diligent observer of all your father's vertues (touching which also you have a daily remembrance) I would exhort you to behold the shadow of them delineated here by those which much admired him living, and shall never cease to honour his memory and love those that do any honour unto him. The Lord increase the Honour of your House and rejoyce over you to doe you good, until He have crowned you with immortalitie

Your Lordship's to command,

W. JONES.

We have no information as to King James' feelings concerning the death of his loyal but troublesome subject, the third Earl of Southampton. The King survived him very few months, and his only son reigned in his stead, from March 27th, 1625. Charles found his kingdom in anything but a settled condition, and unfortunately, his eyes being blinded even more than those of his father, he retained in power the prime cause of much of the trouble, Lord Buckingham. Within a few months Charles married the French Princess, Henrietta Maria. The weather was very bad, the plague was spreading, the First Parliament, summoned to consider supplies, proved ungracious, and after a short recess and an adjournment to Oxford, it was dissolved. The Coronation could not be performed under such unpromising conditions. Apparently the uncrowned King and Queen went on a country Progress. It is known that they visited the young Earl at Titchfield, but the full circumstances do not seem to be generally known. The Register of Titchfield records:

August 1625. King Charles and Queen Mary came to Titchfield Place the 20th day of this month, and the Queen stayed there five weeks and three dayes.

Under what circumstances the King left his bride there to the kind care of the widowed Countess, we have no information. But the entries in the Burial Register offer a sombre suggestion.

September 1625. Buried John Burome, servant to the Court, the 24th day.

Henry Tymberlake gent, the great traviller, was buried in the Chancel of Tichefield the 11th day of September 1625.

Jan Melborne, a servant to the Queen's Court, the 25th day.

...John Polter the 26th day, a follower to ye Court.

And then, apparently, the Court moved on. It is probable that the Royal visit delayed the young Earl's preparations for Cambridge.

Lodge says in his *Illustrations of History* that the fourth Earl of Southampton was educated at Eton and at Oxford, and started for his travels abroad from Oxford. I have been unable to find the records concerning his education. But it is quite clear that he studied at Cambridge, at least for a year. He did not matriculate, but records prove that he was in residence at St John's College, Cambridge. In the Michaelmas Term of 1625 he paid for the use of the tennis court. He was certainly over the usual age for undergraduates, and he did not take his degree.

The following letters explain some points about his arrangements:

Sir

After so long speech of my Lord of Southampton's coming to St John's, my Lady his mother is now resolved to send him unto you presently, and to that purpose hath commanded me to send you the enclosed from my Lord Maltravers, entreating your favour for those lodgings for her sonne, and according as her Ladyship heares from you, she is minded immediately to send his stufe, and to have them made ready. To noe place can he come with more affection, either of her Ladyships, or his owne, desiring to succeed his noble father and brother as in other things soe in that kind respect they did both beare unto, and find agayne ever from that worthy society. I shall not neede further to trouble you at this present when I have remembered their loves and my very affectionate service unto you, only I beseech you,

bestow me as near his Lordship as you may, they will take it for a favour and you shall still increase my obligation ever to remayne,

Your Worships ever to be commanded

W. BEESTON.

Horsley[1], September 20, 1625.

To the right worshipfull and my much honoured friend Mr Dr Gwyn Master of St John's College in Cambridge[2].

In this letter of the young Earl's tutor or guardian was enclosed the following:

Good Mr Doctor Gwyn

I understand by my Lady of Southampton that my Lord of Southampton is to goe to Cambridge shortly, and that you make some scruple of letting him have those lodgings which I had at St John's College. I am much bound unto my Lady for her respecte, as likewise unto you for your care, but if I were to come to Cambridge never so soone, as I am yet uncertaine of, I would not by any meanes but that you should let him have those rooms with all possible respect in all other things, for hee is one whome I do much honour, so not doubting but that you will shew yourselfe in this, as you have done in all your former courtesyes, I will ever rest

Your most affectionate frind,

West Horseley[3] HEN. MATRAVERS.

Aug 28th 1625.

The following year the Countess herself wrote:

Mr Doctor Gwyn

The great love and affection that my dearest Lord, now with God, did ever beare unto the honour and good of that worthy Society of yours, and that respecte and honour which hath reflected from you all againe, both towardes himself and his house, doe oblige me also by what meanes I may to endeavour that his name and memory may forever live and be fresh amongst you. And to that purpose, having found that in his life tyme, and of his own noble inclination, he had desined certaine bookes unto the new library of your house, which have bene all this tyme carefully by me preserved

[1] Horsley had been the residence of Katharine, daughter of the first Earl of Southampton, and widow of Sir Thomas Cornwallis. She died in 1625, leaving it to her grandnephew Thomas, who conveyed it in 1629 to Carew Raleigh.

[2] From *The Eagle*, vol. XXXVI. No. 166, March, 1915.

[3] This house was built by the second Sir Anthony Browne for his second wife, Elizabeth, the "fair Geraldine" of Surrey's sonnets. She afterwards married the Earl of Lincoln, but lived much at West Horsley. It came back to her stepson, the third Sir Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, thence to his grandson. I do not know whether he had sold it or not by that time.

entire I hope in number (for Cathalogue is with you and not with mee) and safe from harme. Now soe soone as notice could be taken that the place grew to a readiness to receive them, I have herewithall sent them unto you as a testimony of the good will and affection borne unto the house from hence. For heere I must needes take notice of the great honour and respect done to my sonne at his late being with you, who, as I hope he will therein also imitate his noble father in his love to learning and to you. Soe for present I cannot but, with many thankes for the same, be sensible of the noble usage he found amongst you. And thus wishing upon your studies God's blessing, with much happiness unto you all, I rest your very loveing freind

E. SOUTHAMPTON.

Southampton House in Holburne. August 1626[1].

The College duly replied in the following month:

Madame

This Monument of Love prepared before by our most noble Lord, deceased, and now erected by your kynd hand, we receive from you and embrace with the best acknowledgments that canne proceed from your devoted servants. The guyft designed expresseth the Bounty of an Honourable Donor, and your Ladyshipp, by your manner of accomplishing it, hath added no small lustre to it. Your dextrous speed anticipating our expectation, your care that they should come free to us, without any the least charge, are things that few could have thought of besydes your noble selfe; whereby as you have reared upp as lasting Statue to the memory of your ever-to-be-honoured Lord, so have you withal gyven just occasion that your blessed name maye for ever lyve in us with His. And indeed you have so wrought it that while we enioy your happy lyfe we shall not seeme to have altogether lost him, whom we shall fynd lyving in your gracious affection towards us. Yet further, as if that noble family contended still more to endeere us to them, it pleaseth your Ladyshipp to interpret the small expression of that Love and Duty which we shall ever acknowledge due from us to that House as an Honour and extraordinary Respect done to your Noble sonne living with us. We ingenuously confesse it was some griefe to vs to parte so soone with Him, whose demeanour was so faire and noble amongst us, that our best usage of him came farr shorte of his deservings. But it pleaseth your Goodnes to looke uppon our actions through a multiplying glasse that presents everything to the eye far greater than indeed it is. So while we endeavour to pay some part of the debt we owe through your more than courteous acceptance we shall runne in to further bonds. As if your Ladyshipp had resolved (as was once said of a right noble person) to be rich in nothing but Obligation.

[1] Register of letters in St John's College Treasury, p. 267; printed in *The Eagle*, vol. XXXVI. No. 166, March, 1915, by Mr R. F. Scott, Master of St John's.

Not to be further troublesome to your Honour: Gyve us leave in the name of the whole Socyetye to present our humble Duty and Thanks to your Noble Self and that Honourable family. And so we take leave and rest

Your Ladyshipp's to be commanded

THE PRESIDENT AND SENIORS.

St Johns in Cambridge Sept 18th 1626.

To the most Honourable and vertuous Lady, the Lady Elizabeth Countesse of Southampton.

Among the College Expenses in 1626 is entered: "For entertayning the Countess of Southampton's man, and unloading the bookes 17/6."[1] Elsewhere is noted a gift of money, "given to the Countess of Southampton's man, when he brought the books."[2] The Baker MSS. also note the letters: "My Lord of Southampton was sent to the College by my Lady his mother in 1625, wherein he is said to succeed his father and brother in ye respect they bore the College." Again, her letter of August, 1626, is noted as to her wish to send "the books intended for the college *by her Lord*."[3] The position must not be forgotten, that, though all the books had been delayed in delivery, from causes which may be explained, only some of them seem to have been sent even then. There was a delay in the delivery of the remainder, which remains unaccounted for.

But an event happened which apparently had something to do with it. The fourth Earl seemed to be determined not to lose his chance of foreign travel by delaying, as his father had done, so he went abroad straight from College. He stayed abroad over eight years, during which time he met his first wife, Rachel, daughter of Daniel de Massue, Seigneur de Ruvigny, a French Protestant. He married her in August, 1634, and seems to have brought her almost directly home to England.

Then the whole remainder of the books promised by his father were sent to the College Library at St John's by his mother, as his father's administratrix. She evidently wrote a letter accompanying them, which is not preserved; but the reply from the Master and Seniors has been copied into the College Register.

Madame,

Having received your most noble gifts of Manuscripts which are already imprinted in our hearts, wee desire now to testifie our due thank-

[1] Baker MSS. B.M. vol. xx. p. 247 *a*.

[2] Ex. Lib. Fines, xix. 276 *a*.

[3] Baker, Harl. MS. 7046.

fulnes in this short Manuscript, not as if our hearts did presume to be soe ambitious as to correspond with your bountifull favours. But that in your Bookes wee might learne the Alphabet of your most Honourable disposition to usward we confesse yt your favours have been legible unto us in a faire and grand character of an higher nature, yet in the interim, wee will reade to studie your Bookes, yf wee may deserve the perpetuity of your Favours. And soe humbly presenting our duety and thankes unto your noble self and your Honorable Familie, wee take our leave, desiring to rest, as we are and ever will be

Your most devoted servants

THE MR AND SENIORS[1].

April 1635.

The Baker MSS.[2] show that "There is a letter of thanks to this Thomas Earl of Southampton for ye MSS given by him to the college dated April 1635," and a record, "Thomas Earl of Southampton most of those MSS which it is possessed of, viz MSS. gn. Fol. 85 gn. 4th and 8th MSS. 77. A Catalogue whereof is among the MSS."

There is further entered: "Henricus Wriothesley comes Southamptoniensis Baro de Wriothesley et Titchfield[3], &c...trecentos et Sexaginta libros ad Instruendum Bibliothecam desideratissimis libris impendit." A careful study of William Crashaw's letters of 1615, and a comparison of the number of books and manuscripts there offered with those actually received, can lead only to one conclusion, that the *whole* grant to the library was that of Henry, the third Earl; that by some mistake of the heir (through his father leaving no will) he assumed these to have become his property, and signed his name on them (or allowed others to do so for him), so that he seems to take rank as the chief donor. It is only another example of the third Earl losing the full credit he deserved. The main point, however, was achieved; the Library of St John's College was enriched.

The printed books have naturally become merged into the Common Library, but most of them can be distinguished.

The Earl had a son born at Holborn, but he did not live long[4].

[1] *College Register*, p. 342.

[2] Baker MSS. XIX. 276 *a et seq.*

[3] *E Libro Memoriali in Bibliotheca Reposito*, p. 339, 10. A descriptive Calendar of MSS. by Dr Montague Rhodes James.

[4] Duke of Portland's MS. II. 127.

He had a daughter, Elizabeth, also born at Holborn, but the famous daughter, Rachel, was baptised at Titchfield—"September 19th, 1637, Rachel, daughter to the Right Honourable Thomas Earle of Southampton." Another daughter was born to them, and then the Countess died. "The Lady Rachell, Countis to the Right Honourable Thomas Earle of Southampton was buried the 26th day of February 1639–40."

This must have affected the future career of the Earl considerably. He apparently left his mother in charge at Titchfield of his three infant daughters, Elizabeth, Rachel, and Magdalene[1]. The dowager was not young; she had, on 25th February, 1636–7, permission from Archbishop Laud to eat flesh in Lent, on account of her age and her frequent infirmities[2]. But she seems to have been able to perform her domestic duties and to bring up her grandchildren in the way they should go.

The third Countess was not altogether forgotten in the literary world.

In 1638 Richard Brathwait, having re-written, enlarged, and improved his *Scholar's Medley*, republished it under the new name of *A survey of History, a nursery for Gentry*. He reprints the original dedication to the Earl of Southampton, to which he adds the following dedication to the widowed Countess:

To the right honourable Elizabeth, Dowager Countesse of Southampton, the fruition of her divinest wishes.

From the sacred Ashes of your ever-honour'd Lord, whose Memory lives in the hearts of Men, while his better part shines in the Courts of Heaven, is the Breath and Birth of this Worke derived. At first addressed it was unto him living; and now presented to yourselfe the Vertuous Survivour of Him. Nor can it expect ought lesse from you then a New Life, who so constantly retaines in you the memory of his Love. Jewels are valued by their Lustre; Labours of this nature by the Test and approvement of the Reader. Deagne, Madam, to accept it, for his Sake, who did so highly prize it; So shall your Honour ever oblige him, whose vowed zeale hath really confirm'd him

Your Ladiships in all humble Observance

RI. BRATHWAITE.

This Historical Survey was formerly addressed in this dedicatory Epistle

[1] "Dec. 1643, buried The Lady Maudlin, d. to the Right Honorable Thomas Earl of Southampton, the 7th day."

[2] The original grant is preserved at Welbeck Abbey.

to his Honour, whose living memory shall ever breath to posterity a sweet smelling Odour, And whose unexpiring Fame hath begot a noble emulation in his hopeful successor[1].

At first the Earl of Southampton stood for constitutional rights against the abuse of the Royal Prerogative; he sided with the Earl of Essex in supporting the House of Commons in their demand for redress of grievances, before granting supplies. But when he found that the Parliament was, in his opinion, going too far, he finally and permanently joined the King's party. He thought even a faulty Royalty better for his country than an unstable Republic. Henceforth he takes part with the history-makers of the period.

Southampton's influence was exerted on both sides, always in favour of peace. Both parties respected him, but neither followed his advice. He was appointed one of the King's Bedchamber in 1641, and of the Privy Council on 3rd January, 1641-2.

Whitehall. This day Thomas Earl of Southampton was sworne of his Majesty's most Honorable Privy Counsell, by his Majesties Command, sitting in Counsell, and tooke his place and signed with other of the Lords.

On January 27th of that year Sir John Coke writes: "Hertford, Seymour, Southampton, Falkland and Culpeper are the chief councillors"; and on March 27th, 1642:

The Earl of Southampton is, with leave asked of the Lords' House, gone down to the King at York....Marquis Hertford, Earls Southampton and Newcastle, and the Lord Strange, are to be there installed Knights of the Garter.

In 1642 he became High Steward of the University of Cambridge[2]. On December the 3rd, 1644,

The Commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland were at London, to bring back an answer to the propositions presented to his Majestie for a safe and well-grounded peace[3].

Dugdale enters in his *Diary*: "Dec 13. The Duke of Richmond and ye Earl of Southampton went from Oxford towards London about a treaty....Dec. 25....They returned to Oxford this evening."[4]

[1] Marginal note to the reprint of the first Dedication.
[2] Doyle's *Official Baronage*.
[3] Reg. Privy Council, vol. XVIII. 5th Dec. 1644.
[4] p. 76.

The Parliament seemed determined to pay the King's Envoys every respect. Somerset House was dismantled, at least as a residence, and they bought two gorgeous beds[1], with suitable furniture and plate, for the two noblemen. But the negotiations were not successful. Henceforth followed a series of royal disasters. Southampton was one of the four noblemen who offered themselves to take the place of the King, as they said they had advised him to take the steps he did.

When Charles escaped from Hampton Court in November, 1647[2], he fled to Titchfield to take refuge with the Countess of Southampton, "well knowing her to be a Lady of that Honour and spirit that she was superior to all kinds of temptations." He hoped to stay there until he could get a ship to flee to France; but Colonel Hammond followed him, secured him, and took him to Carisbrooke Castle.

The Dowager Countess was still alive in the following year. We get a glimpse of the family from a letter of Henry Tubbe[3], godson of the third Earl. He had been paying a visit to the fourth Earl at Titchfield, and afterwards wrote to "Thomas Risley," the Steward, about the delights of the country.

> Bee pleased to present my humble service to her whose very age requires a profession of reverence and duty...to my very gracious Lord the Earle of Southampton and his noble consorte, and the young Ladies.

This is the last notice of Elizabeth Vernon; the date of her death is not to be found. One of the young ladies was Rachel, afterwards Lady Russell. The "noble consorte" was Elizabeth Leigh, daughter of Sir Francis Leigh, Lord Dunmore (who became Earl of Chichester in 1644).

On the 28th of September, 1648, the House of Commons fixed the fine of the fourth Earl of Southampton for delinquency at £3466; besides £250 to be annually paid in support of the new ministers, his own clergymen and chaplains being sequestered[4].

Southampton was faithful to the King unto the last, and was

[1] *Expenses Commonwealth.*
[2] Clarendon's *Rebellion*, ed. 1707, III. 59.
[3] *Life of Henry Tubbe*, by Prof. Moore-Smith.
[4] R. W. Goulding, *Wriothesley Portraits*, p. 20.

one of those permitted the last melancholy duty of buryihg his body at Windsor on 8th February, 1649[1].

In 1653 he became Earl of Chichester[2] on the death of his father-in-law, Francis Leigh, Earl of Chichester, by a special clause in the grant.

Southampton instituted proceedings in Chancery on 14th June, 1654[3], in the name of his wife Elizabeth, and his daughters the Ladies Awdry, Elizabeth, and Penelope, for certain money which Lord Dunmore had left them chargeable on his lands. The Lady Penelope died in the following year and was buried at Titchfield on the 8th of May, 1655.

The Lady Awdrey was about to be married to Lord Joscelyn Percy, son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, but she died. The Titchfield Register has it: "October, 1660. The Lady Ordery dyed at London ye 12th of this moneth, and was buried ye 17 day of the same in Titchfield." On December 23rd, 1662, her intended bridegroom married her younger sister, Elizabeth.

On the Restoration, the Earl of Southampton was welcomed at Court, and was made Lord High Treasurer. He did not approve of some of the ways at Court. He lived a noble life, and died with clean hands and a pure heart, dividing his property among his three daughters.

"On June 18th, 1667, there was buried Thomas Rayothisthley [*sic*] Earl of Southampton High Treasurer of England to Charles the 2nd," in Titchfield Church.

Clarendon, Evelyn, Pepys, and many others record his virtues in prose and poetry.

"When the family Tomb was repaired in 1904, under the direction of Louis Ambler, Esq, F.R.I.B.A., it was found that a very large proportion of present Peers, including seventeen Dukes, were descended from these Earls."[4] It must be a pleasant thought to all of these to know that they inherit Shakespeare's blessing. The Duke of Portland and Lord Beaulieu are the heads of the two branches of direct descendants now.

[1] Clarendon's *Rebellion*, 1707, II. 152–3 and III. 201.
[2] Goulding's *Wriothesley Portraits*, p. 22.
[3] Chanc. Proc. Reynardson's Division 238/218.
[4] *Notes on Titchfield Church*, Rev. C. E. Matthews, p. 9.

ADDENDA

I. THE PATERNAL ANCESTORS

THE family profession of the Wriothesleys was a highly coloured one, that of official heraldry, the language by which was expressed the pomp and power of kings and their retinue.

John Wroth, Writh, or Wrythe, as he was generally called, was Faucon Herald to Henry VI, became Norroy King of Arms, and then Garter King of Arms, the third holder of that office. He was knighted, to increase his dignity, and as he had no arms he formed a Coat of Azure, a Cross *or* between four falcons *ar.*, in remembrance of his having been Faucon Herald. He was at the head of the College of Heralds when it was incorporated, and on that account the College borrowed his arms, varying them only in colours. He had two sons, William, who became York Herald, and Thomas, who began as Wallingford Poursuivant. This younger son was the more capable of the two, or, at least, the better appreciated, and on the death of his father, on 26th January 1504–5, he was immediately promoted to his office over the heads of several expectant suitors. Thomas was knighted at Nuremberg by the Archduke of Austria, when he was sent to carry that prince the order of the Garter. His last public work was to superintend the gorgeous ceremonial of the coronation of Anne Boleyn.

Sir Thomas was a great collector of heraldic antiquities, and was the first to vary his name to Wriothesley, believing he had found a precedent for it, in which change he was followed by his brother William and his descendants. His fourth son, Charles, was created Rouge-Croix Poursuivant, and became Windsor Herald in 1534, the year his father died. He was the anonymous author of that careful contemporary history since called *Wriothesley's Chronicle*. Camden was his special friend, in whose house he dwelt and died.

If Thomas, the first *Wriothesley*, had somewhat outshone his elder brother William, their relative positions were reversed by their descendants. The eldest son of William was Thomas, the first Wriothesley to raise himself to the peerage. From the first he was ambitious, aiming at levels above the Herald's office. Providence had been kind to him in the matter of brains. He was born in Garter Court in the Barbican on December 21st, 1505, one of a large family. His mother Agnes was the daughter of James Drayton of London, whose notes of his own and his grandchildren's birthdays[1] have been preserved. We have no knowledge of his early training, and would not have known of his college life but for Leland, who says he was at Cambridge, where, however, he did not take a degree. Ascham's letter to him in later years in the name of the University gives him an academical status not revealed by its books. His name first appears in court records as "servant" or

[1] B.M.Add. Charters 16,194.

clerk of Sir Edmund Peckham, Cofferer of the Household in 1529. Wriothesley must have done something acceptable in high quarters, because he was appointed Clerk of the Signet in 1530. Then he mysteriously went abroad on some secret service for Cromwell, probably about the divorce. It is not clear when he entered the service of Cromwell, who acknowledged him as "kinsman"—many students have been misled in dates by Brewer in his *Calendar* having frequently referred to the endorsements of his letters as if they were of the same date as the document itself. He began to build himself a house at Micheldever in 1534, on his return from abroad. He must have been married by that time. His wife was Jane, daughter and co-heir of William Cheney, of Chesham Bois, and sister to Sir Edmund Peckham's wife. This marriage certainly helped him much in his early career. It becomes interesting to us in two ways that he should have become brother-in-law of Sir Edmund Peckham. His nephew George married Susan Webbe, sole daughter of Henry Webbe (a servant of Queen Katharine), who had the grant of the Holywell Priory buildings, on which Burbage's Theatre afterwards stood.

This George was the man who helped Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his schemes, and took over from Sir Philip Sidney 30,000 acres of the great stretches he had been granted, in lands "yet to be discovered." He afterwards sank mto great poverty, entreating Burleigh to lend him some of the houses of the young Earl of Southampton, Burleigh's ward, and "my near kinsman." It is not clear whether he was allowed a residence. Later, we find him in difficulty to keep out of prison for debt, and begging cast-clothes from Robert, Earl of Essex, to keep him warm[1].

The career of Thomas Wriothesley is a part of public history and is too well known to need repetition here—how, thanks to his careful and methodical ways, he was able to do the work that Cromwell had left, and to step into his shoes; how, bigoted Catholic as he was, he became the greedy grasper of the Catholic monasteries as they fell; how, by his slavish obedience to the king, he became an evil influence in relation to all the wives of Henry VIII, Katharine Parr only saving herself through her acuteness; how he rose from dignity to dignity, became Lord Chancellor, Lord Wriothesley of Titchfield, and was left one of Henry VIII's executors and one of the guardians of the young king. Then, when those left in power used it to aggrandise each other, he became the Earl of Southampton, for which there was some reason, as he was Constable of the Castle, and the town lay near Titchfield, where he had made his chief dwelling place out of the ruined abbey. Thereafter the other Councillors resolved to get rid of Wriothesley, and found information of his having allowed the Great Seal to be used by deputy. So he was removed from that high and lucrative office. Shortly after, fearing greater indignities, he died in his Holborn house (formerly called the Bishop of Lincoln's House, then Warwick House, afterwards Southampton House) and was buried in the Church of St Andrew, Holborn, in 1550. He had had three sons, two of

[1] This story is incorporated in full in my *Burbage, and Shakespeare's Stage*, pp. 166, 211, but it is mentioned here, as it is not generally known.

whom had died early; the third had been greatly honoured at his christening —his godfathers were King Henry VIII and his brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, his godmother, the Princess Mary.

The first Earl's widow, Jane, was a prudent woman, and managed the liberal jointures left her by her husband well. She was a very strict Catholic, and thereby paved the way for her son's misfortunes during Elizabeth's reign.

Most writers give very severe and inimical notices of Thomas, first Earl of Southampton, many of them well-founded. But he had some friends, and some virtues. He was a faithful and devoted husband, and was very kind to all his poorer relatives. He seems to have been honest in public affairs; no word has ever been breathed against him on that score. He was in the habit of saying "He who sells justice sells the King." Lloyd in his *Worthies* speaks highly of him, and Leland has some remarkable characteristics to note, among his "Encomia," which no one has seemed to notice[1]. He says that Wriothesley was a favourite of Apollo, and an actor of the highest order in the Cambridge University plays. "Your beauty so shone upon your brow, your head of golden hair so glistened, the light of your keen mind was so effulgent, and your winning virtue so adorned you, that, one amongst many, you were seen to be a pattern for all."

II. THE MATERNAL ANCESTORS

THE maternal ancestors of the third Earl of Southampton were more interesting than were his father's. They were, like the Wriothesleys, associated with the pomp and power of kings, but in a more active sphere, necessitating physical strength, personal bravery, and military skill. Three successive Sir Anthony Brownes were "Chief Royal Standard Bearer of England," though each of them also signalised himself in other official duties. Lilly's *Pedigree of Nobility* mentions an Anthony Browne in the reign of Richard II. He had two sons; the younger, Sir Stephen, became Lord Mayor of London in 1439; the elder, Sir Robert, had a son, Sir Thomas, Treasurer to Henry VI. He married Ellen, or Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Fitzalan, brother of John Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. They had a large family; their eldest son, Sir George, carried on the line known as the Brownes of Betchworth Castle. Our Sir Anthony was not the eldest, as many writers state, but the third son, who founded a line for himself, more distinguished than any other of the branches. He was knighted at the battle of Stoke-upon-Trent in 1487[2], and became Esquire of the Body to Henry VII, and his Royal Standard-Bearer. That frugal monarch was not very liberal to his servants, but Browne had lands in Kent, Surrey, and other counties. His chief important office was the Lieutenancy and Constableship of Calais Castle[3].

[1] Vol. v. p. 159, Hearne's edition Leland's *Collectanea*.

[2] Metcalfe's *Book of Knights*.

[3] Dugdale's *Baronage*, II. 292. Arms, 1 and 4, 3 Lions passant in bend between two cotises Argent; 2 and 3 Arundel, a mullet for difference, over all a crescent for difference. Crest, out of a mound vert, 7 sprigs of Foxgloves Proper.

I have found no clue to the name of his first wife. She left one daughter, who married and had a daughter. It was through his second marriage, however, that the fortunes of the family must be traced, and therefore we must follow the pedigree of his second wife. Sir John Neville was third son of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and the Lady Alice Montacute. His eldest brother was Richard, the great Earl of Warwick, called the King-maker, whose daughter Isabella married George, Duke of Clarence, and was the mother of the famous Countess of Salisbury (executed by Henry VIII). His other daughter, Anne, was married first to Prince Edward, afterwards to Richard III. Mr George Wright says that the Nevilles had descended by various lines from Edward I and III and John of Gaunt. John Neville was summoned to Parliament on 23rd May, 1 Ed. IV, as Lord Montague or Montacute, made Marquis of Montague in 1470, and was slain at the Battle of Barnet, 1471. This John had married Isabella Ingoldesthorpe, a great heiress, and though his son George was degraded and died unmarried, his five daughters became his co-heirs[1]. The eldest daughter, Anne, married Sir William Stonor; Elizabeth married Lord Scrope of Upsal and Masham; Margaret, Sir John Mortimer; Lucy, Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam of Aldwark, Yorkshire; Isabel, William Huddleston. I fortunately discovered the full facts of their relationship from a lawsuit in which they were concerned on July 14th, 1492. By the following year Lord Scrope had died, and the other brothers-in-law were put on a commission to settle his estate on April 28th, 1493.

Lucy Neville had several sons by her husband Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam, who made his will on 27th April, 1497[2]. Hunter in his volume on South Yorkshire describes the Fitzwilliams' tomb at Tickhill, but, by the misreading of a decayed epitaph, says he died on 29th May, 1495, which was the date of the death of the Lady Elizabeth, his mother. The will of Thomas was proved by his widow, Lucy, on 6th June, 1498. He mentions his heir, Thomas, but does not allude to two younger surviving sons, John, and William, who became the most distinguished of all. His daughter Elizabeth married Sir Nicholas Harvey, and his daughter Margaret married Sir William Gascoigne. Thomas, the son of Thomas, died at Flodden, leaving two sons, who died early, and two daughters, each of whom married a Foljambe (brothers).

All this may seem to be irrelevant to the story of the second Sir Anthony Browne, but it is because these facts have not been studied carefully that so many errors have been made in the accounts of his life.

Lucy Neville, Lady Fitzwilliam, the fourth daughter of John Neville, after her husband's death went southwards, some time between April 1497 and June 1498, to the Court, with her youngest son, William, still under ten years of age. She seems to have been married again very speedily, this time to Sir Anthony Browne the first. It was probably through his influence at Court that his stepson, the young William Fitzwilliam, was chosen to be brought up with Prince Henry. Not long afterwards a son, Anthony, was

[1] Calendar Pat. Hen. VII, 1484–1494, 28 mem., July 1492.
[2] Surtees Soc. Pub. XLV. 247.

born to Sir Anthony, and two daughters—Elizabeth, who married Henry Somerset, Lord Herbert and Earl of Worcester[1], and Lucy, married first to John Cutts, son of Sir John Cutts (Under-Treasurer of England), and second to Sir Thomas Clifford, brother of Henry, first Earl of Cumberland. Sir Anthony made his will at Calais on 25th September, 1505[2], leaving his body to be buried there beside his first wife in the Church of St Nicholas. All his lands in England he left to his wife Lucy, after her death to his son Anthony, failing him to his daughter Anne. He does not mention his two younger daughters. Lady Lucy was made sole executrix, overseers Sir Edward Poynings, Hugh Conway, and the Lord Prior of Canterbury. The will was proved on 19th November, 1506.

Blore gives the date of Anthony's birth as 1500; St John Hope adds June 9th, though without giving his authority. He was but young when he succeeded to his father. His step-brother, William Fitzwilliam, comforted his mother in her second widowhood and devoted himself to her children with almost paternal affection. For their sake he forgot the Fitzwilliams, his brothers by the full blood. He was appointed cupbearer to Henry VIII on his accession in 1509, and later became squire of the body. Henry's first attempt at warfare in 1512 was to help his father-in-law, Lord Ferdinand of Castille and Leon, to invade France. Ferdinand was to advance from the south, Henry from the north, while a large part of the English army was to go through Spain to Guienne to meet Ferdinand. But the Spaniard proved unfaithful. Ferdinand was absorbed in fighting Arragon to possess it himself; there were no contingents prepared to meet the English, no provision of good shelter or tents; famine, pestilence, disorder, desertion prevailed, and the English fled to their ships and came home against orders. Henry was discredited through Europe, and his nobles wanted to fight Ferdinand. Among those appointed to serve the king Fitzwilliam was "in the Vanguard"; he was evidently one who obeyed orders, marched into France and did not run away. Among the payments of expenses appears one "To William Fitzwilliam, riding into Spain to seek again soldiers that were departed from the army, £18. 15." In the following year Henry made up his mind to wipe out the disgrace, and put out a great fleet, in which Fitzwilliam appears as Vice-Admiral in the *Mary Rose*. Henry left Calais on 21st July, 1513, marching inland. The weather was detestable, but the army was brave. Fitzwilliam is recorded as in the vanguard, with his retinue of the King's guard. The King took Terouenne on 22nd August and Tournay on 21st September, and among the knights he made in the Church next day was William Fitzwilliam. Thereafter the young knight rose from glory to glory with rapid steps. Henry, resenting his father-in-law's treachery, agreed to marry his sister Mary to Louis of France. Though her husband lived only 80 days after her marriage, it served the occasion.

One little peep into the life of Lady Lucy Browne is given by the will of

[1] Lady Scrope's will, *Testamenta Vetusta* 687 and Surtees Soc. CXVI. 129. *Testa Ebor.* V.

[2] P.C.C. 15. Adeane.

her sister Elizabeth, Lady Scrope, 7th March, 1518. She leaves her sister, Lady Lucy Browne, "a Primer and a Psalter which I had from King Henry Seventh's mother," and she leaves her niece, Lucy Browne, certain property, "if she goes on with the match she had arranged for the girl with John Cutts." (She did marry, and had a son of the same name as his father, not entered in the pedigrees.) "The Treaty of Universal Peace" of 2nd October, 1518, was signed, amongst others, by Sir David Owen and Sir William Fitzwilliam. By this time his influence had helped his step-brother at Court, and young Anthony was among the gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber. He and Percival Hart were sent over to France in the train of Sir Thomas Boleyn, ambassador. The next news about them is "Browne and Hart have been at variance, the latter is sore hurt on the head, and not likely to be whole before Easter." Sent for to return home, they went to take leave of the young French king, who enrolled them of his chamber with a salary of 200 crowns a year and a year's salary in advance, their place to be kept open whenever they require it. Boleyn said: "Browne is much esteemed here." This probably induced Henry VIII to pay him more attention. "Henry loved a fine man," and the Brownes were all fine men, this second Anthony especially. He shared in all Henry's maskings and tournaments. He and his step-brother, Fitzwilliam, were among the challengers on the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, and won honour all round. Fitzwilliam was appointed Ambassador as well as "Vice-Admiral," and was favoured by Wolsey, who wrote: "very glad am I to see the towardness of this young man." Thomas, Earl of Surrey, admiral, and Fitzwilliam, vice-admiral, were appointed to attend on the Emperor from Gravelines to Dover, and thence from Southampton to Biscay. Young Anthony Browne was allowed to go with them, and was knighted at the siege of Morlaix in Brittany for his "hardiness and noble courage." Fitzwilliam was thereafter made Governor of Guisnes in France, and at home the king became more and more attached to the Esquire of his Chamber, Anthony Browne, whom he trusted all his life. In 1525–6 he married Alice, daughter of Sir John Gage, K.G., Treasurer of the Household, and he was appointed Lieutenant of the Isle of Man during the minority of Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby. He and his step-brother were put on many commissions together, and were made Bailiffs in Windsor Forest and other forests. Fitzwilliam was asked to become Treasurer of the Chamber, as Sir John Gage, his predecessor, had been made Lieutenant of the Tower. Hardly had he accepted the post than he was hurried off as ambassador to Francis, when the latter was in trouble about the loss of his children. Sir Anthony Browne was also sent over with the envoys to help to make a firmer alliance with the French king. Browne was much distinguished by Francis, who always took him out with him when he went to mask and dance. Francis sent over the order of St Michael to Henry, and Henry sent over the order of the Garter, with a beautifully bound copy of the statutes[1], by a group of noblemen with whom Sir Anthony Browne was associated. The latter was the story-teller of the party and describes how the king received it. Afterwards Francis sent a

[1] 1527. B.M. now in MS. Room. Add. MS. 5712.

formal letter of thanks, printed in Rymer's *Foedera*, XIV. 232. There is a letter of Sir Thomas Heneage (a cousin of Fitzwilliam's), to Wolsey in March 1527–8, explaining how he could not oblige Wolsey "because Mr Carre and Mr Browne are away, and there is none here to keep the King's bedchamber but Norris and me." A great attack of the sweating sickness prevailed that spring, not often fatal—"40,000 have taken it in London, but only 2000 have died. Sir William Fitzwilliam and Sir Anthony Browne have had it. The King sits alone, so does Wolsey."[1] In October of that year Sir Anthony was made Standard-Bearer.

Sir David Owen had married Mary, heiress of the De Bohuns, and with her had received the Castle of Cowdray. She died, and her son, Sir Henry, sold the property to Sir William Fitzwilliam in 1529, though his father, Sir David, kept it by the courtesy of England till his death in 1535. Sir William had leave to impark 600 acres in Easeborne and Midhurst, to enlarge Cowdray Park, and he began to restore or rebuild the castle with exquisite taste. By that time Henry had plunged into his divorce troubles, and the Pope had refused permission. Sir Anthony Browne was put in charge of the French ambassador, to make things pleasant for him, and Fitzwilliam was sent over with the Duke of Suffolk to counsel the French king. "Fitzwilliam is a noble person of great valour, skilled in the arts of war," said the French ambassador. "The matters are weighty and Fitzwilliam undertook to carry the decisions by word of mouth." Eventually Henry sacrificed his great minister Wolsey to have his own way. After that the two brothers were constantly engaged together in the king's service, and various offices were granted them in survivorship. In 1534 they mourned together on the death of their mother, the Lady Lucy. By her will she asked to be buried in Bisham Abbey, beside her father and mother. One husband had been buried in Yorkshire and the other in Calais. She mentions her daughter Elizabeth, Countess of Worcester, her niece Lady Gascoigne, and her niece Huddleston, but she left all her own property to her sons, William Fitzwilliam and Anthony Browne. So the latter would then receive all his father's lands and the half of his mother's. Shortly after, Fitzwilliam was sent over on another embassy to France, on "the King's Cases," and he thanks Lord Lisle for some "antique pictures," which probably were placed among those that adorned the famous Cowdray picture gallery.

The visitation of the monasteries had begun early in 1535 with the Cistercians. By August Fitzwilliam was at Guildford with instructions to the Justices of the Peace to seize the smaller religious houses, leaving Cromwell to deal with St Mary Overies and the London houses. He went over to repair the fortifications at Calais and returned home to Cowdray by October. By that time Waverley Abbey had been seized, and Chertsey Abbey condemned. The dawn of the stormy year of 1536 was marked by the death of Katharine of Arragon. That incident made life easier for a time, to the Pope, to the Emperor, and to Henry, as Head of the Church in England. It made the steps easier from investigation to suppression, thence to spoliation. Henry had

[1] *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII*, IV. pt 2, 4440.

wasted his father's treasures through reckless extravagance and was determined to fill his coffers somehow. He sent to the monasteries Visitors who maligned them; he sent orators to the people to tell them how much the king was horrified with the revelations. He said he meant to take their property, so that there never need be taxes any more. A subservient Parliament passed his Bill for the lesser monasteries in February 1535–6. In May came the tragedy of Queen Anne, and her death changed the prospects of the succession. Sir Anthony Browne nearly fell into serious trouble with the king by talking about the Lady Mary's chance, but a humble apology for his boldness made his peace. The story of Mary's brave struggles to defend her mother's honour is a matter of history. Among the July "grants" were Fitzwilliam's of the Abbey of St Mary of Waverley and the Priory of Easeborne and many lands attached (not for nothing—the king always had large purchase money). Fitzwilliam settled all his property on himself and his wife for life, with remainder to his brother, Sir Anthony Browne, and his heirs male. He was made Lord Admiral, and his brother was on a Commission of "scwering" in Byfleet, Surrey, when news was brought that the northern men were up. They disapproved of their king's proceedings, they believed it was only evil counsellors that moved him, they wanted to see him, to confer with him. Thus they called themselves "Pilgrims," not rebels; their errand was the "Pilgrimage of Grace" and their banner bore the five wounds of Christ. It began in Lincolnshire, but Yorkshire and the north soon rose. Henry summoned his nobles round him; Fitzwilliam was torn from his vacation at Cowdray, Sir Anthony from his "scwering" in Surrey, Norfolk and Exeter were ordered to join Shrewsbury with 8000 men, Browne was to take 2000 men and munitions to Suffolk. Letter after letter, correcting, and sometimes contradicting, each other, were sent out in all directions, chiefly in Thomas Wriothesley's hand: lack of horses, of ammunition, of men, bad roads, bad weather, no provisions, and the insurgents increasing with their opposition! There is no doubt the Court was afraid, and with reason. In nearly every despatch the two brothers are mentioned. Others, because of their rank, might be nominal heads, but it was they who conceived plans, brought strength, inspired courage among their own men and trust in their promises, even by the rebels. The Lincolnshire rising was earliest calmed. A literary question arises in this connexion as to the date of *The Pilgrim's Tale*, said to have been written by Chaucer, but referring to "our Cobler the dawe," meaning the leader of the pilgrims, Nicholas Melton, called Captain Cobler. This poem becomes doubly interesting as it is printed along with *The Courte of Venus*, the story of which I worked out in my *Shakespeare's Industry*, page 310.

The northern section was more numerous, and more determined, having outlets of escape through Scotland. Anthony Browne tried to persuade them to peace. Norfolk promised to carry their complaints to the king, but the king reproached his generals for leniency; some insurgents were taken and severe examples were made. The country was well nigh quieted by the end of 1536. Sir Anthony was engaged in putting the defence of the borders on a firmer basis before he was allowed to rest, though he does not seem to have

been noted when the king began to rain his rewards upon the successful leaders in the following year. He must, however, have felt some reflected glory when his brother, still Treasurer and Admiral, was created the Earl of Southampton. They were both at the christening of Prince Edward, both at the funeral of Queen Jane. The new Countess of Southampton and the Lady Browne were among the mourners, and memorials of the queen were granted them. At the end of 1537, a grant of thirty manors in Sussex came to Sir Anthony. His father-in-law, Sir John Gage, and his step-brother, both on the Commission for the suppression of monasteries, had been keeping their eyes open for him, and they found the right thing in Battle Abbey, with the church, sixteen Sussex manors belonging to it, and Romney Marsh in Kent. The patent was signed by the Earl of Southampton at Cowdray on 7th August, 1538. Sir Anthony at once began to alter the abbey, meaning to fit it for residence in three months, with his new ideas of art and comfort. But he was not allowed to superintend the work himself. He was sent by the king on a curiously compounded embassy, to offer marriage to the Dowager Duchess of Milan, and his daughter Mary to Don Luis of Portugal. Browne was sent with Bishop Bonner to Francis. The bishop said of his coadjutor: "I cannot sufficiently commend his dexterity and discretion. He is a great treasure." Meanwhile Wriothesley was sent with Vaughan to the Governor of the Low Countries, who was acting as guardian for the lady. They reported the Dowager Duchess very good looking, but she did not accept Henry's offer, and Henry blamed Browne for not managing better. Nevertheless when Master Carew was sent to the Tower on the 31st of December for supposed treason, his office of Master of the Horse was granted to Anthony Browne. The salary was only £40, but the office was a plum reserved for favourites. Then came Cromwell's plan for a diplomatic marriage with Anne of Clèves. After his humiliation by the Archduchess, Henry was soothed by the willingness of the Lady of Clèves. Holbein flattered Anne in his portrait of her, arrangements were rapid, and Henry sent over Sir Anthony Browne as his representative formally to marry Anne of Clèves by proxy. His portrait in his gorgeous special dress was painted for the occasion and hung in Cowdray till its destruction by fire. His wife, Lady Alice, had to go with him as lady-in-waiting for the bride. Sir Anthony's stout heart failed him when he saw the bride elect. So did Henry's. Cromwell persuaded him that he could not go back then, and they were married on 6th January 1539–40. On March 31st of that year Sir Anthony had his greatest sorrow in the death of his wife Alice, who left a large family of seven sons and three daughters.

Lady Gage seems to have gone to take the care of her motherless grandchildren. On April 23rd, 1540, Sir Anthony was created Knight of the Garter. But a storm was brewing. Henry was dissatisfied with his new wife and was wrathful with every one concerned—he must have a victim, and Cromwell was sacrificed on 28th July. The Earl of Southampton resigned his office as Admiral and became Lord Privy Seal. Sir Anthony Browne was fortunate enough to have to propose that the Earl of Surrey should receive the honour of the Garter, and he was duly elected on 23rd April, 1541. It is

not clear whether they were rivals for the love of the "fair Geraldine" just at this time or not. Then came the scandal of the fair young Queen Katharine, whom Henry had chosen for himself. "The King has gone mad about this affair of the Queen. He has gone into the country with no attendants but musicians and ministers of pastimes," said the French ambassador. But he had one man with him who could combine music and grave questions of state, one of his Privy Council, Sir Anthony Browne. Cowdray was still being rebuilt and the Earl of Southampton's quaint device worked into the fretted roof—an anchor, because he had been Lord Admiral, a trefoil, probably because he had a three-fold sphere of work, and his initials, W. S.—when there arose trouble with Scotland, and an army was prepared for the Duke of Norfolk to lead to the north. He wrote at once "To my Lord Privy Seal and my Cousin Sir Anthony Browne," asking them to put horses and tents on board for the north; he would meet them on the day appointed at York in the middle of September 1542. The men arrived, the leaders arrived, but the goods and other provisions were badly mismanaged. Norfolk was 72 years old, Southampton was the real leader, and his pitiful letters to Wriothesley about the mismanagement would make a tragedy. "What a trouble it is to a trew hart," he said. Then he was struck down by disease. He reached Newcastle in a litter. Norfolk wrote to the Council that he would rather have his arm broken than see him so. "Without him and his brother, I were all naked." The next letter was written with weeping eyes: "There was never a more sorrowful man than I am for the loss of this man." Sir Anthony Browne worked wonders. In his sorrow he did not let the king's affairs suffer for lack of faithfulness and energy. He carried his brother's banner in the vanguard, and Southampton's men would follow no one but Browne. Norfolk wrote to Wriothesley on October 13th, 1542, praising Browne beyond words, and ended: "Pray God put it into the King's mind to make him his Brother's heir for the name and lands of Southampton!" Browne asked Wriothesley to go and try to comfort Lady Southampton, "my sister," and to find what his brother's will was as to his funeral. Sir Anthony also wrote to his father-in-law to see after his children, as he had no time to make arrangements. After having devastated Scotland from Coldingham to Kelso, they were allowed to return home. Sir Anthony left his brother in the parish church at Newcastle, as he had only willed to be buried in Midhurst if he died within a hundred miles of it. Before he reached home, Anthony found that all his brother's offices were begged for and granted to others by the king. It is always said that he inherited his brother's property, but he never did. All was left to him, it is true, but "after the death of the Countess of Southampton," and Sir Anthony did not survive her! Neither did the king grant him his brother's title, which he so nobly deserved. But he had all the troubles of an heir. The widow and Sir Anthony Browne were executors. Southampton gave to the king "my great ship with all her tackle, my Garter and Collar of St George, a tabernacle of gold set with stones." He left very liberal legacies to Sir Anthony's daughter, his wife's god-child (£100 for four years), sums of money to his sister Gascoigne, to his cousins Lady Katherine Heneage, Thomas

Barney, and Margaret Foljambe, and to his nephews John Cutts and William, Lord Herbert. "To Sir Thomas Wriothesley my best gilt cup; to James Dyer, and Master Anthony Denny gilt cruces." He remembered all his servants, and had special gifts for his well-beloved wife and well-beloved brother. If his own property were not enough to settle all, he trusted his brother Anthony would see to things, "having regard to his inheritance and the kindness I have always shewn him." This might not have been very easy for Sir Anthony to do at the time, as he had heavy expenses and a large family to educate. Southampton's Inquis. P. M. found Alice and Margaret, his nieces, his legal heirs to Aldwark, which passed to the Foljambes by their marriage. The tragedy of the Scottish king at Solway Moss, a week after the birth of his baby, Mary, the child of misfortune, has been treated in history, and exactly two months after the death of the Earl of Southampton, the Duke of Norfolk and Sir Anthony Browne. among the Privy Council, signed the Letter to the Council of Scotland 29th of December, 1542. "Robert Lord Maxwell, Warden of the Western March was allowed to go on parole to Sir Anthony Browne." It appears that Browne stayed with the king some time, before they both married again. Henry married Katharine Parr on 13th July at Hampton Court, and Browne seems to have married shortly after. At the end of *The Book of Expenses of the Lady Mary* is the list of her jewels, taken on 12th December, 1542. Among the missing are "A brooche of gold enamyled Black with an Agate of the Story of Abraham with four small rockt Rubies given *to Sir Anthony Browne drawing her grace to his Valentine.*"[1] The entry is undated, but it must have been on the 14th of February in some year when Sir Anthony was a widower, taking his chance among the gay young bachelors. Another undated entry was "A brooch of golde with oon Balace and the History of Sussanna, *geven to Mrs Garret at her marriage.*" This refers to Elizabeth Fitzgerald, daughter of the ninth Earl of Kildare. Her mother Elizabeth, fourth daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, had brought her to England in 1533. Her father was betrayed in 1534, imprisoned in the Tower, and died there. His son, her brother, Thomas, tenth Earl, rose in rebellion because of his father's doom, was taken and executed in 1537, and his five uncles were hanged, though three of them were not at all connected with the rising. Her youngest brother had been carried abroad by his tutor, but Henry sought constantly to entrap him and make an end of the line. Princess Mary had taken this helpless and penniless child into her care, and she became one of her maids of honour. Though only fifteen, the girl had been celebrated in Surrey's song as "The fair Geraldine."[2] He had by this time written the famous sonnet of which the closing lines are:

> Her beautie of kind, her vertues from above,
> Happie is he that can obtain her love.

When he poured forth his adoration, petulance, or despair, he forgot that he was already a married man. Sir Anthony Browne wooed her in an honourable

[1] Royal MS. 17 B, XXVIII. p. 137.
[2] Kilkenny Archaeological and Historical Society Pub. II. 1873.

way to be his wife, seeking no dower, and braving the possible anger of his king. He was a widower, much her senior it is true, but not so much as has been said, and he took her to a happy home and made her safe. To Anthony Browne was first applied Surrey's poetic phrase of "the happy man." Now Dr Notts said that Sir Anthony Browne "must have been over sixty years of age," and every writer since has repeated that he was. When his first wife died he put up a noble monument at Battle for her and for himself, giving with great fullness all his offices. He left a space for the dates of his birth and death, and they have never been filled. Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam had made his will in April 1497, and his widow proved it in June 1498. Her re-marriage must have been after that date. The earliest possible date of her son Anthony's birth was 1499. Blore in his *Monumental Antiquities* says 1500, but gives no authority. That would leave Browne 43 or 44 at the date of his second marriage, and when we remember that he was considered the handsomest man of his time, noted for bravery and for warlike and diplomatic skill, a favourite of the king, with a beautiful house and large possessions, we need not scorn the fair Geraldine for marrying him, without leave of Surrey. There was nothing to hinder her from really loving Browne[1]. It is evident that his affectionate sister-in-law had either let or given him Cowdray as his home, and he was finishing the rebuilding of it, as begun by his step-brother, only in the ceiling there were placed in his half the arms of the Brownes with the *three lions passant*. But he also built or rebuilt a dower house at West Horsley for his young wife, and there he decorated the ceiling with the arms of Browne alternate with the arms of the Fitzgeralds.

He was soon torn away from her to go again to the war with Scotland, waged in order to make the Scottish nobles give up their young queen to marry Henry's son Edward. "They liked not the marriage so ill as the manner of the wooing."

Before the end of the year Henry had threatened to go to war with France, and Browne was recalled to be one of the Commissioners to draw up the declaration. Preparation began with the next year, but it was July before Henry crossed to Calais. Browne was with the Duke of Suffolk, concentrating on the siege of Boulogne. Henry wanted to join them at once, but Browne would not let him come until he had made "a place of safe lying for the King." The English were successful, the town surrendered on 14th September, and the king allowed the inhabitants to go or stay as they pleased. Most of them chose to go, and filed past the English king as he stood watching in satisfaction, Sir Anthony holding the Sword of State unsheathed by his side. Henry went home soon after, being well pleased with Suffolk and Browne, and not content with the other events. The "reward" to Browne was the Priory of St Mary Overies, Southwark. So little is known about this that it is well to explain. On the dissolution it had remained in the hands of the king, but the inhabitants, aided by the Bishop of Winchester, had bought the Priory Church for their Parish Church in 1540. Now Browne received

[1] *The Times Literary Supplement*, Sept. 20, 1917.

"the Site of the late Priory of St Mary Overyes, the demesnes, lands, messuages, within the Priory Close," on 28th July, 1544. With the old Priory buildings he made himself a noble home north of the church, having a wharf of its own on the then clear-shining Thames. In 1545 Browne was put on the Commission to sign the Bills and Warrants for the king himself. It is not clear whether he resented not being ennobled, as others were who did similar work, but he invented an original way of insuring his being remembered at home. He had made a great collection of pictures and portraits in Cowdray, and he devoted one gallery to a series of frescoes shewing scenes from his life when in attendance on the king, as at the taking of Boulogne and other occasions. And he had the actors in the scenes to sit for their portraits. The king and the Court were staying at Cowdray in August 1545, and doubtless the opportunity was seized for the purpose. Few realised the rarity and originality of his fine taste at that time.

Browne was made one of the commissioners for the treaty with France on 17th July, 1546. In January following there is the first notice of his son. The office of Standard-Bearer of England was confirmed to Sir Anthony, in conjunction with his son of the same name, with a salary of £100 a year for life. On the 28th of that month the king died. He had been fortunately unconscious much of the day before, and the warrant was left unsigned that he had ordered for the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, who had served him so well.

Sir Anthony Browne was appointed one of the king's executors and one of the guardians of the young prince. The Council kept the demise secret for a day to settle plans; then the Earl of Hertford and Sir Anthony Browne tore off to Hertford Castle, where Edward and Elizabeth were residing, announced the news, and carried the young king back to London on Monday. The burial was fixed for the 14th of February. The order for the funeral was: "After the Corpse, the chief mourner, then the Lord Chamberlain, then Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the Horse, leading the King's Charger with trappings of gold and escutcheons of the King."

After the funeral, Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert told the Councillors that the king had meant to increase his nobility, and read out a long list of names to be honoured. Sir Anthony Browne was the only expected name not among them. Was it that the king forgot his faithful follower, or the gentlemen to whom he had revealed his intention? What made it harder was that Wriothesley was to be made an Earl, in the first place of "Chichester," afterwards of "Winchester"; but his own choice was "Southampton." And Browne's beloved step-brother had borne the title; his wife still lived as "Countess of Southampton." Browne was allowed to remain Master of the Horse, and, as such, in the Coronation Procession of 20th February, 1546–7, he rode at King Edward's side and encouraged him through that fatiguing day. He had a picture made of that memorable scene for his gallery at Cowdray.

Sir Anthony had two sons, who died early, by his second wife. He made his will on 21st April, 1547, and died at Byfleet on 6th May, 1548. His eldest son was not of age when he made the will, but had attained his

majority before his father's death, so that there was no wardship in his case. A long funeral procession escorted Sir Anthony to his tomb in Battle Abbey beside his wife, which he had himself prepared[1]. The young heir had a heavy responsibility—a large family of brothers and sisters and a young stepmother about his own age to look after. The young widow in 1552 married Sir Edward Clinton, Lord Admiral, afterwards made Earl of Lincoln. She was very happy with her husband. He died in 1585, and was buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor. In 1590 she died and was laid beside him. Three letters from her are among the Additional Manuscripts[2], British Museum, and one among the Loseley Papers, dated, in her beautiful, clear handwriting, "From the Court, 8th December 1589."[3] Through that letter I was able to trace the blunder made in the date of her death, always given as 1589. Going to Somerset House to see her will, I was surprised to find that it supported the error. However, strong in the strength of my letter, I read it carefully, and found there was a little interpolation which made me right. It was written "In the thirtieth year of Queen Elizabeth," but before the "thirtieth" was interpolated in very small handwriting "one &." The officer in charge of the Students' Room made a note of this at the end, so no one else need make the error again.

Sir Anthony was much praised by Lloyd and Winstanley. "He was the best compound in the world, a learned, an honest and a travelled man, a good nature, a large soul, and a settled mind."

His son was like to him; though he had not his father's opportunity of shewing his powers, he had more than his father's fortune. He had been knighted at the accession of Edward VI, and on the 1st day of September 1550 was buried "the good lady the Countess of Southampton," his step-aunt, through whom at last there came to him the great inheritance from his step-uncle. This made him a good match, even for the higher nobility, and he married Jane, daughter of Robert Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, and his wife Margaret Stanley, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Derby. By her he had two children, Mary, who became the mother of the third Earl of Southampton, and Anthony, who died before his father.

Anthony the third got into trouble with the Council about his religion and his devotion to the Princess Mary. But the time was short before he rallied to her side at Framlingham. She made him Viscount Montague, after the name of his old ancestor, John Neville, Marquis Montague. She put him in Philip's service, and he led the armies that fought victoriously at St Quentin. When Elizabeth ascended the throne he took the oath of allegiance, and when the Spaniards threatened invasion he was the first to bring his troops to Tilbury to shew to the queen, headed by three generations, himself, his son, and his grandson. His life is completed during the time of his grandson Henry.

An account of Cowdray as a building and its famous gallery was intended

[1] *Sussex Archaeological Magazine*, VI. 54.
[2] Add. MSS. 12,506, ff. 47, 72 and 12,507, f. 131.
[3] *Loseley Papers*, VIII. 72.

to follow here, but as St John Hope has done that work so splendidly there needs no other. To his beautiful book on Cowdray all those interested in the illustrations should turn. In the letterpress he gives some of the deeds and cases concerning it, and the transfer from the heir of the De Bohuns and his father to the Earl of Southampton in 1527 and 1535. He does not follow fully the lives either of Fitzwilliam or Browne. He ought to have read the Montague Correspondence in the Loseley Papers, and *The Life of Magdalene Viscountess Montague*, by her confessor, Father Smith, and he would have found that she did not live at Cowdray (p. 23), but at St Mary Overies and at Battle, where she died, not in 1606, but on the 8th of April, 1609.

III. THE SECOND EARL AND COUNTESS OF SOUTHAMPTON

THE heir to the first Earl of Southampton's great estates and short-worn title was the infant who had been baptized on the 4th of April, 1545[1], amid all the reflected glories of royalty. None of his family had had so much honour paid him on being "made a Christian," but he made no mark on his time. His life has never been written. A few details are necessary. When his father died on 30th July, 1550, he left his wife, the *new* Countess of Southampton, as comfortable as he could. The young heir became of course a royal ward. Sir William Herbert, a friend of his father's, "bought the wardship"[2] from the young king for £1000. The authority perhaps had better be given, as it affects the reckoning of later years.

The value of the lands of Thomas Earl of Southampton found in office after his death is £1,353. 10*s*. 6*d*. Henry his son is heir, of the age of 4 years. The wardship of the said heir with lands and tenements to the value of £100 per ann. is sold to Sir Wm Herbert Knight, etc., for £1000, to be paid £140 at Michaelmas then next ensuing (1551,) and so yearly £140, the last year £160, whereof the King remitted £700, in consideration of the good service of the said Sir William, and for that the said Earl was but 4 years old, and but one person, and there remained £300 to be paid, at next Michaelmas £50, and so yearly. Done by the King 17 November 1551, then present, the Lord Great Mr, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Marquess Dorset and the Vice-Chamberlain at the which time the King's Majesty granted another £100 land for the better exhibition of the said Earl.

Endorsed: "4 Ed. VI. A note of the bargain of the W. of the Earl of Southampton: to Sir Wm Herbert, etc."

The Inquis. P. M. of Thomas, first Earl of Southampton, gives the details of his property, and his will shews something of his feelings to his friends.

The young heir seems to have been left a good deal to his mother's care. She evidently preferred to live with her family at Titchfield in those critical times, partly for their health, and partly for the power it gave her of directing their education through their tutors. But the Privy Council kept its eye on

[1] *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, I. 154.
[2] Cecil Papers, Petitions 2138. *Salisb. Papers*, XIII. 27.

her. On January 2nd, 1550–1 (six months after the death of her husband), it decided to "arrest Mr Colas a Frenchman, the Schoolmaster of the Children of the late Erle of Southampton,"[1] on suspicion of political correspondence. There is no further allusion to this incident, which probably acted as an excuse to make her find some other teacher.

When Mary, the young Earl's godmother, came to the throne, the Countess may have looked for more harmonious times. She appeared in the coronation procession, but she does not seem to have been much at Court. The only other recorded incident of that reign is another arrest[2]. "John Cartwright, servant to the Countess of Southampton, was committed this day to the Marshalsea, for his evil demeanour to Ruy Gomez of the King's Privy Chamber," 21st August, 1554. This was evidently only some private quarrel. The servant was certain to have been a Catholic, but he might have been of the anti-Spanish faction.

The second Earl would be only thirteen when Elizabeth ascended the throne. The Countess seems to have retained some control over him at that date, and even later. For the Privy Council wrote her a letter requiring her "in the Queen's Highness' name, without furder delaye or protract of time, notwithstanding her former excuses to take order that the Earl her sonne may be here at Courte, before Candlemas Eve next coming,"[3] 9th December, 1564 (Candlemas, Feb. 1564–5). Sir Simonds d'Ewes says under date 1558–9[4]:

> Henry Earl of Southampton and the Lord Dacres of the North were, I conceive, at this time, both under age, and in ward to Her Majesty, and if they were present, (as many times such were admitted upon such solemn days as these) then doubtless they did either stand beside the upper part of the rail at the higher end of Parliament House; or else were admitted to kneel at the upper end of the House near the Chair of State, for none were allowed to sit under age.

In the same volume he mentions the Earl of Southampton again in regard to the session of 5 Eliz.[5] The Viscount Montague is there entered as present, 1562–3. No clear hint is given as to what the young Earl of Southampton did with himself that first year after his call to Court. The first reference to him, about a year after, records his marriage to Mary, the beautiful young daughter of Viscount Montague. We do not know whether it had been a love-match, allowed to run its course, or whether it had been arranged by the queen, or by the Earl of Pembroke, or whether the latter had sold the right of marriage to the Viscount Montague. It seemed an eminently suitable union. The fathers of the young people had been both of the old faith and of the new nobility. Both had some association with Sir William Fitzwilliam, the former Earl of Southampton. Viscount Montague, son of his step-brother, had inherited Cowdray and his other southern property. Thomas Wriothesley had secured his title during the protectorate. There

[1] Privy Council Register, III. 184.
[2] *Ibid.* V. 65. Marginal note "Insult to a Spaniard."
[3] *Ibid.* VII, 9th December 1564, p. 174. Cotton MS. Appendix, XXVIII. 24.
[4] *Journal House of Lords*, p. 11.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 58.

seems, however, to have been some domestic mystery or friction about the match. G. E. C. in his account of the Wriothesleys includes a note on the authority of Mr J. H. Round that a family prayer-book, preserved in Sir Thomas Phillipps' collection (and sold in 1895), contained the note "Memorandum, that my Lord of Southampton was maryed the Tewesday the XIX daye of February, 1565–6. The mariage was solemnized att London in my Lord Montague's House by hys advise, without the consent of my Lady his mother." But it seems to have been a notable wedding. "All men and women of appearance in this town and court (except the Earl of Arundel and the Lady Cecilia) were this day at the Earl of Southampton's marriage, whence Mr Secretary has now gone to Court," writes Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Earl of Leicester from Baynard's Castle, 19th February, 1565–6 (Pepys' Collection).

We can learn something regarding this notable wedding from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library[1]. "The copy of an oration made and pronounced by Mr Pounde, with a brave maske out of the same house all on great horses att the marriage of the young Earl of Southampton to the Lord of Montague's daughter, about Shrovetyde 1565–6." As literature it is too inferior to reproduce. We can imagine the fellows of Lincoln's Inn, "Diana's virgin Knights, clad all in white," reining in their great horses, while Mr Pound recited, doubtless with due pomposity, the *eighty-seven* verses of his own composition. He had done so because the "proper and vertuous maid" was about to marry an Earl.

Whose towardness is such
That not the Muses learned tongues
Might prayse him overmuch.

Wherefore even for ye noble wytte
Which his young yeres doth showe
Minerva as greatly tenders him
As anye she doth knowe.

Mr Pound explained that the Goddess had sent the bridegroom laurel, the Goddess Diana sent him a scarf, Hymen sent him "A figure of his wife." I have wondered if this present from the Lincoln's Inn men could have been the portrait of the bride preserved at Welbeck, taken "at the time of her marriage, aged 13." This Mr Pound was a cousin of the Wriothesleys—the previous Earl left a legacy to "Aunt Pounde." He became later distinguished as a recusant, was associated with Edmund Campion, and gave him an introduction to the Earl of Southampton[2].

The next fact noted concerning Southampton is that he entered Lincoln's Inn a month later, still under age. "On March 19th 1565–6 Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, special admission."[3] On the same day was admitted "George Peckham of Middlesex, at the request of the Earl of Rutland, fellow of this Inn, and of Sir William Cordell Knight, Master of the Rolls." It may be remembered that Sir Edmund Peckham and Thomas Wriothesley

[1] Rawlins MS. Part 1, 108. [2] Privy Council Register, 1581, XIII. 170.
[3] *Book of Admissions.*

had married sisters, but this George, if the son of Sir Edmund, would have been too old for a normal student at the Inn. Yet perhaps the special force of his introduction lay in his age. George's son was another Edmund. This is important in the history of the Theatre. On November 2nd, 1570, Edmund Peckham of Bucks had also a "special admission." In 1589 he tried to use his knowledge of law to regain the Holywell property and worried the Burbages sadly by besieging the "Theatre."[1]

Concerning the Earl's majority William Overtoun, writing to Lord Burleigh on 19th August, 1567[2], mentions that "the Earl of Southampton had informed him that his rents were paid to him now"; yet in the Book of Wards and Liveries[3] an entry is marked "Special Livery." It records that in the reign of Edward VI Thomas Earl of Southampton died, leaving all his property to his only son and heir to be delivered him when he was 21 years of age. The queen yields his inheritance to him on 6th February, 1568, with no mention of the Earl of Pembroke. It is not certain whether there could have been any settlement made at the date of Southampton's marriage. From his own Inquis. P. M.[4] we learn that in 1568 there had been a formal settlement of lands on his wife in place of dower, by an indenture between the Earl and the Viscount Montague and Symon Lowe, merchant, in consideration of a marriage already solemnized between the Earl and the Lady Mary his wife, 10th February, 1568. In the following year an indenture was drawn up between the Earl and his father-in-law, associated with Ralph Scroope and John Hippesley, Esq., further settling affairs, 10th May, 1569, when the Earl also made a will. At that time he had a daughter, his only and well-beloved child, the Lady Jane, and for the great affection he bore to her he desired at once to settle an inheritance on her, for her advancement in marriage. He also left a legacy to the Lady Mabel, his sister, and a similar legacy to Michael Lyster, the son of his sister, the Lady Mary, deceased, sometime the wife of Richard Lyster, also deceased; a legacy also to Robert Cornwallys, son and heir of Thomas Cornwallys and the Lady Katherine, his sister. His executors, the chief of whom was the Viscount Montague, were to secure these sums as soon as possible after his death. "If none of the sons of the Earl, *yet to be born*, should survive," then everything was to go to his daughter, the Lady Jane. A page is lost from the Inquisition just when it reaches the most important details.

The young Earl was certainly by that time aware of the troubles in the north; he was sympathetic with the religious unrest and romantically interested in the fortunes of Mary Stuart. That magnetic disturber of the normal currents of men's thoughts had landed at Workington on "May 17th 1568, out of Scotland by sea, writing a letter to the Queen."[5] No sooner did she arrive than the Pope began to bustle. Many of the nobles, Protestant and Catholic alike, had been considering the grave danger to the country arising out of the unsettled state of the succession. They saw danger in Mary's

[1] My *Burbage, and Shakespeare's Stage*, pp. 52, 166.
[2] D.S.S.P. Eliz. LX. 51. [3] Part 5, vol. LXII. p. 290.
[4] Inq. P. M. Eliz., Prima Pars 196/46, Southampton, 1581.
[5] *Burleigh's Diary*.

influence, not only in insular but in continental politics, and honestly thought that the best thing that could be done would be to marry her to some unobjectionable fellow-countryman. Elizabeth tried conferences (beginning at York on 6th October, 1568, and lasting till the 10th) of the three parties, i.e. the unsuccessful legitimist party in Scotland, who still supported the Queen of Scots; the successful revolutionary party, under her base brother, the Earl of Moray, who had made her infant son king in her place; and the English party, stronger than either of these or both combined. The English, nominally acting as umpires, would be certain to decide in the way most pleasing to Elizabeth. Her representatives were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler. The purport of the conference was to enable the various parties to come to some harmonious arrangement about the Scots Queen. The Earl of Moray utilised his opportunities to enlarge on her crimes, to excuse his own actions; insisted that the "lost casket" had been found, and that he had brought with him copies of the letters made by his wife, which could prove all that he stated. Queen Mary's party gave an indignant denial to his charges, and protested that the meeting was not a court of justice, where a queen could be tried, but a conference for ways and means of procedure. The strange effect followed, probably from the very virulence of Mary's denunciation, that the Duke of Norfolk and others, who had previously thought her a hardened criminal, came to believe that she was the injured victim of evil tongues. Then a faint whisper was breathed, probably first by the Bishop of Ross and Lord Livingstone, that all trouble would be smoothed if the captive queen would marry the Duke of Norfolk. Nearly all the leading noblemen, even Sussex and Leicester (and Burleigh at first), caught at the idea. York was too far off for Elizabeth to hear and manage affairs, so the conference was annulled, and a fresh one was called to sit at Westminster on 24th November. Queen Mary was removed from Lord Scrope's house at Bolton, because Lady Scrope was the sister of the Duke of Norfolk, and she was sent to Tutbury. "On the 27th of October, Certen Lords, Pembroke and Leicester, were excluded from the Presence Chamber, for furdering the proposition of the Succession to be declared in Parliament without the Queen's allowance" wrote Burleigh in his Diary. The Westminster conference proved little better than that of York. In the following year Sussex came to see the danger that might lie in the projected marriage. Burleigh still thought it practicable, but advised Norfolk to tell the queen at once. Unfortunately Norfolk consulted Leicester, who counselled him not to tell her without due preparation, and promised to do so himself when she was on progress. Elizabeth had many ears, and of course she heard, and hinted her knowledge, with a warning, to Norfolk. Some of his sympathisers had gathered together at Titchfield, the Earl of Southampton's house[1], and Leicester began to realise the danger it might prove to himself. So he conveniently fell ill, or pretended to be so, and affecting to be at the point of death[2], sent a message to the queen that he could not die at peace

[1] Nichols' *Royal Progresses, Elizabeth*, I. 250.
[2] Camden's *Life of Elizabeth*, p. 104, etc.

without seeing her. Elizabeth hurried to his bedside. There, with sighs and tears, he implored forgiveness himself, and revealed all that the others had done, or thought of doing. The queen was very angry with the others, but forgave him, as he expected she would do, and he did not die then. After Leicester's revelation the queen spoke sharply to Norfolk, and he promised to give up all notion of the marriage. Burleigh entered in his Diary, 6th September, 1569: "I wrote to the Earl of Sussex, to know what had passed from him in the matter of the Duke of Norfolk, at Titchfield, Southampton."

Pembroke was arrested and sent to the Tower[1]. Norfolk went home to Kenninghall, whence he was summoned to return. He unwisely made his health an excuse for delay, was met on the way when he had actually started, arrested, and finally taken to the Tower in charge of Sir Henry Neville, 11th October, 1569.

The discontent in the northern counties about religious matters was intensified by the failure of the conference to secure the liberty of the Queen of Scots, and many rose in arms under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, before they were fully prepared. They were proclaimed traitors at York on 24th October; on the 25th the Scottish Queen had been forced to ride through the cold dark night from Tutbury to Coventry[2]. A speedy and merciless chase gave the skilled troops of the Earl of Sussex an easy victory over the insurgents. On 2nd January, 1569–70, Mary was taken back to Tutbury, the danger seeming over. On the 22nd the Earl of Moray was killed by Hamilton in Linlithgow, which made a kaleidoscopic change in the situation. In February Leonard Dacres, with the two younger sons of the Earl of Derby[3], concocted a wild scheme of rescuing the Scottish Queen, but Lord Hunsden frustrated their attempt on the 20th. On the 16th of March, 1569–70, "presaging evil to himself for his association with Norfolk," the Earl of Pembroke died at Hampton Court. On the plea of her having sheltered the rebels, Sussex invaded Scotland on the 17th of April, and mercilessly ravaged the unprepared country. The Pope had drawn up a Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth and had sent it over by Ridolphi. It was now translated into English and printed. John Felton, a Catholic gentleman of London, fixed it on the gate of the Bishop of London's palace in St Paul's Churchyard during the night of 24th May, 1570. Felton was soon arrested, and on 4th August was condemned to be executed. The publication of the Bull was the turning-point in Elizabeth's life. Her love of compromise could stand her in stead no longer. Henceforth it had to be open war. She knew that all Englishmen had now to choose between herself as representing their country and a Roman Pope against their country. She trusted her people and herself; she freed Norfolk the very day that Felton was condemned. But Norfolk shewed a great lack of common-sense, of political and psychological intuition, and

[1] Camden's Diary, Harl. 36, Exam. 29th September 1569.
[2] Burleigh's Diary.
[3] Brother of Lord Dacres, whose daughters had married the sons of Norfolk and kept the property from Leonard.

of moral honesty. He broke the promise he had made to the queen; he did not realise the change in her temper; he falsified facts in his examinations; he wove his own fate.

Beyond the foreign ambassadors, the two chief mischief-makers in England were Ridolphi, the Pope's Italian agent, and the Bishop of Ross, the Scottish Queen's advocate. The first had the simpler mission, to win back England to the Pope. He carried money to help the impecunious "faithful," he stimulated fervour with promises, he kept himself well in the background.

The aims of the other were more complex, first to secure the release of his mistress, next to turn in her favour the balance of power in Scotland, to restore her to her birthright. To contribute to this, he wanted her to be recognised as heir-apparent of England. He also wished to restore England to the Pope, but that was kept in the background[1]. He was not so careful to efface himself as was Ridolphi; he had not come into the country secretly, but openly with a safe-conduct, as one of the Scottish commissioners to the York conference, and had remained in the country as the Scottish Queen's "Ambassador." The Privy Council would not accept him, as his mistress was not a free Queen of a State entitled to send one. They confined him under various pretexts, now under the care of the Bishop of London, now under the care of the Bishop of Ely.

Into this maelstrom had the young Earl of Southampton been drawn, and it was only by a miracle he was not sucked under. He must have attracted the attention of the Privy Council early, because on February 11th, 1568–9, the Earl of Sussex wrote to Cecil desiring his "helping hand for the young Earl of Southampton, that he may rather be charitably won, than severely corrected."[2] This might refer either to his religion or his sympathy with the Scottish Queen and the northern Earls. It was *before* the settlement of his estates on 10th May, 1569, and before any of the great events happened. Froude says "concerning the Scotch Queen's succession, some of them, Lord Montague, Lord Southampton and others had been in correspondence with the Spanish ambassador about it *before* the meeting at York, and it was by them that her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk had first originated."[3] He does not give any authority for either statement.

It is not clear what Southampton was doing during the summer of 1569, but when the northern Lords were in the field he sent his servant, Mr Chamberlain, to the Bishop of Ross while he was living in Stephen White's house in Bishopsgate. Mr Chamberlain had not met the Bishop before and explained that the Earl could not then come, and had sent him in his place. His master was a Catholic, honoured the Queen of Scots, desired to know of her estate and what the Bishop thought he ought to do under the circumstances. The Bishop

told him of the communing of marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk, whereof the Queen's Majestie of England had taken some *jolosie*, and had there-

[1] Murdin's *Vol. of Cecil Papers*, pp. 1–30. J. Lacy's account, Harl. Misc. v.
[2] Foreign Series S. P vols. 169–170, p. 109.
[3] Elizabeth, IX. 135–144.

fore committed them both to strait keeping, the one in the Tower, the other in Coventry; that the Earls had in the field a multitude of common people without armour, money, or good order. He looked for no success in their sudden enterprise and advised Southampton to keep quiet and not shew his favour or affection, as it would do him no good[1].

Chamberlain then told the Bishop that "Leonard Dacres, whose chief desire was to liberate the Scotch Queen, had been with Lord Montague seeking help. Montague refused this, and advised Leonard to have nothing more to do with it."

While the Earls were fugitive in Scotland, Southampton sent the same gentleman to the Bishop, to carry his master's thanks for the information and advice given, for he had proved it true. That was in January 1569–70. When the Earl was in town for some business of his own in May 1570 (it must have been after the Latin Bull was in the country), he sent another of his servants to ask the Bishop of Ross to arrange a conference in St George's Fields. The Bishop at first refused, as he had been lately suspected and summoned to Court for his religion, and but newly been set at liberty. He was trying to arrange a treaty for his Queen, so a meeting might be hurtful to both parties. The Bishop begged the Earl to defer meeting.

The next day, however, Southampton sent again, saying that besides his wish to become acquainted with the Queen of Scots' ambassador, he had some necessary business about which he urgently desired to ask the Bishop's advice. Therefore the Bishop, with only one servant and one other man sent by the Earl to guide him to the appointed place, set off soon after 9 o'clock at night. The Earl joined him, accompanied only by Stephen White, having left his servants by the waterside. The two men introduced themselves to each other and Southampton asked about the state of the Scottish Queen. The Bishop gave a long account of his imprisonment in the Bishop of London's house, to account for his knowing so little about her then. Meanwhile, he said, Queen Elizabeth's army had been ravaging Scotland, but now they were about to make a treaty. The Bishop was about to go to Chatsworth to send Lord Livingstone to Scotland, to bid commissioners come to London to help to modify the conditions. The Earl replied:

> God send you good success, I wish your mistress well and honour her. But I pray you tell me what think you of this Bull that is now published abroad, whether the subjects of this realm may with safe conscience obey the Queen as our righteous Princess? Or if it shall be danger to our conscience or not? For I hear that sundry are departed these realms for the same cause (for even then was Lord Morley departed and, not long before, Mr Shelley, Mr Shelton and others)."

The Bishop replied

> that he could not think there was so great danger to men's consciences by vertue of the Bull, as that they should be driven to leave their country, wife, children and lands for the same, for though it did absolve the subjects from their obedience, yet were they not charged under pains of cursing, nor censure of the Church, to withdraw their obedience from her. If no other forces were sent by the Pope

[1] Murdin, *State Papers*, p. 30.

or other Prince, for execution of the said Bull, it appeared to be but a threatening; and in that respect his opinion was that no subject of this land should hazard himself and his estates for that cause, for it apperteyned to the great Princes of Christendom to set forward the reformation or alteration of religion, and it was sufficient for the subjects that they were constrained to obey[1]....

The Earl replied "that it were better far to lose all that he had, than to live under cursing in this country, for then should he be under continual fear of conscience." The Bishop answered: "There was no danger to obey the Queen in Temporalities, but in matters of his religion, if he were pressed therein, he could not well obey against his conscience; and so long as the Queen was the strongest party, he might well obey." Just then the watch came on them suddenly. "It was agreed between the Earl and me that in case we were demanded severally about our conference we both should say it was of sudden, and not of purpose, and that it was but of the estate of the Queen of Scots, and no other matter." It appeared to the Bishop that his intention was to have departed the realm for safety of his conscience, as Morley had done. So being he had given him a strong counsel therein, but "seeing him but a young man, he thought it not good to deal with him in any other matter of importance."

It would indeed have been better for all had the Earl respected the objections of the Bishop to make an appointment then. Of course the meeting was reported by the watch; the Bishop was committed again, this time to the Bishop of Ely, and on 7th June he was charged with "practising with the Earl of Southampton on Lambeth Marsh."[2] He never reached Chatsworth, and was effectually prevented from helping his mistress at that difficult time.

Apparently the Earl did not leave London. He would hear of the misfortune fallen on the Bishop, and would be prepared for some trouble falling on himself, but he trusted the Bishop would keep their agreement.

The trouble arrived on 18th June, 1570. "The Queenes Majestie having just cause gyven her to conceive some displeasure towards the Earl of Southampton," the Privy Council committed him to the custody of Mr Becher, Sheriff of London, "to have no communication with any one." The Sheriff found his prisoner a hindrance to his own freedom, so he skilfully suggested to the Council the danger of keeping the young man immured in London while the Plague was spreading rapidly in his district.

The Council was considerate, and on 15th July told Mr Becher[3] that they had arranged that Sir William More should come and take the prisoner away to Loseley with him. Their letter to Mr More to the same effect has the postscript[4]: "It is meant that the expenses of the Earl shall be at his own charges." The Earl wrote to Mr More to prepare him, saying: "He came with no very good will,...but since it is their pleasure, I am glad they have placed me with so honest a gentleman and my friend."[5] Mr Becher advised Mr More "on Sonday morning the 16th July 1570,...hoping he would come tomorrow,

[1] Murdin, p. 38. Confession Bp Ross, 2nd November 1571.
[2] Privy Council Register, VII. 366. *Loseley Papers*, IV. 1.
[3] *Loseley Papers*, IV. 2. [4] *Ibid.* IV. 3. [5] *Ibid.* IV. 4.

so as to be able to start on Tuesday,"[1] which was done. So the young Earl's first detention at Loseley began on the 18th July, 1570.

Sir Christopher More had bought Loseley in 24 Hen. VIII. He died on 15th August, 1549. His son and heir, William, had been born in January 1519–20, and was not knighted till 1576[2]. William More had a son, George, and two daughters; the elder, Elizabeth, born 28th April, 1552, married first Richard Polsted of Albury, Surrey; second Sir John Wooley of Pirford; third Sir Thomas Egerton, afterwards Baron Ellesmere, Lord High Chancellor. She was Lady-in-Waiting to the queen, who loved her, and called her "her sweet apple." (These members of the family are so much associated with this story that it is wise to mention them here.)

Six days after Southampton's arrival at Loseley, Lord Montague, from Cowdray, sent Mr More a carefully-written letter[3], enquiring after his son-in-law's health, being desirous to know if his Lordship would like him to do anything further on his behalf. Private communication was not, of course, allowed. Lord Montague was bolder on 5th August, when he wrote: "As I received a letter by your sufferance from my Lord of Southampton, so send I one other to his Lordship open, and by you either to be delivered or stayed. I think long to hear of his deliverye."[4] So did Mr More. An undated letter draft to Cecil from More[5] shewed that he keenly felt the burden of being a jailor. Similar letters seem to have been delivered to other members of the Council. Lord Howard acknowledged on 9th August a letter received on the 8th inst. from Mr More[6], who had gone "to the Court at Osterley to make humble sute to my Lordes of the Privy Council, to be dischardged of keeping the Earl of Southampton." It was, he said, a restraint on his liberty, and prevented him working on the various commissions to which he had been appointed. Lord Howard assured him that others could execute the commissions, "but your staying at home, to avoid all conference with him out of your hearing, and to see those letters which he doth receave or doth send: therein you do very well, for in these two poyntes doth consist the greatest part of your charge." The letter[7] next in date is amusing. It seems to be a reply from Mr Becher to some highly reproachful letter of Mr More's, in which he had charged Mr Becher with prevarication in magnifying the dangers of the plague in order to get rid of his unwelcome guest, the Earl of Southampton. Mr Becher clears himself: his words were, in the main, quite true, "though it was only a variety of the sickness, being a burning ague of which very few died...his Lordship was so fearful of the sickness, that he was, with fear, much disquieted" (14th August, 1570). On 5th September Lord Montague thanked Mr More for his kind letter, and for his letter to Lord Leicester "to do my Lord of Southampton good and procure his enlargement."[8] The Council was still suspicious. On 23rd October[9] they asked Mr More whether Southampton had been attending common prayer in his house; if not, he was "to move and persuade him thereto."[10] More kept

[1] *Loseley Papers*, IV. 5.
[2] Manning's *Surrey*, I. 99.
[3] *Loseley Papers*, IV. 6.
[4] *Ibid.* IV. 7.
[5] *Ibid.* IV. 14.
[6] *Ibid.* IV. 8.
[7] *Ibid.* IV. 9.
[8] *Ibid.* IV. 10.
[9] *Ibid.* IV. 11.
[10] *Ibid.* IV. 14 *a*.

a very rough draft of his reply, that when his Lordship first came he asked him to attend common prayer with the others. Southampton had answered:

Since he was restrayned of his liberty in my house, he had no disposition to come out of his Chamber to praye, but rather to occupye himself there in prayer, thinking it to be no great difference to do thone, or thother, and therefore desired me to think that he did not absent himself from the same, as of one that contemned the service, for not onely had he usually Common Prayer in his own house, but also at Court he did there frequent the same order, and requested me to be satisfied.

Shortly afterwards Mr More had told the Earl that since he had been an inmate neither he nor his family had been able to go to church, so he had engaged a learned man to come once a week to instruct them, and asked him to join them. "Since then he has come both to the service and the instruction in the parlour."[1] On 31st October, 1570, Montague expressed surprise that, after all that Lord Southampton had done and written, he had not been released. He would like to know if the Poursuivant had brought a pardon to Loseley; if not, his daughter must discharge her wifely duty by presenting a personal petition to the queen. It was not until the 11th of November[2] that the Earl of Leicester told William More to bring his prisoner to Kingston "by tomorrow at night at furthest, so that he may be before the Counsell on Monday morning, and they might take the order with him appointed by the Queen." Sir William More had not detected his prisoner in any secret correspondence nor in any attempt to have private conference with any one. The Council did not then know the full details of his meeting with the Bishop of Ross, so he apparently was allowed to go home to his wife and child. William More went cheerfully back to his commissions. Mr Bray has tried to put Camden in the wrong by insisting that the Earl of Southampton remained at Loseley during three years, a blunder which has affected the writings of all who have followed him[3].

It is evident that Southampton suffered somewhat from the great expectations the Catholics had of his exerting his influence and active help to give them support and guidance. It is noteworthy how much the disaffected used the names of Lord Montague and himself in their letters, especially those written from the Low Countries and Spain. Even Guerau de Spes, the Spanish envoy, wrote to the Duke of Alva on 1st December, 1569 (just after the defeat of the northern rebels):

Lord Montague and the Earl of Southampton have sent to ask me for advice as to whether they should take up arms, or go over to your Excellency. I told them I could not advise them until I had due instruction to do so. I said that my letters had been seized because there had been rumours about them lately, and I therefore did not know what they ought to do[4].

On 18th December the same ambassador informed Philip that

Lord Montague and his son-in-law had embarked for Flanders, but contrary winds drove them back, and they had to land. An order thereupon arrived

[1] *Loseley Papers*, IV. 12. [2] *Ibid.* IV. 13.
[3] *Archaeologia* (1819), XIX. 263.
[4] *Calendar Simancas Papers* (Spanish), 1568–71, p. 214.

from the Queen, and they did not refuse to go to Court in order to clear themselves, which Montague having done, he received the governorship of the County Sussex, but he was able to send George Hamberton, a kinsman of the Duchess of Feria, to the Duke of Alba, to assure him of his good intention and the sympathy of many others[1].

He wrote again: "Montague, Southampton, Lumley, Arundel, the moment the Lancastrians take up arms, will rise."[2] Sir Francis Englefield, a fervid Catholic, an open servant of Philip II, and heir to many English properties which had been confiscated (among them Fulbrook in Warwickshire, where some of the old gossips say that Shakespeare killed his deer), was a correspondent of many of his co-religionists in England. He wrote to one of them that "Lord Montague and the Earl of Southampton should have been long since with the Duke of Alba," 1570 (March?).

He learned to know better. In a letter to Dorothy Essex from Louvain, April 19–29, 1570, he said:

> Lord Montague did not come hither as you thought, nor any other man of account. Lord Cumberland died about the time the two Earls fled. The Wardship of his son was given to Lord Bedford, and the child removed thither from Lord Montague, with whom he had been brought up. Lords Arundel and Montague are put out of the Lieutenancy. This accounts for the report that Lord Montague had fled, some say these affronts are done to make them fly[3].

He also wrote to the Duchess of Feria, eldest daughter of Sir William Dormer[4] by his first wife, Mary Sidney, sister of Sir Henry. She was maid of honour to Queen Mary, and married Philip's favourite, the Count of Feria, on 29th December, 1559. "As Sir William Dormer is not likely to live long, if your brother comes to ill hands, it will be in as ill case as before, and but in the marriage with Lord Montague would be the safety of both, and a pillar to the family that shall succeed in the realm" (2nd September, 1570). Sir William Dormer died in 1575, leaving by his second wife Robert (married to Lord Montague's daughter Elizabeth), Richard, Francis, Catharine (married to John, Lord St John of Bletso), Mary (married to Anthony Browne, Lord Montague's son and heir apparent), and Margaret (married to Sir Henry Constable).

A sister of Jane Nudigate, Sir William's mother, had married Sir Leonard Chamberlain of Oxfordshire. His son, George Chamberlain, was a servant of Lord Montague[5]. He did go to seek service under Philip, which was possibly the origin of the rumour about his master. His examination shews further points in the family pedigree, and brings in Sir Edward Stradling[6]. Some of his family were servants to the Earl of Southampton. His cousin, the Countess of Feria, became Duchess in 1569–70; his "Aunt Dormer[7]" died on 7th July, 1571, and the Duke of Feria on 6th September, 1571.

Nothing is heard of Southampton during the early months of 1571. Sir

[1] *Calendar Simancas Papers* (Spanish), 1568–71, pp. 218–274.
[2] Foreign Ser. S.P. 1570 (785). *Simancas Papers*, 274, 2nd September 1570.
[3] D.S.S.P. Eliz. Addenda 44.
[4] *Ibid.* XVIII. 45.
[5] Murdin's *S. P.* p. 242.
[6] D.S.S.P. Eliz. XIX. 36.
[7] *Life of the Duchess of Feria*, by Henry Clifford.

William Cecil became Lord Burleigh on 26th February, 1570–1. Shortly afterwards he secured Charles Bailly, a Belgian, the confidential servant of the Bishop of Ross. The Duke of Norfolk's agent was also arrested. Ere long the real nature of the conference of the Earl of Southampton with the Bishop revealed itself. In consequence of fresh suspicion the Duke of Norfolk was sent to the Tower for the second time in September 1571. Guerau de Spes wrote on 31st October, 1571, that "the Earl of Southampton had come unsuspiciously up to town in October, and was again arrested. They mean to lodge all Catholics in the Tower."[1]

Camden says that, after the Duke[2], "Banister, his Counsellor-at-Law, the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, Lord Lumley, Lord Cobham and Thomas his brother, Henry Percy, Lowder, Powell, Goodyere and others were committed to prison, who, every one, in hope of pardon confessed all they knew." Probably each one felt he had done nothing traitorous or criminal. It is extraordinary, however, how charges accumulate under careful manipulation of coloured translations. Terrified men under torture, or threat of torture, re-examined again and again before new examiners, become apt to agree with the suggestions of their examiners. They examined Charles Bailly[3], servant of the Bishop of Ross, and tortured him until he told more than all; and the Bishop himself, under threat of torture, confessed more than he should. Sir Thomas Smith, one of the examiners, implored Burleigh to release him from his painful task and let him go home.

> We have done all, Banister with the rack, Barker with the fear of it, we suppose we have got all...*with our help, for of his own wit he could not have done it.* Only the Duke's foolish devotion to that woman kept the fire burning still, though once quenched....Bp Rosse is a very firebrand of Sedition, and cunning to make a motion of meeting with a spark of ambition, playnely such a one as your Lordship *knew one was, who is now dead*[4].

Norfolk's friends were kept in the Tower to give the Council time to sift and check each confession. Many of these are published in Murdin's volume. It is noticeable that those of the Earl of Southampton taken at that time are not included. But he is mentioned by the others[5]. William Barker on September 18th said that "the Bishop of Ross told him that the Lady Arundel, Lords Montague, Southampton and Lumley favoured Norfolk's marriage and would be his friends if he went through with it." On 3rd October[6] Lord Lumley denied knowing anything of the matter talked of between the Bishop of Ross and Southampton in Lambeth Marsh. Henry Goodyere was examined on 13th October[7], chiefly about Mary Stuart, but also about Southampton. From the *Cecil Papers* we know that the Earl himself was examined on 31st October[8], just after the confession of the Bishop of Ross. He said he had only met the Bishop in Lambeth *by chance*, and had only talked about the Norfolk marriage. He knew nothing of

[1] *Simancas Papers*, II. 287, 348, 393.
[2] *Elizabeth*, p. 163, *Simancas Papers*, II. 393.
[3] Murdin, *S. P.* 1–101.
[4] A side-note added "The Earl of Moray."
[5] Murdin, p. 99.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 99.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 99.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 99.

strangers landing on Scottish soil. On 3rd November[1] he stated that Nicholas Wilkenson had moved him to speak with the Bishop. He had sent George Chamberlain, a servant of Lord Montague's, with his first message.

After the condemnation of the Duke of Norfolk the Earl had begun to hope that he would be liberated. But he heard that a bitter complaint had gone up to her Majesty about his outrageous behaviour since he had been prisoner in the Tower. He wrote urgently to Burleigh[2] to allow him to defend himself from "the slanders and malicious accusations lately preferred against me," that he might know the truth and move her Majestie in his favour.

It is said that the usage of myself should be so unmete to my present state, as rather I should (yf yt were true) shew myself Lunaticke than otherwise. At first generally, for abusing the Lieutenant for discontentation in things wherein was no cause of myslike, in such maner that when my meate hathe been brought to me, I have thrown the dishes one way, the saucers and trenchers another way, that no men wold nor durst come willingly near me. For first I protest to your Lordship I never abused the Lieutenant, for although peradventure therein I could directly turne the Catt in the panne, yet, considering myself to be a prisoner under his charge, and accordingly intending to behave myself, have suppressed any thought of injury.... I dowghte, my Lord, that this report be made to prevent some other whome yt may happe had just cause to complayne, and that it was feared that if the whole body were at liberty the little member, the tongue, should not be restrayned... I would be loth to find fault needlessly with anything...and I hope this place hath made me rather more wise than more wyld. Two of his owne men will be sworne, who lightly were never absent from me...that, except upon just cause, I have never mysliked anything...if I wanted anything amended, the casting about of dishes was not the way to effect it.... Let yt be proved that since my coming hither I disordered dish or saucer, or used any furious words to any, I will not only never crave her Majesties favour, but wish that I moughte for my Lunacye have "Little-Ease" for my Lodginge, thereby the sooner to be restored from madnesse to more modestye.

The charge "being false," he begged Lord Burleigh to let him be tried and his accuser brought forth, whom he doubted not he would be able to prove a false and slanderous man "to his shame and my credit." Southampton then pleaded for the restoration of her Majesty's favour. "These two troublesome troubles" had taught him much he would never again forget, so that he would serve the Queen with his body, life, and goods, and would be deeply bound in gratitude to Lord Burleigh himself. "From my pryson within the Tower, the 4th day of April 1572." Burleigh and the Council did not find time to think of him then, being absorbed in greater troubles of a greater man.

Thomas Gresham wrote to Burleigh about Southampton's expenses on 14th July[3]. There were new troubles brewing for the prisoner. On 9th July, 1572[4], there was a new examination of Henry Goodyere, Henry Percy, and the Earl of Southampton. The interrogations given the first were:

[1] Murdin, p. 99. [2] D.S.S.P. Eliz. LXXXVI, 4th April 1572.
[3] D.S.S.P. Eliz. Addenda XXI. 72. [4] Murdin, *S. P.* pp. 222–4.

1. Whom did you use to talk to out of your prison? 2. What speech used the Earl of Southampton touching the Duke of Norfolk's death? 3. What did he say concerning the Duke's children? 4. Whether he said of the Earl of Leicester that he was the cause of the Duke's death, and that he trusted the Earl would come to suffer in the same place as the Duke did?

Goodyere said:

Being imprisoned in a Tower not past thirty foot from the Tower where the Earl of Southampton lieth, and of Henry Percy, sometimes walking in a little court that he used at one time only did speak to the Earl, and especially of the delivery of the Earl. The Earl did come once towards this examinate with a joyful countenance and said that he heard good newes, and that my Lord of Leicester had sent him word that he should keep his promise to him. That the Earle of Southampton never spoke to him of the Duke, or of his death. But Sir Henry Percy was often on the Leads when this examinate was at his book, and he does not know if the Earl talked to him. Of the third query he knew nothing. He never heard the Earl of Southampton talk evil of the Earl of Leicester, but much good.

Henry Percy said:

he had spoken with Mr Goodyere, but only of their deliverance. He had spoken with the Earl of Southampton about the Duke's death; it was he himself who said the Duke had entailed his lands upon his children. The Earl of Southampton never imputed the death of the Duke either to my Lord of Leicester, nor to any other councillor. He never heard the Earl wish that Leicester should suffer in the Duke's place. He had always spoken well of the Earl of Leicester, and did say that he put all his trust in him for his delivery.

Southampton himself, being examined, acknowledged

that he had talked with Sir Henry Percy and Mr Goodyere on the Leads, but no undutiful speech passed between them. Touching the Duke's death, he did speak. He heard say that he died godly and vertuously, and that he, standing in his window, heard the Duke say (casting his hands abroad), "Once again, God save her Majestie!" It might be that he said he was sorry that the Duke deserved to die, but for any other speech he used none. As for him saying that the Earl of Leicester was cause of the Duke's death, he protested before God, and voluntarily took a corporal oath upon the Bible[1], that he never spake such words of the Earl of Leicester, but spake as much honour of him as he could, and hath taken him as his special good Lord. He desireth to come to his trial, and if found guilty he desireth to suffer death[2].

(Burleigh was made Lord Treasurer on 15th July, 1572.) Southampton did not like imprisonment, and seemed to suffer much from it. Two letters from his wife to her cousin shew that she was not neglecting him. The first is undated, but finds its place through the second.

My good Lord, as I am lothe often thus to troble you being so much my Lord his good frend and myne, so am I nowe constreyned to crave yor Lordship's advyce. My old Lady hath yesterday night sent unto me to goe to her on Monday to the Court, to make suit to the Queen's Majestie for my Lord, which I would do on my knees to do him good. Marry, perceaving by my Lord my

[1] Could he forget when Leicester shammed illness in his house to escape himself and desert the others?

[2] *Cecil Papers*, 70.

father, as also from my Ladie Clinton, howe unpreparyd the Queen's Majestie is as yet to receave oure sute and howe unwilling sondry of my Lords of the Cowncell be that I should as yet presse her Majestie therein, I can hardlye resolve what I were best to do, specially for that I feared my absence wilbe used by some as a matter to my discredytt, and yt to goe till my frendes advyse me I dare not, and therefore humbly I beseech your Lordship yf you see no lykelihodd of my comming to purpose att thys tyme to testifye and remember my rediness, and the respect that moveth my stay. And thus my good Lord, I rest most bound unto you during my lyfe. (Scribbled in my bed, not being well this Satterday morning.)

Your Lordship's poor frende and cosyn,
M. SOUTHAMPTON[1].

"My old Lady" was, of course, her mother-in-law, the dowager Countess Jane; "my Ladie Clinton" was her step-grandmother, once Lady Browne, "the fair Geraldine," whose husband was on the Council. The next letter is dated the 16th and endorsed 17th July, 1572.

My Lord, I am now enforced to troble your Lordship with thes fewe lines to crave your helpe for the saiffgard of my Lord his lyffe, who hath ben since your Lordship's departure, being sicke I feare of a burning fever, as also trobled with a swelling in his stomake which he was never tyll this time trobled withall. He fears a dropsy yf presently he syke not remedy. Therefore I beseeche your Lordship for God's sake, be a mean for some more liberty for him, and that I may have recourse to him to atayndhim in his sickness, if his full inlargement will not be obtayned. Truly my Lord, if he be no better atended now in his syckness then comonly he is I much fear his lyffe will not be longe. The necesity of the present cause compelleth me to be thus earnest for lybertye to goe to him, which I hope shall not be denyed him being syck, and have been granted to others in helthe. Thus expecting your Lordship's answer of some good comfort upon the which my Lorde his well-doing restyth, I comytt yor Lordship to God, who send you increase of honor and your hart's desyres. From London the 16 of July.

Your Lordships poure cossen,
M. SOUTHAMPTON.

If yor Lordship or any of my Lords of the Counsell thinke this untrewe, if yt be examyndd yt will be found too trewe[2].

Some alleviation may have been found for her husband's disease, but his release did not come that winter. On 22nd December, 1572, an Intelligencer wrote to Alva: "The Earl of Arundel has been released....There are good hopes too, of his son-in-law Lord Lumley, and the Earl of Southampton."[3] It was February before things began to move in that direction. On the 13th of that month the Earl wrote to the Lord Treasurer that he had been told by his wife and father-in-law how much kindness he owed him, and how grateful he was he tried to express in his ponderous and long-winded style. He asked a further favour: "I am bolde to send your Lordship the forme of a letter I wish to be delivered to her Majesty, so as she may reade the same," to be delivered either by his wife or the Lord Treasurer. "From my weari-

[1] Cotton MS. Titus, bk. II. 161, f. 342.
[2] *Ibid.* f. 308.
[3] *Simancas Papers*, II. 374.

some prison." This is endorsed "13th February 1572–3, Earl of Southampton, devoted to ye Catholic religion, and ye Queen of Scots."[1]

The next day he wrote to the Lords of the Council a humble letter of submission and entreaty that they would testify to the Queen his wish to do dutiful and faithful service to her, and help him to regain her favour, without which liberty would be worse than bondage[2].

On the 30th of March, 1573[3], Lord Montague was licensed to confer with his son-in-law "touching matters of law and the use of his living in the Lieutenants presence." His May Day brought him some brightness; the queen ordered the Lieutenant to hand over his prisoner to Sir William More. Doubtless the confinement, which had fretted him so much in 1570, would be draped in roseate hues by comparison with that in the Tower. He was in grief about the illness of his beloved mother, and two days after his relief he was allowed to go and visit her in charge of Mr William More[4]. On the 5th of May[5] the Council gave his keeper permission to allow his prisoner's wife[6], friends, and servants to visit him, to allow them to ride out together, and even to visit Dogmarsfield, the house he was rebuilding. But William More was to go with him.

There was new friction by the 1st of June[7], for the Earl of Southampton had left the Tower without paying the Lieutenant's bill for his food, and now contested some of the items. Apparently Southampton reminded Burleigh of the false charge of raging words and broken dishes, and all the inferences the charge was intended to convey. The Council appointed arbitrators to settle the dispute, Sir Peter Carew, Sir William Pickering, Sir Thomas Wroth, and Thomas Heneage, "either to end the matter between them or to make report to my Lordes what they think." The Earl of Southampton[8], however, shortly afterwards complained that though *his* commissioners were ready and his servants sent up to witness for him, the Lieutenant had begun to slack the proceedings, excusing himself for the want of the commissioners he had himself appointed. Therefore since at his own cost his servants are forced to continue in London and nothing done, he asks that the case may either go on at once, or be postponed till he is at liberty to attend himself.

I dowghte not but to make his doyings apparent, and hope that sins I have been, as I can prove, both worse served than my Lord of Hertford was, or my Lady Scroope (?) for her degree, I shall not be forced to pay more according to that rate. Her Majesty may allow what yt shall please her for any that she payeth for, but I am well assured, no Earl that hath defrayed his own charges hath paid more than my Lord Hertford did, according to which rate I offer, which is far more than ever I cost him.

He then went on to plead for pardon before the Queen's "*abode here*. My wyfe ere this had revyved the same, but that she hath bin, and yet is, de-

[1] Lansdowne MS. XVI. f. 22. [2] *Ibid.* XVI. 23. [3] *Ibid.* XVI. f. 23.
[4] Reg. Privy Council, VIII. 92. [5] *Ibid.* VIII. 102, 109.
[6] *Loseley Papers*, IV. 16. [7] *Ibid.* IV. 17.
[8] Lansdowne MS. XVII. art. 14, f 28.

tayned by syckness, which being ons gone, notwithstanding *her condition* she shall, before the progresse, if possibly she maye performe her duty therein" (16th June, 1573).

There are two letters, written one by the Earl and the other by the Countess, to the Earl of Sussex about these disputes, printed in the Collection of Letters made by the Rev. Leonard Howard, D.D., of Southwark in 1753.

Apparently the arbitrators settled the dispute about costs, as we hear no more of it. The Earl had no reply at the time to his plea for freedom. An undated draft of a letter written by Sir William More to the Earl of Leicester[1] seems to fit into this period better than any other. The Earl had told him that he understood the ill success of his friends' petition to the queen for his freedom,

and he ys falen into that hevynes and pensiveness of mynde, as that I fere yt will either breed in hym some present syckness or some great inconveniences hereafter. I have used the best perswasions I can to staye him from the same, but it lytle prevaileth, and his annswere ys yt albeyt his restraint of libertye is very painfull unto him (because he doutyth the same to be soch discomforte to my Lady his wyff, as may be to her great harme), yet he feareth greater the displeysure of her Highness, which he thinketh vehemently conceyved against him...as that his lyfe groweth to hym to be very tedyous....I perceyve his hope of qualifying the Queenes Majesties displesyear agaynst him resteth chyfley in you, whose good care yf he may affect the same it shall not only be greatlye to his comforte, but also bind him in honor to be at yor commandement during his lyf.

By whatever means it came about, a warrant arrived to allow Southampton to leave Loseley on 14th July, "to reside with your verie good Lord the Viscount Montague your father-in-law."[2] He was allowed to visit the house he was building, if he did not stay away from Cowdray more than one night. This relative freedom brought happiness to all concerned.

The next letter preserved at Loseley is undated[3]. It was from Lady Southampton to Lady More.

I send this berer to bringe me word from you howe my little Mall came unto you and how she hath past the greatest parte of her so wery journey. I doubt not of your over great care of her whill she rests in yor hands; my only desire is to heare of her save coming unto you. When she hath rested with you one holl daye I praye you lett her be sent hether, (nott too farre in any place tyll she come to me). My Lord my father, also my Lord, do looke for her tomorrow, yf not, then upon Satterday at the fardest.

Lady Southampton sends ten thousand thanks to Lady More for all the great kindnesses she had received from her and her family, for which she remains their debtor ready to requite it. Her husband would have written also, but "he hath been very sycke and is now in bed not well. Good Mr Polsted I must not forget to salute in most hartyest manner, and do wish me with you every day and houre....This present Thursday."[4] The "little

[1] *Loseley Papers*, IV. 15. [2] *Ibid.* IV. 18.
[3] *Ibid.* IV. 19. [4] *Ibid.* IV. 21. Manning's *Surrey*, I. p. 99.

Mall" referred to was their second daughter, Mary, probably at that time sent to see her grandmother, who lay ill in London. Mrs Polsted was Lady More's daughter Elizabeth. I do not know how long afterwards it was, but I am inclined to believe that it was on the following Tuesday that the Earl wrote to Sir William More announcing the birth of his son.

The which, although it was not without great perill to them both, for the present, yet now I thank God, both are in good state. Yf your wife will take the paynes to visit her, we shal be myghty glad of her company, and so with my harty commendations to your son Polsted and his wife, and to good Mr Saunder, if he be with you, I end for this time bidding you hartily farewell. From Cowdray this present Tuesday 1573.

Your assured frend,
H. SOUTHAMPTON[1].

We know from other sources that the date was the 6th of October, 1573. "Mr Saunder" was the "learned man" whom Sir William had employed to give his household religious training when he and they could not go to church by reason of their attendance on their prisoner. Things went well at Cowdray. We have no record of the child's baptism, nor of his godparents. Probably it was privately performed by some priest, and his sponsors were chosen for their faith not their fortune. Then the happy father planned for himself and his wife an early holiday in London, spending a night on the way at Loseley. He wrote to Sir William More from Cowdray on 1st November, 1573, saying that, although he had lately "in divers ways pestered your house," yet he meant to be there on "Tuesday even, sennight," and added:

I pray you recommend me hertily to your son and daughter Polsted and to good Mr Sawnder. And also if you would be so good as send for your glasier and tell him that nowe I am redy for him at Dogmersfield...for some part of the howse is to be glazed before the frost, and the glasse and all things are redy.

Sir William More was not content to be without his old friend, Lord Montague, and urged him to join them[2], but he was really too ill to move, and was confined to bed for a fortnight longer. The Earl of Southampton seems to have had his full pardon by that time. His mother had long been failing and was now very ill; she lived over six months after. One of her medical prescriptions has been preserved, "a cure for the illustrious Lady Jane in her previous illness."[3] Her will was drawn up on 1st July, 1574[4], and she died not long afterwards; the will was proved on 26th July. She left certain leases to her son, Henry, Earl of Southampton, failing whom to his son, Lord Harry Wriothesley, failing whom to the Lady Mary Wriothesley, failing whom to her own daughters. Her household stuff was to go in the same way. She left liberal shares of her cattle and sheep to her son-in-law, Cornwallys, and his wife Katharine, the rest to her son. Certain leases were left directly to her grandson, failing whom to his sister Mary. Her own daughter, Mabel, was to have for life Longlands and Gravelpits, lately parcel of the possessions of the monastery of Clerkenwell, after her to Robert

[1] *Loseley Papers*, IV. 21.
[2] *Ibid.* IV. 22.
[3] Add. MS. 28,023, f. 8 *b*, also f. 68
[4] P.C.C., Martyn 43.

Cornwallys, her daughter's son. One hundred pounds' worth of plate was left to each of her daughters, 100 marks' worth to Lord Harry Wriothesley, and the same to Lady Mary.

To my son the Earl all my stuff in Southampton Place, Holborn, my best crosse of gold set with diamonds on one side and enamelled with green and red on the other, with a faire pearl hanging at it. A faire tablet of golde wherein is the picture of my Lord his father's face, weighing about 2½ ounces, also my great flaggon chayne that I was wont to weare about my middle for a girdle, weighing 12 ounces.... To my Lady Southampton, my son's wife, a Browche with an Agate and 7 little rubyes, with the picture of a face upon the Agatt; also a girdle of gold, with roses black and white enamelled, and wheatsheaves enamelled. ... To my daughter Katharine my best booke of gold, set with 4 diamonds and a ruby in the midst on one side, and 4 rubyes with a diamond in the midst on the other side, and the Queen's writing in the same book; also my wrethed long girdle of gold with black enamel; and a short girdle of perles with little perles of gold enamelled in black, a brooch of gold with a saphire in it, and a Storye, also a cheyne of fine golde. To my daughter Mabel my best brooche which hath 10 diamonds in it and a ruby at the foot of the Storye; also a gold booke with a black knot inamelled and two scallop shells; a chain of gold inamelled black and white; a long girdle of gold, another with pillars inamelled red and white and black, the links playne and wrethed, and a cross of gold, with a crucifix sett with 2 diamonds and a perle pendent, with another chayne. To my son's daughter, the Lady Mary, my best flower of gold set with 2 rubyes, 2 emeralds, and 3 perles pendent, a tablet of gold with an old storey in it, a pair of beads without Amell, and a tablet hanging at them, inamelled; a browche of gold with 2 little rubyes in it. These jewels to her at her marriage. If she dye, to her brother the Lord Harry, if he die too, to my daughters. All my perles to my daughters. ... To my daughter Cornwallys a pair of Tennes, with red currall richly dressed with lyly pottes enamelled with words graven on them. To my daughter Mabel another payre of tennes in gold and jewels and one of my diamond rings to each. All the rest of my rings to my son.... To Robert Cornwallys my daughter's son £40, to Michael Lyster my daughter Mary Lyster's son, a gilt bowl 32 ounce weight.

To her daughter Mabel she left £500 if she marries within three years, or £300 if she marries later, the £200 to go to her son's daughter. She prayed her son to be good to his sisters, to her servants, farmers, and tenants. She left to Andrew Mundaye, her servant, £10, and a year's wages to all her servants. To the poor of Titchfield and Holborn near London she left £60. 13*s*. 4*d*. Her son Henry to be sole executor; overseers, Mr Justice Manwood and Mr Baver of Lincoln's Inn, who are to have £10 a year for their trouble.

Her son buried her at Titchfield, but I have found no account of the proceedings. Beyond his legacies, the Earl would step into her jointures and dwelling-houses, and his position in the county would be strengthened. For some time afterwards he took as much part in county affairs as he was allowed to do, being on various commissions. A report of the commission on the protection of the country was sent in on 8th July, 1574[1], signed by him and others. One section is specially interesting, because it gives a list

[1] D.S.S.P. Eliz. XCVII. 32.

of the places most likely to be invaded in the south, and it describes many good possible landing places in his own property.

We find a place at the entering of Beaulie Haven called *Needle Oie* from Lymington eastwards, being of the depth of 9 feet at low water, but the channel somewhat crooked; a place called *Stands Oie* from Bewlye Haven eastward being an oxen rode a mile and more in length, the water whereof is so shore deepe that any shipp may ride within a cable length of the shore without danger of any of the Castles, having good anchor holde and very faire landing, both for gallies and long boats.... We find a place called Browne Downe in the Hundred of Titchfield, being an oxen rode in length a mile and a half, with very deep water near shore and good landing.

Stoke Bay was also considered good landing, and the south side shore of Hayling. That might almost be called war-work. He was put on the Commission of the Peace on 12th July. His father-in-law's communications[1] to the Privy Council shew what the Earl should therefore have been engaged on in August 1574—the State of the Musters, the Charge of the Watch to the Country, the need of considering the restraint of grain and victuals, as there was dearth in the neighbourhood.

Yet strange rumours came of him through the army of spies employed by Burleigh. Edmund Woodshaw[2] (a double traitor) wrote to Burleigh from Antwerp on 3rd September, 1574, concerning another spy called Avery Phillipps, "who repaired to the Copleys."

There was great triumph among the northern rebels when they had heard that the Earl of Oxford was flying, and that the Earl of Southampton had fled to Spain. In a Council held at Louvain it was concluded that the Earl of Westmoreland should ride to Bruges to welcome him, and persuade him not to return, but the Earls did not meet. It were a great pity such a valiant and noble young gentleman should communicate with such detestable men.

Woodshaw had been 35 years in the Low Countries and wanted to get back to England, but he had no money. "I applied to my uncle Leveson and my cousin Arden of Park Hall, but they would not help me"; apparently Burleigh would not help him either.

On the 27th of that month of September Southampton was formally thanking the Earl of Sussex for telling him of the queen's good opinion of him.

I wish to live no longer than with all dutifulness to deserve the continuance of the same. I must nedes allso thinke myself greatly bounde unto your Lordship for the care you have of my wel-doinge and desier to persuade her Majestie of my unfeigned affection to continewe her Highnesse good opinion towardes me. I mynde, God willing, *my good Ladies Funerailes performed*, to do my duty to her Majesty and myself to acknowledge her manyfold gratiousness towards me.... From Titchfield the 27th September 1574.

Your Lordshipps assured frende and brother,

H. SOUTHAMPTON[3].

[1] D.S.S.P. Eliz. XCVIII. 12. [2] D.S.S.P. Eliz. Addenda XXIII. 62.
[3] Cotton MS. Titus, bk. II. 149, f. 319.

On the 1st December, 1574[1], the city of Southampton signified its recognition of the Earl's work in county affairs by making him Free of the City. Of this he was a Burgess, through his residence of Bull or Bugle Hall.

A year or two seems to have passed in peace; then something happened A mysterious letter (a lesson to shew how nearly alike were the numerals 7 and 1 sometimes written) was addressed to the Earl of Sussex. Walsingham was not made Secretary until 1573.

My good Lord, I have dealt with Mr Secretary Walsingham touching the matter I wrote to your Lordship of, who seemeth not to be privie to the doing thereof. Although not ignorant of such a generall matter intended, I pray your Lordship to consider of yt in my behalfe, as that I alone be not shott at, but that I may receyve as much favour as others, not deserving the contrarye. The discredit will be great, my case beynge sole, and my enemies will condempne me of some speciall crime, though I be altogether innocent, he hath willed me to send unto him saying that he will be a mean that I shall now be more parcially dealt with all the others in the case wherunto I beseech your Lordship put your helping hand.... From my house in London the 15th February 1571[2].

Endorsed: "The Earl of Southampton, 15th February 1577." The handwriting is more careless than usual, probably from his excitement or illness. If 1577–, of course it must be read as 1577–8. I find no further trace of this.

Another mysterious undated letter may come in here, from Henry Howard to Sir Christopher Hatton[3], whom he addresses as "good Mr Vice Chamberlain," so that it must have been written after 11th November, 1577, when Hatton was appointed. The letter runs: "I have lain seven months in the Tower and yet am not privy to the least offence either to my Prince or Country....My Lord Southampton can avow upon his honor that I *never* heard mass with him, and yet I must be kept in prison." Nicolas puts this as March 1584, supposing that it came before another one dated 27th April, 1584, in which he complains of having lain in the Tower for seven months innocently. This date is impossible; Southampton died in 1581, and was ill some time before. But it might have been 1578.

The Earl of Southampton and the Countess were still presenting gifts to the queen and receiving gifts in return in the spring of 1578–9.

The Earl's wrath may have been kindled by a summons before the King's Bench for not keeping the roads safe by his house in 1578[4]. A little later he was again summoned in a dispute about land[5].

From a newsletter among the State Papers[6] we hear that by February 22nd, 1578–9, "the Earl of Southampton is out of the Commission of the Peace." Yet on 4th September, 1579, Sir Francis Walsingham wrote to tell him that he had misunderstood the Council's orders to the Commission of Piracy[7].

[1] Corporation Documents, vol. III. Southampton.

[2] Cotton MS. Titus, bk. II. 159, f. 338.

[3] Nicolas, *Life of Sir Christopher Hatton*, pp. 368, 376.

[4] Coram Rege Roll, Hilary Term, 20 Eliz., among criminal cases at the end, f. 119, Middlesex.

[5] The Coram Rege Roll, Trinity Term, 22 Eliz.; Controlment Rolls, p. 94, at top.

[6] D.S.S.P. Eliz. Addenda XXV. 74.

[7] *Ibid.* CXXXII. 1.

"Though the Vice-Admirall be specially named, yet if any difficulty had prevented him from being present, the other commissioners may proceed without him, especially if your Lordship or some of the other chiefest persons named in the Instructions be present." That is the last notice of the Earl, in regard to public service.

Some cloud had come over him in his domestic relations. He had more and more shut himself up in the society of his gentlemen servants, who flattered him. He had become cold to his wife and distrustful of her relatives and friends. Perhaps his imprisonment in the Tower had brought on some cruel disease, such as consumption, in which the patient's judgments sometimes become disorganised and his mental vision distorted. The only key we have to the state of affairs is a long letter written by the Countess to her father, in answer to one of his asking for a full explanation, so that he might be able to help her.

I received your Lordship's last[1] by the messenger himselfe, who would not adventure to comytt it to any other, because your Lordship's desire therein should be the better satisfied, and by him also I receaved assurance that the letters so long wantinge were at last saifly come to your Lordship's hands, which much joyed me.

My Lorde sent me word by Dymocke the other daye that it was not his meaning to keep me as a prisoner, nor to barr me of my libertye either within dore or without, only he barred me his bord and presence, which was all he restrayned me of. I told the messenger my Lorde could lay no greater punishment upon me, neither could I take that but in the highest degree of imprisonment, howsoever it pleased him otherwise to esteem it, but I was content to beare it, till God would relieve me and deliver me out of such bondage. "My Lorde, (saith Dymocke) yor Ladyship knoweth is resolute, yett be there meanes to wyn him." Wold God I knew them, quoth I, they must be tolde me before I can putt them in proofe, for every waye that my simple wytt could conceave was in reason lykest to move him to better, I had not letted to use, and longe and often had offered myselfe to him in such humble sorte as might become me. If want of knowledge hadd made me leave that undone that would have done me most good, I trust I was to be excused, the rather because I shewed myself willing to do anythinge that was by his Lordship looked for and fit for me to do.

"Naye sayth he, from my Lorde I can say nothinge. Butt what my own opinion is, if it please you to heare it, I will tell yowe, that is that my Lord may be well used at your two cousins' hands, and by fair meanes to be by them intreated to accept me as he dyd before his last breache, and to leave the perfect reconcylement of yowe to yourselves, for by none wolde he be enforced till himself listed, and that I wolde procure a protection to him for his conscience, that he might live untowched for that, with the Queen's good countenance, which by my frends be wanted." (Many other lyke thinges he spake of, as little to the purpose, and full well I know from whence they came.) My answere was that I marvelled my Lord would leape before he came at the stile, or make shewe of doubt of that he is so little feared, sure I was, if he had thoughte that for me, or by my frendes, he had this longe tyme lyved without question, therefore he would have thoughte hymselfe in reason and honor bound to have made a better recompense to us both than any yet he hath yelded. He tolde me then,

[1] Cotton MS. Titus, bk. II. 174, f. 366.

it woulde be small honor to me that for me or by my frendes his troble should be procured. Nott by me, I assured him, it should ever come, neyther did I thinke my frends wold seke that revenge of him. Yett what mighte fall upon hym I could not warrant but wold be sorye if otherwise than well, and woulde, notwithstanding his extreme dealing towards me, do my best ever to save him from troble or dainger. This was, in effecte, so much as he hadd of me, whereof I hope he could take small advantage. Howbeit a great alteration I found in him, for he tolde me not long since it was past all amendement, and howe he wolde teache mee a waye howe to amend it, wheruppon I gather my Lord to stand so doubtful and perplexed between hate and dread, as what to do he knoweth not well. Yett had he as leave dye as breake his own greate hearte, though he see a manifest dainger before his face. I understand by sufficient meane that my Lorde did write of late to some of the Council for Pretie's libertie, and how it was answered that there was some other particular matter to charge him withal more than he was committed for, and therefore could not yett be dismissed, but he should be remembered when tyme served, in which respect I trust your Lordship and my deare friends will foresee that he be not delivered, for many great causes, which I shall hereafter open to yowe, till my caise first take end. And truely, if I be not much disceaved, to wynne him libertye and save him from farder troble my Lorde woolde somewhatt breake his own likinge, wher, if he might gett him owt before he wold take such harte as none shold be able to do anything with him.

He told Foscue and Payne yesterday on occasion of a quarrell that hapned betweene Dymocke and them, that he liked them no whit the better for laughing at Prety's imprisonment, and said they should well perceave he would beare him out though it cost him £500.

And nowe my Lord that I fynde no fayre nor mild entreatye, nor good perswasions by my friends, nor any duetifull behaviour or endeavour from myself can move his hard harte to relent towards me, butt after this without anye offence of myne, doth offer me this extremytie, onely to take revenge for his lewd servant his just punishment, I am discomforted any longer to continewe that course that hitherto I have taken, but nowe do I humbly beseche yor Lordship, and other my good friends, to take in hand my cause, and to bring it to such kind of tryall as shall by your wisdomes be thoughte best for me, assuring myself that so much favor shall be by yowe obtayned for me as worse then I am I shall not be, for now I rest condemned generally, though I trust not so much of the better sorte that knoweth me, as some would wish I should. My will, which longe hath overruled yor Lordship and others in this caise, I now leave to be ordered by your discretions, to whom I absolutely comitt myself and my cause, and will rest content with what end soever it shall lyke you and them to bring it unto. I will prove at last to conquer my fond affection by discretion, which I must confesse hath mightilye wrought in me towards him, or else I doubt my frayle nature could hardly have borne with patience what hath byn offered me. My Lord, sayd he, is well assured her Majestie will never open her mouth to him for me, howbeit thatt taketh not away my hope, but that she will by your Lordships means yelde me her gratious favour, and be content to bestow her breath to do good (yf it may be) between us. And truly my Lord, by the last speech I had with Dymocke (who is the other himself) I find some little hope yet left that she may do that none other can. And the rather I beleve it because I have myself hard him saye that she only should overrule him and none other. Mr Titchborne the Sheriff was laytely here and desired my Lord he might see me, he told him with his harte if it pleased him. Whereupon he took occation to say somewhat more to him towchinge our present state, very honestly and

frendlye. His answer was onely this, that God must direct these matters howe and when it should please him. I refuse to see none that my Lord permitts to come to see me, for yf I dyd then should I embarr myself of a special friend or two by whoes presence and companye a day or two in a fortnighte I have that little comfort that nowe I enjoy, and yett it is lowred att, as seldome and little as it is, because it is thoughte to be done chiefly for my sake. And truly I have just cause to acknowledge myself much bounden to God for happynes it pleaseth Him to send me that way, for there are not many in this shyre of the better sorte but by some means they have made offer to me of their service, wherein or howe it may in any waye steade me, which I take as God's good gifts and nothinge of my own deservinge. Did your Lordship see this howse, by my troth, I thinke you would saye in your liffe you never came in the lyke so wholly bent against their yonge. Mr Dymocke, as they sticke not to tell him to his face, it is pitty he lyveth, to be the begyner and continuer of this discention between us. But my Lord so impatiently bereth to here this playne speech, as some pretie quarrel is soone found to turne them away. This howse is not for them that will not honor Dymocke as a God. It is a pece of comforte to fynde that nott one servante in this howse (Mr Dymocke only sett asyde, and some one that he hath made as himself) butt is ready either to depart with me or to deliver me out of this thraldome. That it pleaseth your Lordship to assure me the continuance of yor fatherly care of me, I most humbly thanke yowe, it is nowe the only comfort I have, and that I meane to cleave unto. I beseche yor Lordship, do not think I wolde so much disguyse myself to yow my dear father, that I wolde, to my owne harme, kepe anything from your knowledge, whereby I might prevent that extremity that is intended to me. Truly my Lorde, if I be charged with more than you are already acquainted withall, it is by corruption, and no truthe. It may be my Lorde will mix upp olde matters, repented and forgotten long since, if he do, well, he may blame me of folly, but never justly condemne me of fault. And as for the matter charged of Dogmarshfield and Dowsam his coming hither, he shall never prove it as he would, except he win some to perjure themselves about it, for, by my truthe, in my liffe did I never see him in that house, neither I assure you since I was by my Lord forbidden his company did I ever come in it. Desyre I dyd to speake with hym, I confesse, and I told you whye, and I wish that the cause, with my meaninge, were uttered by the partie himself upon his conscience (yff he have any) whereupon I coveted to speak with him, and then I trust I shall be acquited of greater evell than overmuch follye, for desyring or doing that which, being by my enemye mistaken, doth breed this my slander and danger. Neither had I ever done for him as I dyd, or used him other than a common person of his calling, had I not seene my Lorde his lykynge so extraordinarie for him, as warranted me to frende him so farre as I might, without evell meaninge. And thus yor Lordship understandeth as much as I knowe (if more be added, I have the greater wrong). The life I have ledd these two yeares, with the bitterness which I have with patience endured, hath byn sufficient to satisfy for so muche as I ever erred in, but by many other accidents I well fynde it is not my falt but myself he hateth for my frendes sake, whom long he hath mislyked with small reason, truly, if he remember the tyme past. My Lord intends not to be at London excepte the Parliament holde, which is doubtful, but I trust your Lordship will be there at convenient time after Easter, and then, with helpe of my deare friends procure him to utter the cawse that nowe moveth him more than before to use this extremitye to me. Lett him do it before I be sent for, and what done that may be by her Majestie to calme him. And good my Lord, if it may be, let it be heard and ended by some councillors, and go no furder, for very lothe I

would be to have my name come in trial in open court. Doylye hath promised to work cunningly to overthrow me, and so dyd he att my coming from London, and putt it largely in practice, but I truste in God he shall faile of his purpose. And now my Lord, with my humble duetye to your Lordship and my Ladye with earnest desyr of your daylie blessing to me and myne, I rest whollye at your Lordship's commandmente, and do commit myself and my cawse to your honorable consideracion. The 21st of March 1579.

Your Lordship's humble and obedient daughter,
M. S.

That your Lordship shalbe witnesse of my desier to wyn my Lord by all such meanes as resteth in me, I have sent yowe what I sent him *by my little boye*. Butt his heart was too greate to bestowe the readinge of it coming from me. Yet will I do my parte so longe as I am with him, but, good my Lorde, procure so soone as conveniently yowe may some end to my miserie, for I am tyred with this life.

This supplies the whole information we have concerning the fortunes of the family, and from the date it is clearly connected with the mysterious letter of 1577 already quoted. One reference in the Register of the Privy Council throws light on one incident Lady Southampton mentions (23rd February, 1578–9)[1]: "This day Edmund Pretye, servant to the Earl of Southampton, was for certain misdemeanours by him used against Mr Anthony Browne, the eldest son and heir of the Lord Montacute, by their Lordships' order committed to the Marshalsea." It is probable that Mr Anthony, resenting the affronts given to his own (and only full-) sister, had checked him, and that Pretty had defended his master's doings in some unseemly way. I have not found any more of the proposed "case," nor of the remaining life of the second Earl, except through a letter from Mendoza to the Spanish king, dated 21st August, 1580. "The Queen has written letters to the Earls of Northumberland, Montague, Worcester and Southampton, to five barons, and 300 gentlemen, and has ordered them to be imprisoned. She fears a Catholic rising here."[2] We know that Montague was not imprisoned, and there is no trace of Southampton having been so. Probably by that time he was too ill to be troubled.

Only once more does his name come before the Council[3] during his lifetime. The results of the confessions of Edmund Campion on 4th August, 1581, shew that

he delivered a copy of his "Challenge" to one Norice, a priest commonlie remaining about London, that he delivered it to one *Pounde*, then prisoner in the Marshalsey, who is thought to have dispersed the same abroad, and that one Stephens brought the said Pounde to speak with Campion at Throgmorton House in London. Further that Pounde directed Campion by a token to one Dimmocke to speak with the Earl of Southampton. They are required to question Pound further.

Note: They found that Pound had already been sent to the prison at Wisbech Castle, and he was then ordered to be sent up to the Tower for further

[1] Privy Council Register, XI. 398.
[2] *Simancas Papers*, III. art. 41, p. 56.
[3] Privy Council Register, XIII. 153, 170.

examination. The discovery of a connection with Campion, however slight, might have proved disastrous for Southampton had he lived much longer.

The closing months of the Earl's life (however the "case" had been settled) shew no trace of improvement in domestic affairs, nor does his will, drawn up on 24th June, 1581[1], "in health and perfect memorye, but recalling the frailty of life." The testament is long; its uses limited, as we have seen, by an indenture made between the Earl and Anthony, Viscount Montague. His body was to be buried in the chapel of Titchfield, beside his mother, and the chapel to be altered and finished within five years after his death;

the roof plastered with pendants set full of my armes, the walls plastered like my house in Dogmersfield, the Chapel paved and divided with iron grates from the Church. Also two fair monuments, one to be built for my father (whose body I would have brought here and buried) and my Lady my mother. The other for me with portraitures of white marble on the monuments. One thousand pounds to be spent on them.

His executors were to provide a fit funeral, not exceeding £1000, one hundred marks in alms to be given; £200 to be divided among the poor people on his property that they should pray for his soul and the souls of his ancestors; to every almshouse in London and the County of Southampton £3 for the same purpose "as soon as possible after my decease." His debts were to be paid, and all wrongs made good. To the Queen, above her thirds, he left a ring of 200 marks' value, "meekly beseeching her Majesty not to think of the value of the ring, but of the goodwill of the giver, and I beseech her to be good to my little infants, whom I hope to be good servants and subjects of her Majesty and of the State." To his "son Henry Lord Wriothesley at 21, if he lives, or if he dies to any heir female at 18, the parsonage of Tichfield for the maintenance of hospitality, as my mother meant to leave it, whatever might be said in her will." He left of course the bulk of his property to his son and heir. To his daughter, the Lady Mary, at her marriage, or when she comes to the age of 18, the sum of £2000; if she die, this to go to the male heir, but if she become heir, to go towards the performance of the will. She was to have £60 a year to bring her up, and £20 a year to herself till she reached 18.

And as slippery and wavering youth requires to be underpropped with elder counsel, he commanded his daughter to obey the executors and not choose to marry herself against their will. He willed her to be brought up by his sister Katherine Cornwallys, or his Aunt Lawrence, and if both of these should refuse, or should die, she was to be placed in some good vertuous house at the pleasure of his executors, provided always that she be not in the house with her mother. And if she refuse to obey his executors, her portion to be taken away, and no penny bestowed to maintain her.

All his armour and war-furniture was to be kept unspoiled for his heir male or heir female. To his sister Lady Cornwallys he left 500 marks; to his sister Mabel Sandys one pair of silver pots worth £50. "To my very friend Mr Allan Langdale, D.D., an annuity of £6. 13*s*. 4*d*." Four jewels

[1] P.C.C., Rowe, 45. "Pounde" was the cousin who wrote the wedding masque.

of gold worth £5 to be given to Lady Paulet, wife to Lord Chidiocke Paulet; to the Lady Paulet, late wife to Ralf Scrope; to Mrs Elizabeth Hodge, wife to Master Hodge, and to Mrs Elizabeth Wells, wife to Gilbert Wells. To each of his aunts, Aunt Lawrence, Aunt Pound, and *Aunt Clerke*, £20. (This latter was an adopted aunt, see his father's will.)

He wished his servants to stay on in his house with all charges for three months after his death. A yearly rent of £5 was to be paid to his servant Henry Allway.

To my Trusty servant Thomas Dymock and to every other gentleman of my bedchamber £40 above their wages. To the said Thomas Dymocke £200 if alive 2 years after the testator's death. My will is that the said Thomas, for the good opinion and truste I have of him, shoulde be speciallye one of those appointed after my decease to be attentive to, and daily about, the person of my son and heir Lord Wriothesley, to have care and charge thereof, whose duty in that behalf to be carefully and honestly performed I nothing doubt.

William, his beggar boy, was to be kept at school till 21, and then receive £40.

He asked Viscount Montague to see all this done, and also that Dogmarsfield should be finished within eight years after the plans of Adams of Greenwich and that within ten years they should bestow £500 in furnishing it; and that his house in Whitley Park be comfortably finished in building for his heir. Thomas Dymock should have the keeping of it till his son came of age, with £6. 13*s*. 4*d*. a year for his trouble, and he may be allowed to keep 12 kine and one bull, and four spare bullocks running, and 20 sheep in the park at Whitley, with 10 loads of hay from Titchfield meadow, and as much wood as he can burn, "And that he may remember what a good Lord and Master I have been to him, that he be good to my son, I leave him £10 a year for life." To his servant William Chamberlain he left 100 marks, to his loving cousin Edward Carroll a silver gilt cup worth 20 marks, to his loving cousin John Savage, son and heir to Sir John Savage, a chain worth £40; "Ickell and Upshot in Co. Southampton and all that I purchased of George Gifford to be used by my executors until my heir be of age." To the Earls of Arundel and Rutland he left a silver gilt cup each, and he hopes they may be as kind to his heir as they had been to him.

To my good friend Mrs Briggit Chower, gentlewoman of the Queen's Bedchamber, £100. To my trustie servant Nicholas Collins £100...to Edmund Prettye £100, to my servants Thomas Castlan £40, and Thomas Hollowell £40. I straitly charge my heir when he comes of age to make to Thomas Dymocke, my man, a lease of what I have leased him. And because I fear that after my decease either my wife, or any other, whom I doe not in this my last will nominate, may seeke to intrude themselves into some of my doings, either concerning my will, or these particular things that may presently rise to the benefit of my heir, I earnestly charge my executors that they yield not to such matter, and that nothing be done by any of my executors without the consent of the whole, and Thomas Dymock to be one of them. If any of the clauses of my will breed trouble, and my executors cannot settle it, Charles Paget Esq. and Thomas Dymocke to decide....I give my bay horse to Thomas Dymocke, who hath broken and made him, and my black jennet to my brother Cornwallis, also my colt called Weighill.

After strict instructions to his executors, he named them:

Charles Paget, brother to Lord Paget; Edmund Gage of Bartley, co. Sussex; Gilbert Wells of Braineridge, co. Southampton; Ralphe Hare bencher of the Inner Temple, and lastly my good and faithful servant Thomas Dymock gent., and I give every one of them for their paines 100 marks. For overseers Lord Henry, Earl of Northumberland, my Lord Thomas Paget and my loving brother Thomas Cornwallis,

giving to each of them plate to the value of £80. He asked his executors to take great trouble with his affairs for his son's sake, and to

take great care that my son be godly and virtuously brought up, and always assisted by them in friendship and good counsell as in my life they did to me living, and that they will offer their prayers to God for my soul.

H. SOUTHAMPTON.

Witnesses: George Fortescue, Edmund Prettye, Thomas Fryar, Thomas Peigham, and Flox Hunt.

A codicil contains a list of manors set aside for the Queen's Thirds.

Item, because my house at Dogmarsfield is yet unperfected, and it is large, and will require careful looking to, and because a smaller thing will be more convenient for my wife after my decease, my desire is that my executors may compound with her for her interest in Dogmarsfield, and because my intent is that she shall not be prejudiced in any way I will my executors to offer her fourscore pounds by the year, which is a greater sum than the same is worth, unless the parkes were destroyed. And because the whole world shall witness that I die in perfect charity, if my said wife be conformable in this, that my executors pay her £500 as soon as they may conveniently gather it. But if she refuse to compound, then there to be no such legacie. And I give to my Lord Montague a George and a Garter of the value of £40 in token of perfect love and charity between us.

H. SOUTHAMPTON.

At the foot is written, probably for purposes of probate,

I Thomas Pagett witness that the will, of which this was a copy, was written by my Lord of Southampton's own hand.

I Thomas Dymock, late servant to the foresaid Earl, must testifie as Lord Pagett hath before written, and that it was the Earl's wish it should be performed with the will[1].

The Earl died at Itchell, a house of his not far from Titchfield, on the 4th of October, 1581. We do not know where the Countess was, except that she was not by her husband's bedside. She most probably had taken refuge at Cowdray.

The will is doubly autobiographical, disclosing not only the Earl's character and affections, but his capacity at the time. He left five times as much as his father did by willing more than he had.

Lord Montague would not be likely to interfere more than he could help (under the circumstances), except to use his influence to get Edmund Gage out of prison on bail, to enable him to make possible a just settlement. The Queen had apparently intervened. Lady Mary Wriothesley was brought

[1] P.C.C., Rowe, 45.

over to Cowdray the night before the funeral. The will allowed six years for the completion of the chapel and monument, and apparently the executors took the opportunity of delay, as the kneeling figure of the boy by his father's tomb is not that of a child of eight, but of one nearly fourteen years old.

Little public notice was taken of the Earl's death; Camden even records it briefly in the wrong year[1].

The Earl of Southampton found one panegyrist, probably of his own household, certainly of his own faith, who wrote an epitaph on him nearly as long and quite as heavy as Pound's *Prothalamium*. This, published without name of printer or of date, was printed as a broadside, signed by John Phillips, and preserved among the *Huth Ballads* in the British Museum[2]. It does not seem to give quite accurate history, though it proves some points. Southampton was again eulogised when Gervase Markham sang the praises of his son in 1624.

The only known portrait of the second Earl, that preserved by Lord Ellesmere at Bridgewater House, was first printed by Sir Sidney Lee in his *Illustrated Life of Shakespeare*, 1899, and reprinted in Mr R. Goulding's beautiful volume, *The Wriothesley Portraits*. It was probably painted to match that of his wife in Welbeck Abbey. The expression of the countenance suggests a character "difficult" to live with.

The Countess was referred to in the ninth stanza of Churchyard's *Pleasant Conceipte*, prepared to shew Elizabeth on New Year's Day, 1593–4[3].

IV. SOUTHAMPTON'S CONTEMPORARIES IN ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

Professor Moore Smith, when working on some of the lives of the men of St John's College, sent me a few notes to help me, and I feel they ought to be preserved here. Lansdowne MS. 33, art. 43, is a list of members of the University in 1581, classified college by college, under the professors whose lectures they attended. Unfortunately the rubrics are faded so as to be hardly legible; and as the date was too early for Southampton, one could hardly call the men "contemporaries." As a fellow-commoner or nobleman, he would live chiefly with fellows and other fellow-commoners and come little in contact with ordinary undergraduates.

There is another list, arranged in the same way, for the year 1588 in Lansdowne MS. 57, art. 92. This does fall in Southampton's period, if he remained in residence until his M.A. in 1589 (noblemen did not take the B.A. degree). In this list among the *Auditores Philosophiae* from St John's is "Ds Nash," i.e. Tom Nash, B.A. Under *Auditores Dialecticae Coll. Jobnis* is a list beginning with fellow-commoners designated as "Mr" (of course "Mr" can mean "Master of Arts," but Masters of Arts would not study dialectic, the second-year subject for undergraduates.) These fellow-commoners are: "Mr Cheek, Mr Brooke, Mr Goodyer, Mr Wrotsly,

[1] Camden's *Elizabeth*, p. 287.
[2] *Huth Ballads*, 58.
[3] Nichols' *Progresses*, IV. 233.

Mr Clench, Mr Billingsley sen., Mr Billingsley ju." Prof. Moore Smith queries whether Wrotsly here represents Southampton. In the list of Johnians which follows (those not fellow-commoners) appears Cotgrave, i.e. Randle Cotgrave, the lexicographer.

Another list of Johnian fellow-commoners contemporary with Southampton appears under *Auditores Rhetoricae* (first year students): "Mr Day, Mr Trapes, Mr Fretchwell, Mr Parker, Mr Harper sen., Mr Harper ju.," followed by ordinary undergraduates. Among the latter are "Jhonson sen." and "Jhonson jun." Fuller, of course, said that Ben Jonson was at St John's; but other things go against it, so we must not assume the identity. A Henry and a John Johnson matriculated from St John's in 1588.

Of the first list of fellow-commoners above, Mr Brooke seems = And. Brooke, matric. f.-c. of St John's, Mich. Term, 1587.

Mr Goodyer = Hen. Goodyere, matric. f.-c. of St John's, Mich. Term, 1587. Was this Donne's friend, Sir Henry Goodyere?

Mr Clench = Rob. Clinche, matric. f.-c. of St John's, Mich. Term, 1587.

Mr Billingsley, sen. and ju. = John and William Billingsley, matric. f.-c. of St John's, Mich. Term, 1587. None of these five graduated.

Mr Cheek does not appear; he may have left St John's for Emmanuel, where one of the name matriculated in 1588, Mich. Term. If so, all appear in Venn's *Matriculations* except "Mr Wrotsly." Professor Moore Smith considers that he must be Southampton and thinks the abandonment of his rank interesting. But I know that two of his relatives of that name were University men about that time, and leave the question open, thanking my correspondent for helping me so much in one point of research which the state of my eyes forbade me to try.

Note to Chapter xxi, p. 333.

Much has been unavoidably omitted in the latter half of this book, in order to secure space for other details, particularly in connection with the general history of the Colonies. But I desire to direct particular attention to the fact that Southampton was concerned in the compiling of *A true Declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia...published by advice and direction of the Councill of Virginia...by William Barrett* 1610. This booklet of 69 pages states that "their primarie end is to plant religion, their secondarie and subalternate ends are for the honour and profit of our nation....These Islands of the Bermudas have ever beene accounted as an inchanted pile of Rockes, and a desert inhabitation for Divels; but all the Fairies of the Rockes were but flockes of birds and all the Divels that haunted the woods were but heards of Swine....What is there in all this tragicall Comedie to discourage....Nil desperandum, Christo Duce et Auspice Christo." Further facts in the same connection may be found in P. Force's *Tracts on American Colonization*, Vol. III. 1844, and J. P. Lefroy's *Memorials of Bermudas*, 1877–79, 2 vols.

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